DEVADATTĪYAM

Johannes Bronkhorst Felicitation Volume

5

WORLDS OF SOUTH AND INNER ASIA
WELTEN SÜD- UND ZENTRALASIENS
MONDES DE L'ASIE DU SUD ET DE L'ASIE CENTRALE

FRANÇOIS VOEGELI, VINCENT ELTSCHINGER, DANIELLE FELLER, MARIA PIERA CANDOTTI, BOGDAN DIACONESCU & MALHAR KULKARNI (EDS)



PETER LANG



Schweizerische
Asiengesellschaft
Société Suisse-Asie

Johannes Bronkhorst, professor of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, from 1987 to 2011, undoubtedly belongs to the most talented and significant indologists of the last three decades. His abundant work testifies to an unparalleled range of interests from early Buddhism to grammar, mathematics to asceticism, philosophy to archaeology, and is characterized by the determination to challenge preconceived ideas, clichés and traditional (mis)constructs.
The present felicitation volume includes thirty-two essays by some of the finest scholars in the field of indology, which reflect Johannes Bronkhorst's main scholarly contributions: Grammar, Philosophy, Vedic Studies, Buddhism and Jainism, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, Epics and Purāṇas. It presents an almost complete spectrum of the intellectual and spiritual pursuits and speculations in Ancient India, and will be of inestimable value to the specialists of all fields of Indology. The volume also includes a presentation of Johannes Bronkhorst's academic career and contribution to Indian Studies by Jan E.M. Houben, and an ongoing bibliography of his work.

François Voegeli has a PhD in Sanskrit Philology from the University of Lausanne. His main research interests are Vedic ritual, Vedic philology, and the archaeology of South Asia.

Vincent Eltschinger is a research fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and currently focuses on the religious background and apologetic dimensions of late Indian Buddhist philosophy.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, our heartfelt thanks go to Johannes Bronkhorst himself. Without him, none of this would have been possible, and we would ourselves not be what we are today: *dhanyāḥ smaḥ, anugr̥hītāḥ smaḥ* !

The idea to publish this Felicitation Volume occurred independently to many of its editors. After initial concertation, Vincent Eltschinger, François Voegeli and Danielle Feller joined forces with Maria Piera Candotti, Bogdan Diaconescu and Malhar Kulkarni. It soon became apparent that we would need wider support, and formed an advisory committee. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all the members of this committee sincerely for their generous support, time and advice over the past few years.

Our deepest thanks go to Professor Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz and Professor Angelika Malinar, who have kindly accepted to include this volume in the series "Worlds of South and Inner Asia" they co-edit for Peter Lang.

To Peter Lang and their helpful staff, who have accepted to publish this volume in their collection, and who helped us in its delivery.

Various institutions have made this publication possible by means of their financial support. Our thanks go to Professor Tom J. F. Tillemans, administrator of the Fonds Elisabet de Boer; the Société Académique Vaudoise; the Fonds du 450ème Anniversaire de l'Université de Lausanne; Professor David Bouvier of the Département interfacultaire d'histoire et sciences des religions of the University of Lausanne.

Finally, our sincere gratitude goes to all the contributors of this volume, who, as a token of their esteem and friendship for Johannes Bronkhorst, have paid with their time and person, and have helped us bring out a volume that will remain, we hope, a reference work in Indological studies.

The Editors

Foreword

When it came to our attention that Johannes Bronkhorst would retire – at least, from his teaching-assignment in Lausanne University – in 2011, we, as his former students, immediately thought that this was an excellent opportunity to publish a Felicitation Volume for him. Indeed, it was unthinkable not to honour one who, by his example, his teaching, and his research, has been able to inspire so many of us in a great variety of fields of research. The departure of Johannes provokes a feeling of regret, because after him, and in spite of his great achievements, the future of Sanskrit studies in Lausanne remains uncertain. This of course is in line with what is taking place nowadays in so many institutions around the world, but especially regrettable in Switzerland, where Lausanne was one of the very few universities that retained a full chair of Sanskrit studies.

Publishing a Felicitation Volume for a scholar like Johannes Bronkhorst has proved a challenging task, for there seems to be no limit to the areas of investigation covered by his vast scholarship, nor to the energy and enthusiasm with which he pursues his interests, in the form of articles, books, lectures and seminars. We could not put it better than James L. Fitzgerald, who has kindly allowed us to quote here a passage from his own contribution to this Festschrift, which deals with the *alātacakra*, or wheel of fire, to which arrow-shooting warriors are often compared in the Great Epic :

> Though he is a scholar rather than a warrior, the one and only Johannes Bronkhorst also whirls before the academic world as if he were many – thinking and writing with continuous streams of books and articles on numerous profound questions of philosophy and cultural history. And he too seems to be in many places at once: now he's in Japan, now he's in England, and in America, Korea, Spain, Germany, and India and, of course, Lausanne! And like Bhīma, as that one lay on his bed of arrows after the war, instructing Yudhiṣṭhira in the most important forms of knowledge, Johannes Bronkhorst too is one of the most learned, insightful, and piquant Indological scholars of our era. Like Yudhiṣṭhira from Bhīma, we have all learned more from Johannes Bronkhorst than we can take in at once.

Such being the situation, rather than delimiting the scope and subject-matter of this collection too rigidly, we chose to be as inclusive and open as possible, in order to do justice to the wide range of Johannes' own interests, and to allow the greatest number of his scholar-friends to contribute to it. Therefore, the reader of this volume will find here several sections dedicated to Grammar, Philosophy, Vedic Studies, Buddhism and Jainism, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, Epics and Purāṇas, and Other Topics. We hope that this collection will please its destinary, even though certain themes that are dear to him – the origin of rational debate, the birth of philosophy in India, the correspondence principle, "Greater Magadha" – have not found their way into it.

Finally, we owe the reader a small note of explanation for the title of this Felicitation Volume, "Devadattīyam," which was proposed by Malhar Kulkarni, an outstanding Vaiyākaraṇa and Paṇḍit. As Johannes is fond of recalling, "Johannes" is the western equivalent of Devadatta "god-given," or, following Pāṇini's interpretation (A 3.3.174), "may the gods give him (to us)." The same Devadatta, sometimes together with his friend Yajñadatta, frequently pops up in śāstric literature, and especially in grammatical examples, always busying himself in the most disparate activities for the sake of teaching the purest Sanskrit, something that Johannes has also been doing for over twenty years!

The Editors

Jan E. M. Houben

Johannes Bronkhorst and Indian Studies*

Intellectual courage. Independent thinking. Those who, like me, have had the privilege to have him as research guide or teacher and those who still have that privilege will know very well that these are characteristics par excellence of Johannes Bronkhorst. Two characteristics which are also evident from his numerous research publications which, in addition, show a wide research interest that covers the domains of Indian philosophy, Sanskrit grammar, Buddhology and Vedic studies.[1] We see courage to throw oneself into the most difficult problems in these domains, such as: Pāṇinian grammar and its relation with Vedic texts; the history of Buddhist thought starting in early Abhidharma texts; underlying presuppositions in early classical philosophical systems including the philosophy of grammar; the chronological relationship between Upaniṣads mutually and with Buddhism. We see independent thinking that gives argued defence of standpoints that deviate from or are opposite to established consensus. Established consensus and widespread scholarly opinions are never adhered to on the basis of authoritative names in either the western or the Indian tradition but they are either accepted or rejected on the basis of rigorous arguments that start from direct textual evidence.

Johannes was born on 17th July 1946 in Schiedam into a family of two brothers and a sister all born before WW II. His younger brother was born almost two years later. His father was a chemical engineer and

* I thank Ruud Bronkhorst and Joy Manné for suggestions for improvement and especially for additional information on Johannes' young years and on the beginnings of Johannes Bronkhorst's scholarly career, and the editors of this volume for additional information on recent years of his work in Lausanne.

1 From the beginning of his scholarly career, these specific indological and buddhological domains have a broader background in Johannes' interest in psychoanalysis, brain science, religious studies, and human nature, for which see now his *Absorption: Two Studies on Human Nature* (Bronkhorst 2010). In June 2011, he has organised an interdisciplinary conference in Lausanne with the title "Why are humans religious?".

member of the church council of Protestant denomination ("vrijgemaakt gereformeerd"). Every Sunday the family went to church twice. Johannes' paternal uncle, physicist by profession, was an atheist. At a young age Johannes was thus exposed to Protestant Christian belief and instruction and also to the rational questioning of Christian doctrines by his uncle. Johannes's secondary education took place at the Groen van Prinstererlyceum in the neighbouring city Vlaardingen between 1958–1964. There he followed the gymnasium *bèta* programme (grammar school with mathematics and physics), which in the Dutch educational system is the best preparation for a university study in any field. Johannes began his studies of Mathematics and Physics at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. After passing the *kandidaatsexamen*,[2] he and a friend decided to make a great journey: from West-Africa to India. After arriving in India they secured places at the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur in order to study Sanskrit. Johannes had heard earlier that in India traditional scholars use and speak an ancient classical language, Sanskrit, and he wanted to see this for himself. Because of illness his friend soon had to go back to the Netherlands where he resumed his previous study, Geology. Johannes stayed and threw himself with much enthusiasm into the study of Sanskrit. Unlike his Indian fellow students who had studied Sanskrit and its literature throughout their earlier schooling, Johannes had to start from scratch.

Soon he learned of the existence of an internationally renowned Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit at Pune (then still spelled Poona). He applied to become student there but was refused admission. It was 1971, and there was much tension within Pakistan (at that time still consisting of a western and an eastern part) and between Pakistan and India. When the Indo-Pakistani war broke out in early December 1971, people in general and foreigners in particular were advised to leave cities in risk zones. This included Jaipur. Johannes decided to go to Goa and stay there till the situation in Jaipur would become more favourable.

2 In the Dutch system of university education at that time, the *kandidaatsexamen* was an important advanced exam which followed the first three years of a five or six year programme. This exam and the corresponding title of *kandidaat* disappeared towards the end of the 1980s.

When Johannes arrived at the train station,[3] all the trains were full, but one friendly ticket conductor let him onto the train. The ticket conductor and Johannes agreed as follows. The ticket conductor would check if there was a seat. If there wasn't, Johannes would leave at the next stop. A while after the train had left, this ticket conductor came to tell Johannes that, unfortunately, there was indeed no place for him. Therefore, he had to leave the train at the next station, which turned out to be… Pune. Johannes got off and decided to have a look at that famous Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, for which he had been unable to get admission. He met the head of the center, Prof. R. N. Dandekar, explained to him how he arrived in Pune and mentioned, *en passant*, that his earlier application to become student at the Centre in Pune had been rejected. Professor Dandekar immediately picked up the phone, made a call, and informed Johannes that he had now been accepted.

Besides attending the classes of the M.A. programme of the Centre, Johannes was much in contact with traditional Sanskrit scholars, pandits, with whom he studied Sanskrit texts beyond those belonging to the prescribed University programme. Every day he went to such a traditional scholar to read and analyze ancient texts for a few hours. To prepare for his classes and reading sessions with pandits, he would get up at five o'clock in the morning to study, sitting on the floor with his books and manuscripts on a lectern. In some of his later books he mentions Pandit Shivarama Krishna Shastri and Professor K. V. Abhyankar as traditional scholars who were most important for him. For a while, he also studied with Muni Jambuvijayaji, a Jain monk and world famous scholar, and wandered with him from village to village.[4]

3 This anecdote is confirmed from various sources. However, it is not immediately clear which train station was involved. In the 1970s a trip from Jaipur to Goa would normally start with taking a bus from Jaipur to Delhi, next a train from Delhi to Bombay, and finally a train (or bus) from Bombay to Goa. A train trip from Bombay to Goa could have a stop in Pune and would probably require a further change of trains and even of rails from broad to metre gauge. Johannes might therefore have met his fateful ticket conductor at the second part of his trip in Bombay.

4 From Johannes I heard the following anecdote about this period. Muni Jambuvijayaji once suggested that Johannes should become a monk in his tradition. Johannes did not quite know how to refuse politely. He made the excuse that he did not want to pull his hair out. At that time he wore his hair long. "It's not that bad," the Muni said and before Johannes knew what was happening he reached over and pulled out a handful of hair. Johannes was not persuaded!

In Pune, he studied further with a towering figure who has a strong background both in traditional learning and in modern linguistics, Dr. S. D. Joshi. In 1974, Dr. Joshi succeeded Prof. Dandekar as director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit. After earning his M.A. degree in Pune, Johannes Bronkhorst stayed on to work on a Ph.D. thesis on one of the most difficult subjects in Sanskrit studies: the metarules of Pāṇinian grammar. This thesis sought to demonstrate that on an important but difficult point in the system of Pāṇinian grammar, the view of the last great master of Pāṇinian grammar, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (end seventeenth – beginning eighteenth century), was not well transmitted to his immediate student Pāyaguṇḍa. This thesis was controversial from the beginning, as it cast doubt on the dogma of the high reliability of the traditional transmission of Sanskrit learning. The thesis was submitted and accepted by the University of Poona in 1979. Seven years later it was published as *Tradition and Argument in Classical Indian Linguistics* (Dordrecht, 1986).[5] In the meantime, Johannes had returned to the Netherlands where he obtained a second Ph.D. degree with a different thesis on theoretical aspects of Pāṇini's grammar. This thesis he defended at Leiden University in 1980, with Professor T. Vetter as promotor.

A new chapter started in Johannes' life and indological career, a chapter which is known to a larger circle. Johannes remained associated with the University of Leiden, Kern Institute, where he contributed to a revival of the Association of Friends of the Kern Institute.[6] For his re-

5 This work has proved to be a hard nut to crack. The first and as far as I know only review appears thirteen years after the publication of the book, in 1999, and is written by another specialist in Pāṇinian grammar who studied in Pune (and who may have been familiar with at least the outlines of Johannes' thesis since 1979) : Dominik Wujastyk. In his survey of research in Pāṇinian studies, George Cardona reports that BRONKHORST (1986) discusses "the paribhāṣā *asiddhaṁ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* (no. 50 in KIELHORN [1868])" (CARDONA 1999: 145). He adds that "[t]o deal appropriately with Bronkhorst's challenging study would require considering all the examples Nāgeśa deals with along with the next paribhāṣā (pbh. 51: *nājānantarye bahiṣṭvaprakptiḥ*) as well as places in the Mahābhāṣya where these issues are also taken up" (CARDONA 1999: 146); and concludes: "I cannot do this in the present survey." Apparently still unaware of Wujastyk's review, he further observes in a note that he does "not know of any major review to consider Bronkhorst's arguments" (CARDONA 1999: 286 n. 27).

6 At present, i.e., since 2009, the Kern Institute itself is merged in a Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies of the Faculty of Humanities (Geestesweten-

search, Johannes received stipends such as the prestigious Christiaan Huygens fellowship of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences). In 1987, I finished my "doctoraalexamen" (M.A. programme) at the Department of Oriental Languages and Cultures of the University of Utrecht and together with my professor, Henk Bodewitz, we decided to ask Johannes Bronkhorst of Leiden University to be second promotor for a planned Ph.D. project on the philosophy of language of the ancient Indian grammarian Bhartṛhari. Johannes agreed and this was the beginning of four years of intensive cooperation on the dissertation.[7] In the same year, 1987, the 7th World Sanskrit Conference was organized in Leiden (23–29 August) and Johannes Bronkhorst was one of its organizers.

Soon afterwards, Johannes was appointed professor at the Université de Lausanne in the chair of Sanskrit and Indian Studies in the Section de Langues et Civilisations Orientales. Together with his wife, Joy Manné, he moved from Leiden to Lausanne. In 1991, I had an opportunity to be in Lausanne for one year to work on my dissertation. I could admire how Johannes was a very critical but always encouraging study guide for me, and for his many other Ph.D. students as well. He accepted to direct a number of Ph.D. theses concerned with a great variety of Indological topics, thus displaying his many interests. He was also a dedicated teacher. In answer to his students' wishes and interests, he read over the years an impressive number of Sanskrit texts with them, leaving out virtually no field of ancient Indian studies, not even mathematics! In more recent years, he also started using his – consenting and thrilled – students as "guinea pigs," testing his most recent discoveries and theories on them.

Johannes also worked with great dedication and in a spirit of teamwork for the progress of Indian Studies at the Université de Lausanne. In 1990, sensing the growing interest in the study of religion, Johannes cofounded the DIHSR (Département interfacultaire d'histoire et de sciences des religions). It is now a thriving and very active inter-faculty de-

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schappen) of Leiden University. The Association of Friends of the Kern Institute is still active in organizing meetings and events for everyone interested in South Asian studies.

7 This thesis was prepared in Utrecht, Vancouver and Lausanne and defended in Utrecht in november 1992 with Johannes Bronkhorst as member of the jury.

partment that attracts a greater number of students and researchers every year. In a time when organizing seminars, workshops, etc., was not yet fashionable, Johannes organized or co-organized international workshops[8] including important international events such as the first international conference on Bhartr̥hari (University of Poona, January 6–8, 1992), a panel on Vaiśeṣika, an ancient Indian system of natural philosophy (ICANAS in Hongkong, August 23–27, 1993), a conference on Sāṁkhya (Lausanne, November 6–8, 1998), a seminar on Rationality in Asia (Leiden, June 4–5, 1999). On all of these occasions Johannes ensured that the various competing viewpoints were represented, that discussions were based on solid textual bases, and that nothing was to be easily taken for granted.

A work in which several earlier findings and ideas[9] find a place and form the basis of a new argument is Johannes Bronkhorst's recent *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India* (2007). This publication can be expected to be indispensible for decades to come for the study of ancient India – or South Asia – not as an archive of Indo-Aryan 'origins' but as an area for which unique and extensive sources are available that provide remarkably detailed information on peoples, cultures and languages in contact, in interaction and in transformation from at least a millenium before CE onwards.[10]

8 In his own department, Johannes also organizes workshops – Tuesday evenings – for Ph.D. students, so that they learn how to present their ideas and to argue them. Colleagues and previous students come too in order to listen. So he serves his science, and he serves his students with the same impeccable integrity.

9 The thesis that there are two distinct traditions of meditation (BRONKHORST 1993) and two distinct sources of Indian asceticism (1998), for instance, are here part of a larger argument. Among eight appendices, three deal with the relationship between the grammarians (Pāṇini, Patañjali) and Vedic literature, a problem area which had Johannes' intense attention earlier (e.g., 1991). *Greater Magadha* deals with very early stages of Indian thought, and hence also with presumed correspondences between microcosm and macrocosm and correspondences presupposed in "fanciful etymologies" (2001a). Although not directly relevant to the early stage of thinking discussed in *Greater Magadha*, contributions to our understanding of presupposed "correspondences" in the later, developed systems of Indian philosophy (e.g., BRONKHORST 1999) deserve to be mentioned here as well. The findings in *Greater Magadha* and earlier studies invite for a re-evaluation of the relationship between European and Indian thought and culture: 2001b, 2003.

10 For ancient India as a supposed "archive of (Indo-Aryan, Indo-European, Indo-German) origins" see Pascal RABAULT-FEUERHAHN 2008; for Johannes Bronk-

In the light of the preceding it is no exaggeration to say that Johannes Bronkhorst is one of the major specialists in Indian Studies of the late 20th and early 21st century who has contributed most significantly to the study of major religious and philosophical systems – Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism – in Asia and the world.

Thank you, Johannes, for all you have done so far for Indian Studies and for your former and current students, instilling in them the highest scientific, intellectual and human standards. We wish you the creative energy to continue to work for Indian Studies for many years to come.

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Grammar

MARIA PIERA CANDOTTI

Naming-Procedure and Substitution in Early Sanskrit Grammarians*

Background

Substitution is a fascinating yet distracting topic for scholars interested in Indian grammar. In fact, what's most disconcerting is the fact that the epistemological import of this all-pervasive device is far from easy to grasp and rare have been, to this date, the attempts at unravelling the idea of language and of the role of grammar founding this procedure. Or shall we be content in considering that this broadly used device is just a well-refined yet philosophically poorly significant jugglery?

In recent years, KAHRS (1998) has attempted to sort out the epistemological framework that the substitution procedure both presupposes and contributes in creating. The major tenets of his work are quite well known, it will therefore be sufficient to sum them up briefly, focusing on the points directly related with our topic. In Kahrs' opinion substitution is a metalinguistic device that spread largely outside the domain of grammar. The explanatory pattern 'the word X appears in the place of Y' (where Y may be another word, but also an analytical formulation, a *vākya*) is not peculiar to grammar only – even though it finds its most formalised expression in what we may call a 'genitive of substitution' specifically taught in grammar by Pāṇini. This usage is regulated in the Aṣṭhādhyāyī by the rule A 1.1.49 telling that, in rules where their usage may give rise to ambiguities, genitive endings shall be interpreted as expressing the relation of *being in the place of* (something else). In other words the sixth ending identifies the unit to be substituted while the unit which substitutes is expressed in the nominative, like any element spe-

* A first version of the thesis here presented was discussed during the 13th World Sanskrit Conference held in Edinburgh in 2006.

cifically enjoined in grammar.[1] In fact this same frame characterises the procedure of other *śāstra*s as, for example, ritual hermeneutics and semantic exegesis. Kahrs claims this is a natural interpretation of the usage of genitive in everyday non-technical Sanskrit and that this everyday usage is in the background not only of the Nirukta's[2] usages but also of the Aṣṭhādhyāyī's and perhaps also of ritual.[3]

This attempt to take substitution out of the strict realm of grammar and interpret it as a well-rooted hermeneutical instrument has aroused some objections. Let us recall here two of them which, even though from different points of view, question the existence itself of a substitution frame in the Nirukta's etymologies. The first comes from Johannes Bronkhorst, the author who, alongside with Kahrs, most contributed in dissipating the long-lived misunderstanding of attributing a diachronic dimension to Yāska's 'etymologies,'[4] thus paving the way for a new kind of questioning concerning the actual scope and aim of his method. Now, concerning Kahr's proposal, BRONKHORST (2001: 172) challenges principally his theory concerning the pervasiveness of the substitution model outside the realm of grammar and even more strongly the interpretation of the genitive of substitution as a commonplace, everyday language usage of the genitive case. Moreover Bronkhorst challenges also the assumption that the well-known genitive of substitution in grammatical texts may have influenced other śāstric traditions.[5] He concludes (2001: 176) that "one cannot avoid the conclusion that the problem of Indian semantic etymologies is not definitely solved with the help of the substitution model." SCHARF pursues a somehow similar reasoning in a

1 Some other metarules (A 1.1.51–55) are concerned either with identifying the (part of) the unit to be substituted or the unit which substitutes. A 1.1.56–59, on the other hand make some provisions concerning the substitution mechanism itself. The right and left context of the substitution are expressed according to the metarules A 1.1.66–67.

2 Cf. KAHRS 1998: 152–158, 234 and 268–269.

3 The formula *sthāne* + genitive sometimes found in the Nirukta is common in Kalpasūtras, cf. KAHRS 1998: 177–8.

4 Cf. BRONKHORST 1981 and KAHRS 1983 and 1984.

5 BRONKHORST (2001: 173): "The substitutional genitive in grammar is a technical device which, like most other technical devices of grammar, is most unlikely to be valid anywhere else."

yet unpublished contribution of his[6] where he takes up again the interpretation of the different patterns of explanatory statements used in the Nirukta with special focus on those with ambiguous syntax between genitive and ablative endings. Scharf questions strongly Kahrs 'forcing' of all the cases of ambiguous syntax into the frame of substitution genitives. Again, one of the main points is the fact that, in Scharf's opinion, there is no naïve usage of genitive to signify the relationship between an element and its substitute that may grant it priority in comprehension over different kinds of relationships. On the other hand Scharf highlights the fact that the ambiguity between ablative and genitive endings that characterises the greatest part of the Nirukta's explanatory statements does not seem to bother commentators. Scharf thus supposes that the syntactic ambiguity did not seem so relevant to them because both syntactic constructions could be interpreted in roughly similar ways.[7] Scharf finds a parallel in the usage of the Viṣṇupurāṇa while presenting the lineage of kings. He therefore argues that the Nirukta's explanatory statements are best read as grounded on derivational model for which he finds some proofs in the Nirukta's own reflections on semantics' methodology.[8] On the other hand, the hypothesis of a direct influence of grammatical (and ritual) substitution model on the Nirukta, is not seriously taken into account.

In fact, both these reasonings imply two different levels: a syntactical one concerning the expression of the *substituendum* through a technical genitive and a more general one concerning what Bronkhorst calls the substitution model itself. Now, while the authors may be quite right in challenging Kahrs' assertion that the genitive of substitution is a

6 Scharf presented his communication on "The Natural-Language Foundation of Metalinguistic Case-Use in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Nirukta" at the 12th World Sanskrit Conference in 2003. The proceedings have not yet been published. I thank the author for giving me a provisional version of the paper. Some points had already been raised in SCHARF 2001.

7 Pāṇini accounts for the usage in everyday speech of ablative and genitive together with direction names (*para* + ablative, *paratas* + genitive) that Scharf considers good candidates for at least some (yet marginal) patterns of explanatory statements in the Nirukta. These cases, where the verbal base (in the ablative/genitive) is followed by a suffix, are without doubt the most difficult to explain within Kahrs' framework.

8 First of all, of course, Yāska's discussion on whether or not all names should be derived from actions/verbs; cf. N 1.12–4.

commonplace interpretation of the genitive in everyday Sanskrit,[9] this fact does not automatically imply that substitution itself was not a well-known and widespread hermeneutical device in Vedic and early Sanskrit culture. One should not equate the substitution pattern with its expression by means of the technical genitive. Moreover this was by no means the only way to express a substitution relationship, as grammarians were perfectly aware of.[10] The kind of reasoning the substitution model entails goes far beyond this specific syntactical feature and beyond the boundaries of grammatical tradition, as ancient and recent studies have variously proved.[11] More than that, the chronology of the two principal texts at stake (namely the Nirukta and the Aṣṭhādhyāyī) being far from certain, one must not rule out even the possibility that the technical usage of genitive spread out of the domain of grammar and largely influenced a *śāstra* like the science of etymology which defined itself as a *vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyam*, a complement of grammar.[12] It is not necessary to postulate a naive usage of the genitive of substitution to account for the techical usages of the substitution model outside the boundaries of grammar.

This is the background of the present contribution, even if the aim of this work is by no means to answer directly the questions at stake. In fact what will be done here is simply trying to give additional evidence, coming from grammatical literature, to support the thesis that substitution in grammar is much more than a purely mechanical tool. On the contrary it is a metalinguistic device specifically used to explain the meaning of words or – looking at things the other way round – to give names to (linguistic) concepts. This of course proves nothing as far as the Nirukta's explanatory statements are concerned; yet I hope it will

9 Yet more data have already been recorded in secondary literature; WEZLER 1972 already had advanced the hypothesis that the formulaic usage of *sthāne* + genitive in everyday language could be the source for many technical usages in different traditions.

10 For the nominative + accusative pattern cf. the *gaṇasūtra* '*virāga viraṅgam*' in A 5.1.64 quoted in M II, p. 357 l. 14 on A 5.1.76. Bhartr̥hari (cf. D 6/2 p. 26 l. 1 on A 1.1.44, *vt.* 1–2) makes it clear that the *gaṇasūtra* is interpreted as teaching a substitution.

11 One of the most recent contributions on the relationship between ritual literature and grammar as far as the substitution model is concerned is PONTILLO 2004 where one finds also a brief but complete presentation of the previous contributions to the topic.

12 N 1.15.

strengthen the background against which we are supposed to interpret Yāska's ambiguous explanatory statements. To state it boldly, while we are already acquainted with substitution as a widespread explanatory device used well outside the boundaries of grammatical literature, to ascertain its specific metalinguistic value will strengthen the thesis that a kind of substitutional model was in all likelihood at work in Yāska's semantic processing of language as much as, if not more than, a derivational model.

First, some procedures involving substitution in grammar (classical pāṇinian substitution, of course, but also procedures involving substitution in more oblique ways) will be presented, trying to emphasise their metalinguistic content. This amounts to reading the theory behind Pāṇini's practice. Then reference will be made, though in a non-exhaustive way, to evidence showing the grammarians' awareness of the metalinguistic function of this procedure. Even though a complete recollection of all the data on this subject is yet to come I consider that there is already significant data worth discussing. Finally I will focus on one point, one of the more debatable ones, namely the usage of substitution in name-giving procedures and the relationship between the nominative + nominative syntactic pattern and the nominative + genitive syntactic pattern.

1. Substitution Procedures in Grammar

Let us begin by considering substitution and its metalinguistic import in grammar. Standard substitution procedures are, as we have seen, governed in the Aṣṭādhyāyī by a certain amount of metarules. The basic one for our purposes is A 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhau* "A unit specifically instructed behaves like the unit holding the place except in rules (*vidhi*) concerning (or conditioned by) sounds (*aL*)."[13] This rule teaches

13 The literature concerning the terms *sthānin* and *ādeśa,* their interpretation and translation is quite huge and will not be tackled here. The translation choice I have made here is by the way closer to the commentators' usage of the terms and therefore it comes handy while discussing their interpretation of Pāṇini's *sūtra*s.

how the substitution must be interpreted, and precisely what is the specific relationship between substitute and *substituendum* in grammatical procedures; it says that the substitute shares the same meaning, the same class names, the same rules of the *substituendum* (*sthānin*) in all the rules where it appears, with the exception of rules concerning (or conditioned by) sounds. Position, class names, meaning and rules pertaining to the *substituendum* are thus enunciated only once and then bequeathed to all its substitutes, without the need to repeat them for each single substitute.

Let us consider the traditional example: A 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ* <*aṅgasya*> <*vibhaktau*> teaches the substitution of the *aṅga* of the pronominal base *kim-* with *ka-* before nominal endings. The pronominal base *kim-* is included in a list (Gaṇapāṭha 241.29) of units receiving the name *sarvanāman* "pronoun" by the way of A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* "(The items in the list) beginning with *sarva* (are called) *sarvanāman*." Pronouns are entitled to receive specific (pro-)nominal endings; to mention only one example, A 7 1 14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* <*aṅgasya*> <*ṅer*> <*ataḥ*> enjoins the form *-smai* instead of the general nominal ending of dative masculine singular *Ṅe* after a pronominal stem ending in *a-*. This rule applies also (in this case even only) to the substitute base *ka-* to form the dative singular *kasmai*, even if the base *ka-* as such is not included in the above-mentioned list of pronominal bases. In fact, by the transitional property established by A 1.1.56, the substitute base *ka-* obtains the class-name *sarvanāman* as well as, for example, the meaning of interrogative pronoun, both properties which characterise the *substituendum kim-*. Thanks to A 1.1.56 the word *kim* has the capacity of bringing into the picture also the base *ka-* in all the rules were *kim-* is involved, with the exception of rules concerning sounds. *Kim* is not a name of *ka-* and it can't be;[14] still, establishing a substitution relationship between *kim* and *ka* is a metalinguistic means to speak about *ka-* while still speaking about *kim-* too.

1.1 These are standard substitution procedures in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But there are some particular types of substitution that are even more interesting from the metalinguistic point of view, namely:

14 See §2.1.

a. Global substitutions such as those concerning what have been called "heterophones."[15] Let us take the *l*-verbal suffixes: no *l*-suffix ever has a phonetic realisation in the object language, as every and each of them is substituted by some other ending. This entails a conspicuous difference with the case of *kim*/*ka-* seen above. While there are some occurrences in the object language of the form *kim-* there are no occurrences of any *l*-suffix as such. This makes *l*-suffixes much more similar to the technical names of linguistic forms such as *vr̥ddhi,* which do never appear as such in the object language, than to *substituenda* such as *kim*.
b. Zero global substitutions such as those of markers and zero-suffixes. Markers must be substituted with a phonic zero, taught in A 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*; similarly the *vi*-suffixes are replaced with zero through A 6.1.67 *ver apr̥ktasya*. These cases are somehow the reverse of *l*-verbal suffixes: there we had one *substituendum* and many substitutes, here for many *substituenda* we have one and the same substitution, i.e. *lopa,* "non-perception." In this case, therefore, the major concern of the zero substitution rules seems to be that of granting the units a purely metalinguistic existence.[16]
c. Nominative + genitive metalinguistic *sūtra*s like *svaṃ rūpaṃ śab-dasya* which may be interpreted as substitution genitives. This point is of course far from unquestionable, and will be the focus of this paper. Still, if this proves true, it means that grammar has two different tools to teach the name of linguistic objects: a formula nominative + nominative which identifies the name bearer with the

15 Cf. SCHARFE 1971: 24–28. Scharfe makes a distinction between heterophones with a phonetic complement like *phiN* (= *āyani*), more akin to autonyms, 'pure' heterophones like *YU* (= *ana*), heterophones *sui generis* like *vi* (= Ø) and then a group in-between heterophones and names, i.e. *l*-suffixes characterised by the fact that they are not replaced by a single occurrence but by a whole set of suffixes. I prefer to consider cases of non-restricted zero substitution as radically different because of the absence of any linguistic form in place of the *sthānin*.

16 The difference between zero substitution and metalinguistic zero substitution has already been pointed out by PANDIT (1962) who nevertheless confines his attention to markers.

name[17] and a formula nominative + genitive which substitutes the name bearer with the name.

1.2 Till now we have seen strictly pāṇinian substitution practices. There is another practice known from earlier commentators that deserves to be mentioned, namely the practice of explaining the meaning of words by the way of synonyms that may be used *in the place of* the word itself. This is implied in one of the most current expressions used for a synonym, namely *paryāyavacana/paryāyavācin* "denoting in alternation." The term *paryāya*, meaning an alternant application of two rules or names, is a technical term of grammar opposed to *yaugapadya*, the co-application of two rules or names to the same object at the same time.[18] If we transfer this concept to the denotation of terms we obtain that two terms alternate when for one and the same meaning we find, in free distribution, one word-form or the other. Commentators sometimes give us glimpses of what was the theory behind the term. An interesting example is found in the discussion on the meaning of the word *siddha* in the first vārttika of Kātyāyana *siddhe śabdārthasaṃbandhe*. Patañjali formulates the question in this way: should *siddha* be interpreted as synonymous with *nitya* (*nityaparyāyavācin*), thus meaning "eternally established" or should it be interpreted in the meaning "ready, established, (already) prepared" we find in utterances like *siddha odanaḥ*, "Rice is ready?"[19] Bhartṛhari's analysis elaborates further on the usage of the term *paryāya*:

17 Commentators identify two different kinds of relations by apposition: the relation between a qualifier and the element qualified and the relation between a name bearer and its name. This relation is explicitly interpreted as a relation between *words*, i.e. the *saṃjñāsūtra*s are interpreted as creating a link between two words one of which is imposed on the other. I have presented and discussed my views on the interpretation of *saṃjñāsūtra*s in Candotti (2006: 243–257).

18 This is the meaning of *paryāya* in Patañjali, for which see M I, p. 297, ll. 5–6 on A 1.4.1 *vt.* 3, with the formulary expression *paryāyaḥ prasajyeta* "it would apply in alternation" (repeated in the commentaries on *vt.* 4–8), and M I, p. 304, l. 24–p. 305, l. 8 on A 1.4.2 *vt.* 3–5 where the "application in turn" of two rules is said to be the output of two rules having the same object and that cannot apply simultaneously. This can be the regular functioning of a rule, like in the case of A 3.1.133 teaching to add "alternately" the suffix *ṆvuL* and the suffix *tṛC* or it may be a defect when both rules are of equal force.

19 Cf. M I, p. 6, ll. 17–22 on *vt.* 1.

> D I, p. 18, ll. 22–25 on vt. 1 *nityaparyāyasiddhaśabdo nityasyārthasya paryāyeṇa vācakaḥ. kadācid dhi nityaśabdas tam artham ā ha kadācit siddhaśabdaḥ. yadā svarūpam āśrīyate nitya ity asya svarūpasya nityaśabdasya yaḥ paryāyas tadvācī siddhaśabdaḥ nityaśabdasya ca paryāyaḥ siddhaśabdaḥ taṃ cāha siddhaśabda iti*.
> The word *siddha* expresses in alternation with *nitya*, i.e. it expresses in alternation the meaning of being fixed (*nitya*). Sometimes it is the word *nitya* that expresses that meaning and sometimes it is the word *siddha*. When we resort to the own form, the word *siddha* is expressing that which is alternant with the own form, i.e. '*nitya*' of the word *nitya*, (therefore) the word *siddha* is alternant with *nitya* and the word *siddha* expresses it (i.e. *nitya*).

The first equivalence is therefore put at the pure level of the word forms; only afterwards the meaning comes into the picture as the alternating word forms share the same meaning, which in turn they express. This way of reasoning, which, by the way, reminds us strongly of the Nirukta's and Nighaṇṭu's,[20] presupposes a substitution frame: to explain the meaning of the word *siddha* we say that in its place we may as well use the word *nitya*. Synonyms and substitution are always tightly related topics.

2. Patañjali and Bhartṛhari's Views on Substitution

The metalinguistic significance of the substitution device in Pāṇini emerges quite clearly from the evidence already shown. Now, in Pāṇini's commentaries there are numerous hints showing that, already among the early exponents of the school, there was a definite awareness of what was at stake. We have had a glimpse into this while discussing synonymy, but the metalinguistic character of substitution itself and its links with naming are also often referred to, even though in a fragmentary, rhapsodic way.

2.1 First of all, commentators are aware of the fact that the analogy between substitution and naming procedures is highlighted by the metarule A 1.1.56. In other words, thanks to the transfer of the status and oper-

20 Data on the Nirukta have been collected and discussed by KAHRS (1998: 152–158).

ations of the *substituendum* to the substitute, the *substituendum* acts as a kind of, albeit very special, name of the substitute.

Already Patañjali proposes to get rid of both the rules A 1.1.56 and A 1.1.62 through a new rule teaching the extension of the *names* of the *substituendum* to the substitute. Let us consider the passage more closely. While commenting A 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* "In case of zero substitution of an affix there is still the rule conditioned by that affix," Patañjali points out some defects in connection with this idea of transfer of rules or operations: it may happen that a suffix is not the cause of an operation while being present, yet the transfer of the operation is desired for its zero substitute (*vt.* 9);[21] or, it may happen that the application of A 1.1.62 to extend two different operations destroys a linear order of the rules necessary to grant application of one over the other (*vt.* 10).[22] Therefore Patañjali proposes to interpret A 1.1.62 not as extending operations but names:

> M I, p. 163, ll. 9–13 on A 1.1.62 *vt.* 11 *siddhaṃ tu sthānisaṃjñānudeśād ānyabhāvyasya* (*vt.* 11). *siddham etat. katham. sthānisaṃjñānyabhūtasya bhavatīti vaktavyam. kim kr̥tam bhavati. sattāmātram anena kriyate. yathāprāpte tugdīrghatve bhaviṣyataḥ. tat vaktavyaṃ bhavati. yady apy etad ucyate 'thavaitarhi sthānivadbhāvo nārabhyate. sthānisaṃjñānyabhūtasyānalvidhāv iti vakṣyāmi.*
> "But this is solved because of the reference of the names of the *sthānin* to what is different (*vt.* 11)." This is solved. How? It shall be said: the name of the *sthānin* occurs for what is different. And what do we get by this? By this we get the mere existence and (therefore) the increment *tuK* and the lengthening will come about as they are obtained. Yet, it must be stated. Even if it is stated, then it is not necessary to cling to the treatment like the *sthānin* (*sthānivadbhāva*). I will formulate (this

21 In the string *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* the nominal base *rajan-* when followed by the ending *Ṅas* does not get the name *pada* (through A 1.4.17) but the name *bha*, thanks to A 1.4.18. The whole string *rājan-* + *Ṅas* then gets the name *pada* through A 1.4.14. If A 1.1.62 grants the transfer of operations conditioned by a suffix also to zero realisations of that suffix, in the case of the compound *rājapuruṣa* based upon the analytical form *rājan-* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU* with zero realisation of endings, one and the same form, namely *rājan* will have both the names, *pada* being blocked by *bha* taught by A 1.4.18, which is a subsequent rule.

22 Forms like *parivīḥ* are derived with the suffix *KviP* (substituted with zero through A 6.1.67). At a certain point of the derivation two rules become applicable to the suffix *KviP*: A 6.1.71 and A 6.4.2. Being subsequent, it is A 6.4.2 that should take place. But the suffix *KviP* is substituted with zero and all the operations are granted through A 1.1.62: the two rules will, so to say, become applicable simultaneously and it will therefore be impossible to grant to A 6.4.2 precedence over A 6.1.71.

rule): "The name of the *sthānin* occurs for what is different, with the exception of rules concerning sounds."

This new rule, granting the transfer of the name of the *substituendum* to the substitute is a reformulation of A 1.1.56 that should be able to replace both A 1.1.56 and 62. It amounts to saying that the two rules managing the relationship between substitute and *substituendum* may be replaced by a rule imposing the names of the *substituendum* to the substitute. Through this new version of the rule the substitute will carry the name of the *substituendum* and therefore get the operations taught with reference to the *substituendum*. So much so that the only objection to this from Patañjali concerns rules where the *sthānin* is not mentioned through a name (*saṃjñā*) but through an autonym, like *han* in A 1.3.23 meaning the verbal base *han-*. To this objection Patañjali answers that, thanks to A 1.1.68, *han* too is a name[23] and may, therefore be transferred to its substitute *vadh-*.

Thus, the two operations, name giving and substitution, are perceived as similar and different at the same time. The differences between being a *saṃjñā,* or name, and being a "place holder" (*sthānin*) are explicitly discussed by the commentators. The basic difference between the two is stated in Patañjali's commentary on 1.1.56, while claiming the necessity to mention *-vat* in the rule *sthānivad ādeśa*:

M I, p. 133, ll. 2–5 on A 1.1.56 *vatkaraṇam kim artham. sthānyādeśo 'nalvidhāv itīyaty ucyamāne saṃjñādhikāro 'yaṃ tatra sthānyādeśasya saṃjñā syāt. tatra ko doṣaḥ. āṅo yamahana ātmanepadaṃ bhavatīti vadher eva syād dhanter na syāt. vatkaraṇe punaḥ kriyamāṇe na doṣo bhavati. sthānikāryam ādeśe 'tidiśyate guruvad guruputra iti yathā.*
What's the purpose in mentioning *-vat* ? Should (the rule) be uttered just as *sthānyādeśo 'nalvidhau* "The unit specifically instructed is the place-holder but for rules concerning sounds," as this is the section on names, the place-holder would be the name of the unit specifically instructed. What will be the defect in this case ? (In the rule) *āṅo yamahanaḥ* "after (the verbal bases) *yam-* and *han-* co-occurring with the preverb *āṄ* there is *ātmanepada*,"[24] (the *ātmanepada* endings) will occur only after *vadh-* and never after *han-*. Now, if we mention *-vat* this defect is not there. The operation concerning the place-holder is extended to the unit specifically instructed,

23 Precisely, it is the name of its own speech form: *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya saṃjñā bhavati* (M I p. 163 ll. 15–6 *ad* A 1 1 62 *vt.* 11); a crucial passage already pointed out by CARDONA (1997: xxvi).

24 Cf. A 1.3.28.

like in *guruvad guruputre* "In presence of the son of the teacher (one shall behave) like in presence of the teacher."

Thus, the crucial point is that a *saṃjñā* is never subject to grammatical operations while a *sthānin* is; should *han* be the name of *vadh-* and not its place-holder, it would never receive the *ātmanepada* endings through A 1.3.28. The *saṃjnā* is therefore considered secondary, subservient (*upasarjana*) to the object it denotes; the *sthānin,* on the other hand, is directly concerned by grammatical operations: the pronominal base *kim-* for example receives the name *sarvanāman* and appropriate pronominal endings just like its substitute *ka-*. Another way to point out the same difference is to say that the name is superimposed on its name-bearer (*saṃjñin*) so that the two become one and the same thing, indistinguishable one from the other.[25] The place-holder, on the other hand, is perfectly distinguishable from its substitutes as it is found in complementary distribution with them.

Yet, despite the differences mentioned above, the undeniable *air de famille* between the two procedures allows some interesting terminological shifts. In the commentaries' practice it happens that names and name-bearers are somehow carelessly called substitute and *substituendum* and the contrary. A patent example of this terminological blur is found in Bhartṛhari. While commenting on the opportunity of adding a mention that *vibhāṣā* in the rule *na vā vibhāṣā* is an *arthasaṃjñā* "name of a meaning," Bhartṛhari argues that, otherwise, the name will be interpreted as a *śabdasaṃjñā* "name of a linguistic form" and

D 6/2, pp. 25–26 on A 1.1.44 *vt.* 1–2: *tena vibhāṣāpradeśeṣu navāśabda ādeśaḥ syāt prathamānirdeśo 'pi yathā virāga viraṅgaṃ ceti.*
[…] because of that, in the application rules of the name *vibhāṣā*, the expression *na vā* would be the substitute (*ādeśa*), even if it is expressed in the nominative, like it happens in the case of *virāga viraṅgaṃ*.

Should the technical name *vibhāṣā* be considered as the name of a linguistic form, there would be the risk of interpreting the rule *na vā vibhāṣā* as a rule teaching the substitution of one form to another, of *vibhāṣā* with *na vā*. This amounts to saying that all rules teaching a name

25 This way of interpreting the relationship between the name and the name bearer is theorised by Bhartṛhari who speaks of *so 'yam ity abhisaṃbandha* "a relation of identity." Cf. VP 2.128–130 and D 6/2, p. 27, ll. 3–7 on A 1.1.44 *vt.* 3.

of other linguistic forms *de facto* might be interpreted as teaching the substitution of the name to the linguistic forms:[26] Bhartṛhari nowhere says this explicitly, still it seems implicit from his argumentation.

2.2 Now, if the core difference between a *saṃjñā* and a *sthānin* lies in the fact that the first one never receives grammatical operations while the second does, the cases of 'special substitution' pointed out above (unrestricted substitution and zero unrestricted substitution), being cases where the placeholder never receives grammatical operations, are liable to arouse a great interest among commentators. And this is indeed the case, at least as far as markers are concerned: dealing with the concept of markers in commentarial literature is dealing with a continuous, underlying paragon with names. The situation in the cases of the so-called heterophones seems different: even though an extensive search on this topic is yet to be done, still it is already possible to assert that no major discussion have been aroused by commentators at least not while discussing the most important rules managing cases of global substitution. Even the term *anaimittika* "not conditioned" used with reference to the 'global' substitution of markers does not seem to carry much theoretic burden.[27]

Let us get back to markers. Two passages will hopefully clearly show how the metalinguistic function of markers was conceptualised by commentators. In the first (M I, p. 39, ll. 6–8 *ad* A 1.1.1 *vt.* 7), Patañjali comments a proposal of identifying (technical) names in grammar by appending a special marker to them. He firstly rejects this proposal

26 A 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* will, for example, enjoin the substitution of the word *vṛddhi* in all the rules were *ā, ai* or *au* should appear.

27 The term *anaimittika* occurs only three times in the whole *Mahābhāṣya*. In M I, p. 76, ll. 6–11 on A 1.1.20 *vt.* 9 it qualifies the substitution with zero of markers. In this passage the fact that the substitution of markers is unconditioned is directly linked with the fact that it must happen in the first place, before any other operation (*anaimittiko hy anubandhalopas tāvaty eva bhavati*). In other words, the fact of being unconditioned seems to be linked with the purely metalinguistic status of markers. The same term is nevertheless used in the other two occurrences in much less significant contexts; cf. M I, p. 156, l. 27 on A 1.1.59 *vt.* 8 where the interpretation of the substitution with *ā* of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* vowels of verbal bases taught by A 6.1.45 is defined as non conditioned by the following negation and M I, p. 237, ll. 15–22 on A 1.2.64 *vt.* 19 where the *ekaśeṣa* operation is said not to be conditioned by the presence of endings.

pointing to the usual flaw of bulkiness that this kind of procedure would involve: marking all names with a special sign implies an additional rule to teach zero substitution of all the markers used. Another version of the same proposal is therefore advanced, namely of extending this marking to the markers themselves. This will grant them the status of *saṃjñā* and therefore zero substitution will no longer be necessary as a *saṃjñā* naturally withdraws from the text once it has made its object known. Even though Patañjali finally rejects this version too as unpāṇinian, from a purely rational point of view he finds no flaw in this argument. This shows us that the idea of treating markers (subjects to zero substitution) as names was to him no absurdity at all. A placeholder substituted with phonic zero amounts to a (technical) name in grammar and the two procedures are deemed to be metalinguistically equivalent.[28]

The second interesting passage is found in Patañjali's commentary on A 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*. This metarule specifies that elements with marker *Ṭ* and *K* occur respectively at the beginning and at the end (of the element to which they are added). They are known as "increments" (*āgamas*) of the elements to which they are attached. But – an objector points out – the idea itself of an element increasing and thereby modifying another element contradicts the assumption that the relationship between linguistic forms and their meaning is fixed. Patañjali proposes three different answers to such a challenge. The first is that "increments" should be read as special kinds of substitutes, substitution not being in conflict with the axiomatic belief on the stability of linguistic forms. Or, the relationship between an element and its *āgama* must be interpreted within the framework of dialectics between general and specific rules: the *āgama* is not appended to the suffix, thereby modifying it, the moment when

28 M I, p. 39, ll. 6–8 *ad* A 1.1.1 *vt.* 7 *yady apy etad ucyate 'tha vai tarhītsaṃjñā na vaktavyā lopaś ca na vaktavyaḥ. saṃjñāliṅgam anubandheṣu kariṣyate. na ca saṃjñāyā nivṛttir ucyate. svabhāvataḥ saṃjñāḥ saṃjñinaḥ pratyāyya nivartante. tenānubandhānām api nivṛttir bhaviṣyati. sidhyaty evam apāṇinīyaṃ tu bhavati.* "Even if that (i.e. the special sign and its meaning) should be taught, nonetheless the technical name it 'marker' shall not be taught, neither zero-substitution (of the markers themselves). The sign (marking the condition of being) a name will be added to markers and it is not necessary to teach the withdrawal of a name. A name withdraws spontaneously once it has made its bearers known. This way there will be the withdrawal of the markers too. That works but it is not a pāṇinian procedure."

it is taught; on the contrary it is a peculiar feature of the suffix mentioned to identify it precisely.[29] A third possible solution is to consider that the verbal base, the suffix and the additional sounds are taught as separate elements in due order; considering the additional sounds as *āgama*s 'increments' of the suffix is simply a linguistic notion with no import on the ontological status of the elements themselves.

What interests us most is the first proposal, that of interpreting elements with marker *Ṭ* and *K* as involved in a substitution process. Let us remember that, in operational rules, they will be enounced with nominative endings and the elements to which they are added with genitive endings. In the first view therefore, the rules will not be interpreted as teaching to put the *Ṭ-it* or *K-it* unit at the beginning or at the end of another given element (let us say to add *i-* at the beginning of the suffix *-tavya*) but as teaching to substitute an element, having a given phonic unit at the beginning or at the end, to the same element without that unit (let us say *-itavya* in the place of *-tavya*). There is therefore no *modification* of the suffix *-tavya* but simply substitution of one suffix with another.

Now, how to read A 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* to get this interpretation? The text is far from clear at this point and therefore requires some comments and explanations. Challenged on how to grant the desired interpretation of the rule Patañjali answers as follows:

> M I, p. 113, ll. 1–2 on A 1.1.46: *tat katham. saṃjñādhikāro 'yam. ādyantau ceha saṃkīrtyete ṭakārakakārāv itāv udāhriyete. tatrādyantayoṣ ṭakārakakārāv itau saṃjñe bhaviṣyataḥ.*
> But how? This is (the portion) governed by technical terms (*saṃjñādhikāra*). Now, in this rule, the beginning and the end are listed (*saṃkīrt-*)[30] and the markers *Ṭ* and

29 The suffix with increment and the suffix without it are, under this view, two different suffixes (*śabdāntara*), put together for the sake of simplicity.

30 The verb *saṃkīrt-* is scarcely used in the Mahābhāṣya. Besides the generic value of "mentioning" and "praising, celebrating" it may be used in the more specific sense of "listing, mentioning exhaustively." In this sense it is used in M I, p. 323, ll. 17–8 on A 1.4.23 *vt.* 3. There, *asaṃkīrtita* glosses the more generic term *akhatita*. For the sake of the argument it is there affirmed by Patañjali that *akhatita* in A 1.4.51 shall not be interpreted as "not told (of)" but more specifically as "omitted (from a specific list or domain of objects)"; an example follows: *tad yathā. kaścit kiṃcit saṃcakṣyāha, asāv atrākathitaḥ. asaṃkīrtita iti gaṃyate* "For example: someone having noticed another person says: 'he has not been told of here,' it means, he has not been announced."

K are given as examples (*udāhr̥-*). Therefore the markers *Ṭ* and *K* will be the names of the beginning and the end.[31]

The bulk of the argument is quite clear and has been used elsewhere in the *Bhāṣya*, i.e. that the interpretation of a rule as teaching a name is most natural in the first chapter, devoted to the teaching of technical names,[32] and may therefore usefully be applied also in the context of the present rule. Still, the assertion that in A 1.1.46 the beginning and the end are listed, while the markers are given as examples is bewildering. In fact, what we might expect at this point, at least from the point of view of traditional arguments, is a discussion concerning which is the name and which is the name bearer in the rule. This is, for example, the case in the debate concerning A 1.1.1 where it is argued that even if a name heading should clarify the name-giving nature of the rule there is a doubt concerning which element is the name and which one the name bearer. In the answers Patañjali gives to this objection in A 1.1.1 we may find a clue on how to understand the assertion in our passage: names – Patañjali affirms – can be identified, among other features, because they are repeated throughout the grammar in the operational rules, while the name bearers are enounced only once. It is this kind of argument that is perhaps hinted at in our passage when Patañjali says that the expressions *ādi* and *anta* are listed while *Ṭ* and *K* are mere 'examples,' meaning by that examples of the same names found throughout the grammar in oper-

31 The translation differs from the one proposed by FILLIOZAT (1976: 334).

32 The term *saṃjñādhikāra* is not so frequent in the Mahābhāṣya. It is found several times in the context of A 1.1.1, where all the occurrences derive from the same term employed in *vt.* 2: *saṃjñādhikāraḥ saṃjñāsaṃpratyayārthaḥ* "A heading with *saṃjñā* (is necessary) so as to understand that these are technical terms (*saṃjñā*)." All the other occurrences (besides our commentary on A 1.1.46, there are the commentaries on A 1.1.56, 1.4.1 and 1.4.23) take place in a similar context: a question is asked whether the term *saṃjñā* is implied or not in the rule under discussion; the answer in all cases is that the rule is found in the portion dedicated to *saṃjñā*s (*saṃjñādhikāra*) and thus explicit mention of the status of *saṃjñā* is useless. Sometimes the argument is made even more explicit: *tatra kim anyac chakyaṃ vijñātum anyadataḥ saṃjñāyāḥ* "Consequently (*tatra*) what else could we understand but *saṃjñā*?" The occurrence in A 1.1.46 clearly follows the same pattern.

ational rules. Yet, the usage of the terms in this passage remains awkward even though some traces of a similar usage may be found.[33]

Ṭ and *K* in this view are therefore names of *ādi* and *anta*. In the operational rules they generally enter in composition with the element to which they are added thus forming exocentric compounds in apposition to the suffix taught: the increment *iṬ*, for example will be interpreted as "(having) *i* at the beginning" said of the suffix. The rule A 7.3.35 *ardhadhātukasyeṭ valādeḥ* is thus interpreted as teaching to substitute in the place of a suffix *ardhadhātuka* beginning with a consonant (excepting *y*) that same suffix having at the beginning *i-* (e.g. *-itavya* substituting *-tavya*).

Here Patañjali does not say explicitly that interpreting *Ṭ* and *K* as names entails that there is no more need for zero substitution; still we may say that it naturally follows from all that has been said before. And what is implicit in Patañjali becomes explicit later on. Kaiyaṭa in fact questions the wording of the *sūtra* itself: why mention the status as markers of *Ṭ* and *K* in A 1.1.46 once the substitution with zero is no more needed since *Ṭ* and *K* are interpreted as names? The answer Kaiyaṭa offers is that the status of *it* 'marker' is explicitly stated in this *sūtra* not to grant a – useless – zero substitution but to specify the position of the elements: *Ṭ* and *K* in the position of markers are the names of *ādi* and *anta.*[34]

33 The most interesting usage of this term is found in the context of two interpretation rules, namely A 1.1.66: *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* and 67: *tasmād ity uttarasya*. These two rules teach how to interpret expressions of the type *tasmin* litt. "in that" and *tasmād* "from that." The question about the scope of these two rules is formulated as follows: which other rules are examples (*udāharaṇāni*) of the application of the interpretation principle taught in 1.1.66 and 67? Patañjali quotes respectively A 6.1.77 with the locative form *aci* "before a vowel" and A 6.3.97 with the ablative form *dvyantarupasargebhyaḥ* "after *dvi, antar* or a pre-verb." Still, as an objector points out, there is no word in common between the examples and the interpretation rules concerning them: *anyathājātīyakena śabdena nirdeśaḥ kriyate anyathājātīyakena udāhriyate* "the instruction is made with a word of a certain kind and it is exemplified with a word of another" (M I, p. 171, ll. 19–26 *ad* A 1.1.66–67). In our passage, though, the instruction itself is considered as an example.

34 P I, p. 347, on A 1.1.46: *yady evaṃ saṃjñā saṃjñipratyāyanārthā saṃjñinaṃ pratyāyya svayam eva nivartata iti kim idgrahaṇena, ṭakāv ity evāstu. naiṣa doṣa. itsaṃjñatvena deśaviśeṣa upalakṣyate.*

3. Name-Giving Rules Disguised as Substitutions

It is now high time to come back to the controversial topic pointed out at the beginning. Among substitution practices with strong similarities with name-giving procedures, we have mentioned some nominative + genitive metalinguistic *sūtra*s such as *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya* (A 1.1.68). In fact nothing should be taken for granted while speaking of this *sūtra* which, simple as it may seem, allows an astonishing range of different renderings and interpretations.[35] A major turning point in the history of the interpretation of this *sūtra* is due to CARDONA (1997: xxiv–xxvii) who radically changed the commonly accepted paraphrase of the rule, thus highlighting the link between this rule (and the others nearby) and *saṃjñāsūtra*s. Albeit many nuances and fine distinctions, the first part of the rule was commonly interpreted in modern scholarship as teaching that "as far as the word is concerned (*śabdasya*) one must understand (**grāhyam*) the own form (*svaṃ rūpam*)." The rule was thus interpreted as a *paribhāṣā* teaching a semantic limitation to the meaning of words in grammar that should denote only their own form and not their external meaning. Cardona's translation, on the other hand, runs as follows: "the own form is (the name [**saṃjñā*]) of the word/linguistic unit." To recall here a paraphrase given by Patañjali himself, *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya saṃjñā bhavati*. I have discussed what I consider some strong points in favour of Cardona's interpretation over the traditional one[36] and will not repeat them here. What interests me more here is the fact that by this interpretation, A 1.1.68, if not a prototypical *saṃjñāsūtra*, becomes at least a name-giving rule, teaching how to match names with their name bearers.

3.1 Cardona focuses only on A 1.1.68 but reading the rule in its ampler context may further strengthen his interpretation. In fact the specific formula of A 1.1.68 is not unique in the Aṣṭhādhyāyī: the same syntactic pattern is shared by the rules following it, from A 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇa-*

35 Cf. CANDOTTI 2006: 274–278, for a summary of modern views on the subject.

36 Cf. CANDOTTI 2006: 280–288. In that occasion I provisionally accepted Cardona's interpretation, though proposing to continue looking for an easier rendering of the nominative + genitive formula.

sya cāpratyayaḥ, being connected with A 1.1.68 through the copulative particle *ca,* to A 1.1.72. The link between A 1.1.68–69 is crucial to arrive at a correct interpretation of both: in A 1.1.69 the *aṆ* and the forms with marker *U* are known to be the naming units[37] and are in parallel with the nominative *svaṃ rūpam* in A 1.1.68. On the other hand *savarṇasya ca* denoting the name-bearer is linked with *śabdasya* in A 1.1.68. Moreover, if the status of A 1.1.68 is uncertain from the point of view of tradition, in the other cases, at least in later commentaries, the group of rules 1.1.69–72 is almost unanimously recognised as being a group of *saṃjñā-sūtras*.[38] The two preceding rules, A 1.1.66–67, while lacking a nominative, yet present the same kind of genitive. We will tackle them later on.

We are therefore confronted with two different formulas for name-giving *sūtra*s. As per the prototypical *saṃjñāsūtra*s, their interpretation is well known and extensively explained by commentaries: the two nominatives convey *samanādhikāraṇya,* i.e. the fact of having one and the same *denotatum*. But what about this new formula? If there is a weakness in Cardona's interpretation it lies, in my opinion, in the fact that, thus interpreted, A 1.1.68 has no parallels in the syntax of Aṣṭādhyayī and Cardona offers no reason for the introduction of this new pattern.

Before resorting to commentaries let us first analyse Pāṇini's practice. Looking closely at the rules of the group A 1.1.68–72 we see that they have one important point in common. First of all neither of them assigns a meaning to specific linguistic forms (like in the case of *vṛddhi*) but they teach an algorithm on how to create names and attribute meanings to them. The formula nominative + nominative where there is an identification of the right part of the rule with the left therefore does not fit. But why should the formula nominative + genitive fit better? In Cardona's interpretation, which focuses on the sole A 1 1 68, it may seem no more than a rather clumsy and unusual reformulation forced by the circumstances.[39] Yet, rules using the formula nominative + genitive are

37 They are glossed with *grāhaka*, cf. K on A 1.1.69: *aṇ gṛhyamāṇa udic ca savarṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya pratyayaṃ varjayitvā.*

38 Cf. CANDOTTI 2006: 218–219.

39 CARDONA (1998: xxv) is no doubt right in saying that supplying *saṃjñā* (or *grāhaka*) is no worse, and even better, than having to supply *grāhyam, bodhyam* or similar. Yet it seems a bit forced to have to supply such an important element for the comprehension of the rule without any help from the context. The presence of the

quite common in grammar once we look outside the narrow bonds of *saṃjñāsūtra*s; they are – of course – rules teaching substitutions. May the rules A 1.1.68–72 be 'metalinguistic' substitutions? Let us first see what meaning we get applying consistently the substitution paradigm to the whole set of rules:

A 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabda-syāśabdasaṃjñā*	"The own form of a linguistic unit is used in the place of that same linguistic unit, except if it is a name of linguistic units."
A 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*	"An *aṆ* vowel or a sound marked by *U* is used (in the place of that same linguistic unit) and of its homogeneous sounds, except if it is an affix."
A 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*	"A sound marked by *T* is used (in the place of that same linguistic unit), in that duration."
A 1.1.71 *ādir antyena sahetā*	"The first element of a list and the last marker are used (in the place of that same linguistic unit and of the sounds in between)."
A 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*	"That by which an injunction is made is used (in the place of) what ends by it."

This way of rendering the content of the rules is congruent with Cardona's principal assumption, namely that *svaṃ rūpam* is the name and *śabda* the name bearer; it is also straightforward and simple, once one accepts the fact that this is a purely metalinguistic substitution, i.e. a substitution telling us what to use in the metalanguage to signify some specific linguistic units, like A 1.1.1 *vr̥ddhir ādaic* teaching to use the word *vr̥ddhi* in the metalanguage to denote the sounds *ā, ai* and *au*. By the way, some points we have already gone through should have rendered this hypothesis less awkward than it may seem at first sight: as showed, substitution has a definite metalinguistic value as a means to explain the meaning of words or to give names to concepts, and commentators were aware of this value and debated upon it in many occasions. The more complete and coherent systematisation of these questions is to be found in Bhartr̥hari who explicitly postulated two different formulae for name-giving procedures, one with the name bearer expressed in the nominative and the other with the name bearer in the genitive. In fact, the existence

negation *aśabdasaṃjñā* pointed out by Cardona does not seem sufficient to create that context; in the next rule the negation, in the same exact position, is *apratyayaḥ*.

of this double naming procedure is already a undisputed truth by the time of Bhartr̥hari, and expressed as such in a number of passages: while discussing A 1.1.45, for example, and the status of *saṃjñin* to be attributed to the *vākya* 'ig yaṇaḥ,' Bhartr̥hari matter-of-factly declares a *vākya* cannot be a *saṃjñin* because a *saṃjñin* is always expressed either in the nominative or in the genitive:

> D 7, p. 1, ll. 10–11 on A 1.1.45 *evam api yaugapadyābhāvād asya vākyasya saṃjñitvam anupapannam. prathamānto hi saṃjñī ṣaṣṭhyanto vā, na ca vākyaṃ prathamāntaṃ ṣaṣṭhyantaṃ vā.*[40]
> Even so, because of the lack of simultanousness, one cannot obtain the status of name bearer (*saṃjñin*) for this analytical sentence. A name bearer ends with a first or a sixth ending and an analytical sentence cannot end neither in the first nor in the sixth ending.

This of course does not amount to saying that Bhartr̥hari considers that those are *substitution* genitives, yet this explicit awareness of the existence of the two name-giving syntactic patterns is a point to be kept in mind.

3.2 But we may go even one step further: the relevance of the substitution model to interpret the group of rules A 1.1.68–72 becomes even more evident if we broaden the context.[41] We have already mentioned the fact that A 1.1.66–67, though not sharing the nominative + genitive pattern of the other rules still show the presence of a genitive ending. But the presence of these genitives may be traced well back in the first chapter, and precisely from A 1.1.49 teaching the genitive of substitution itself. Let us try to reconstruct the flow of the rules to see if the whole group of rules from A 1.1.49 to 72 may be considered as an homogenous section of grammar dealing with substitution in all its aspects.

A first homogeneous group of rules is the one from A 1.1.49 to 55. This group of rules is unanimously acknowledged by tradition as revolving around A 1.1.49:

A 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*	"A genitive ending is that of which there is a relation of the type 'in the place of.'"
A 1.1.50 *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ*	"The most similar (substitute) occurs in

40 Similarly D 6/2, p. 23, ll. 23–24 on A 1.1.44 *vt.* 1.

41 I thank prof. Paul Kiparsky for suggesting to me this line of research.

	the place of (the *substituendum*)."
A 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*	"An *aṆ* vowel followed by r occurs in the place of *r̥*."
A 1.1.52 *alo 'ntyasya*	"(A substitute) occurs in the place of the last sound."
A 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*	"(A substitute) marked with *Ṅ* also (occurs in the place of the last sound)."
A 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*	"(A substitute) occurs in the place of the initial sound of an element which follows."
A 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*	"(A substitute) having more than one sound and a substitute marked with *Ś* occurs in the place of the whole."

After that, from A 1.1.56 to 59 there is the group of rules establishing the treatment like the original for the substitute (*ādeśa*). Then follows the group of rules from A 1.1.60 to 63, concerning *lopa,* i.e. zero substitution of linguistic units. It has been discussed whether *lopa* and its exceptions should be considered as instances of substitution or not. Yet many elements are in favour of this interpretation.[42] It is difficult to take up this discussion right now, let us simply recall here the fact that Kātyāyana (*vt.* 1 on A 1.1.60) already pointed out a flaw of overapplication of the rule as every and any linguistic element is not perceived outside its domain of application and therefore could be termed *lopa*. The answer is given in *vt.* 4 where *adarśana* is interpreted as meaning not a generic non perception but the non perception of an element having a chance to be applied (*prasaktādarśana*).[43] Now, the substantive from the same base *prasaṅga* is given by Patañjali as the meaning of the term *sthāna* in A 1.1.49: typically a substituend (*sthānin*) is expected but not seen when in its place a context-specific form (*ādeśa*) takes place, and this remains

42 Patañjali's commentary on this group of rules has been translated and commented, with many useful notations by BENSON (1990), even if the focus of the author is on *aṅga.* For an interpretation of pāṇinian *lopa-* procedures as substitution procedures see PONTILLO (2003) and CANDOTTI & PONTILLO forthc.

43 Patañjali goes even further and propose to consider *lopa* as the name of the non perception of an element having the chance to apply and taught with genitive endings. The proposal is finally rejected because of some few rules where *lopa* is not enjoined, but rather used as a condition and therefore not linked with any specific substituend in the genitive (cf. 8.1.62–63); yet there is no doubt that when *lopa* is taught it is always linked with a genitive ending.

true even when the context-specific form is zero. Later in history, Kaiyaṭa explicitly proposes to read *sthāne* in A 1.1.60 by *anuvr̥tti* from 1.1.50[44] thus making explicit the link between the two rules: a non perception occurring in the place of a linguistic unit is termed *lopa*. Moreover, the whole discussion in A 1.1.62 concerning the possibility of adopting a (slightly revisited) version of A 1.1.56 instead of A 1.1.62 would make no sense whatsoever should *lopa* not be the name of a substitute.

After the group of rules on zero substitution there are two rules that seem completely out of context:

A 1.1.64 *aco 'ntyādi ṭi*	"That which begins with the last vowel is called *ṭi*."
A 1.1.65 *alo 'ntyāt pūrva upadhā*	"That which precedes the final sound is called *upadhā*."

These two rules identify and name two phonic strings inside morphological units: the part of a *śabda* which begins with the last vowel and the penultimate sound. It may happen that these names identify substituends in a rule, but not exclusively; the terms may also be used to signify the left context of the rule.

Then we have two rules defining the meaning of locative and ablative. The formal pattern of these rules does have some similarities but also some differences with the group A 1.1.68–72. It is with these rules that tradition begins supplementing heterogeneous elements like here *kārya* in A 1.1.66 and 67*, grāhya* in 1.1.68, *grāhaka* from 1.1.69 to 72. Yet this tradition does not come from Patañjali, who does not offer this kind of paraphrases, rather from the *Kāśikā* and from there it spread over into modern studies. What follows is the translation one would obtain taking seriously, so to say, the hypothesis of the substitution frame:

A 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*	"When there is a mention in the locative, (the substitute) is in the place of what precedes."
A 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*	"When there is the mention in the ablative (the substitute) is in place of what follows."

44 P I, p. 470, on A 1.1.60 *vt.* 4.

In itself, this translation seems straight and comprehensible. It does also have – at least up to a point – the sanction of Katyāyāna and Patañjali who, contrary to later tradition, were not content with the interpretation of the two rules as teaching a limitation on the meaning of ablative and locative. Already Katyāyāna in the 14th *vārttika* proposed to read it as enjoining a unit in the sixth ending before or after the element marked with a seventh or a fifth ending.[45] A 1.1.66 should therefore be read as *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya ṣaṣṭhī* and A 1.1.67 as *tasmād ity uttarasya ṣaṣṭhī* obtaining *ṣaṣṭhī* by *anuvṛtti* from A 1.1.49. This would amount to saying that A 1.1.66–67 do not teach the right and left context of any operation, but specifically of substitution.[46] The following *vārttika*s, from 15 till the end present objections and flaws of this proposal, yet Patañjali refutes all of them[47] and with these refutations he closes his commentary on the two rules. We have therefore no reasons to think he rejects the proposal even though later tradition will judge it very severely attributing it to an *ekadeśin*. And odd as it may seem, this proposal tells us at least that Patañjali was perfectly disposed to extend the substitution frame till the very borders of our group of rules.

45 M I, p. 174, l. 6 *vt.* 14 on A 1.1.66–67: *yathārthaṃ vā ṣaṣṭhīnirdeśaḥ* "Or mention of the sixth ending shall be done following the meaning (of the rule)."

46 Surely this is a hard assumption which nevertheless would deserve a careful check in the Aṣṭhādhyāyī which has not been done yet. Of course one of the biggest problems is that of affixation, generally taught after units in the ablative, that thus risks to become undistinguishable from substitution procedure. Yet, if SCHARF (*in print*) is correct in his assumption that the ablatives in the section on affixes are 'natural' ablatives governed by the directional word *paraḥ* in A 3.1.2 the problem disappears.

47 The most interesting one for our purposes is the difficulty raised by Patañjali himself while commenting on *vt.* 15 (M I, p. 178, ll. 13–17 on A 1.1.66–67 *vt.* 15): all the cases of affixation where an ablative is present would be transformed in substitutions. Patañjali answers that, in that case, lacking the mention of a new substitute, *the affix enjoined will be substituted with itself*. This is clearly an anticipation of the following A 1.1.68.

4. Conclusions

For sure, the hypothesis that the whole group of rules from A 1.1.49 till A 1.1.72 deals with substitution facts needs to be worked out in greater detail to be fully convincing. I have nevertheless presented these rough data and reflections not to specifically prove the point but at least to offer a plausible background for the interpretation of the smaller group of rules from A 1.1.68 to 72. As concerns this last group of rules, on the contrary, I consider that their interpretation as applying a metalinguistic substitution pattern lies on good grounds and may be added to the evidence in favour of the metalinguistic value and use of substitution. This shows that substitution was indeed a way used to give names to things (or, which is similar, to teach the meaning of names) in grammar. More than a highly abstract and technical practice, substitution in early grammatical tradition seems to be the most refined adaptation of a practice partly founded on less technical or looser usages like those of explaining the meaning of words through "alternant" (*pāryaya*) terms. It seems therefore that a substitution model was, by the time of Pāṇini, at the disposal of all schools with an hermeneutic background and aim. Early commentaries on the other hand show a progressive awarness of the metalinguistic value and consequences its adoption entailed.

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GEORGE CARDONA

Pāṇini and Padakāras*

1. Introduction

Pāṇini mentions ten scholars by name in his Aṣṭādhyāyī and also shows, by his use of particular terms and markers, that he is indebted to earlier grammatical works. Moreover, Kātyāyana and Patañjali know of grammatical work by two of the scholars Pāṇini names: Āpiśali and Śākaṭāyana.[1] In addition, one of the scholars mentioned in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Śākalya, is the author of the analyzed text (*padapāṭha*) corresponding to the continuously recited text (*saṃhitāpāṭha*) of the R̥gveda. In A 1.1.16: *sambuddhau śākalyasyetā v anārṣe* (*ot* 15, *pragr̥hyam* 11), Pāṇini states that according to Śākalya (*śākalyasya* [*matena*]) *-o* (*ot*) of a vocative singular form (*sambuddhau*) is classed as a pragr̥hya element – hence exempt from contextual change – when followed by the particle *iti* (*itau*) that does not pertain to the original Vedic text of the *r̥ṣi*s (*anārṣe*). This accords with Śākalya's practice in his *padapāṭha*. For example, the *padapāṭha* corresponding to R̥ V1.2.1a: *vāya̲v ā yà̄hi*[2] "Vāyu, come" is *vāyo̲ itì* | *ā* | *yā̲hi̲* |. Here *vāyo̲* is followed by *itì* to show that its *-o* does not change to *av* before a vowel in close junction.[3]

Given that Pāṇini had predecessors in grammar and that he knew their work, a question arises about his attitude towards his antecedents.

* I am grateful to Hideyo Ogawa, who read and commented on a version of this paper.

1 See YUDHIṢṬHIRA MĪMĀṂSAKA 1984: 146–192, CARDONA 1976: 146–153.

2 My transliteration of Vedic adheres closely to the text in Devanāgarī and other Indian scripts, so that it differs from the usual transliteration with respect to accentual markings; see CARDONA 1997: li–lxiv.

3 I use "close junction" as an equivalent to Skt. *saṃhitā*, which Pāṇini (A 1.4.109: *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*) uses to refer to the maximum drawing together (*paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ*) of sounds.

Did he not only develop from what he inherited, incorporating some of the formulations of earlier grammarians, but also critically consider such work and make changes where required by his own procedures in the Aṣṭādhyāyī? Or, on the contrary, did he do no more than systematize a "traditional understanding of language"?[4] I shall present evidence to support the position that Pāṇini did indeed deal critically with his predecessors and differed when this was required by his system.

2. The central evidence I present in support of this view concerns a difference between Pāṇini and Śākalya with respect to how derivates of the type *akṣaṇvát-* "sighted" should be analyzed. In this connection, I consider also discussions in the Mahābhāṣya dealing with differences between authors of *padapāṭha*s (*padakāra*) and Pāṇini as the representative of a set of grammatical rules.

2.1 A 3.1.109 *etistuśāsvr̥dr̥juṣaḥ kyap* (*kr̥tyāḥ* 95) introduces the *kr̥tya* affix ***kyap*** after verbal bases *i*, *stu*, *śās*, *vr̥*, *dr̥*, and *juṣ*. The suffix is marked with *k* and *p* to show that it does not condition guṇa replacement for the final vowels of the bases, that it conditions introducing a final augment *t* to the short vowels of bases, and that it does not bear a high pitch:[5] *ítya* "something to which one can go," *stútya* "to be praised,"

4 BRONKHORST (1999: 26): "In the case of Pāṇini there was, as far as we can tell, no need to be questioning and critical with regard to his tradition. Quite on the contrary, his grammar may have to be looked upon as an elaboration and systematization of the traditional understanding of language. It testifies to the intelligence of its creator, not to the tradition of rational inquiry to which he may or may not have belonged. I could say more about this issue, but will leave it at this for the moment." So also BRONKHORST 2001: 34.

5 By A 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* (*na* 4, *guṇavr̥ddhī* 3), replacement by *guṇa* and *vr̥ddhi* vowels (*guṇavr̥ddhī*) that would be conditioned by affixes does not (*na*) apply if the affixes in question are marked with *g, k,* or *ṅ* (*kṅiti*). A 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* provides that items marked with *ṭ* and *k* (*ṭakitau*) are respectively the initial and final parts of the units to which they are introduced. According to A 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*, an item which is introduced by subsequent rules under the heading of A 3.1.1: *pratyayaḥ*, hence bears the class name *pratyaya* ("affix"), has a high-pitched first vowel (*ādyudāttaḥ*). By A 3.1.4: *anudāttau suppitau*, however, a nominal ending and any affix marked with *p* (*suppitau*) has a low-pitched vowel (*anudāttau*). ***kyap*** is also marked with *k* to show that *i* (*it*) substitutes for the penultimate sound (*upadhā*) of *śās* before this suffix (A 6.4.34: *śāsa id aṅhaloḥ* [*upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* 24]).

śíṣya “to be instructed,” *vṛ́tya* “to be chosen,” *ā́dṛtya* “to be respected,” *júṣya* “to be enjoyed.” In a *vārttika* on this *sūtra* (3.1.109 *vt.* 2: *añjeś copasaṅkhyānaṃ sañjñāyām*), Kātyāyana remarks that the affix should also be allowed with the base *anj* (*añjeḥ*, i.e., *ánj**ū́***) “smear, daub, make clear” to form a derivate that names a particular object (*sañjñāyām*): *ājya* “butter, ghee.” Patañjali paraphrases the *vārttika*, supplies the example,[6] and goes on to consider problems associated with deriving *ājya*. If the affix *ya* introduced after *anj* is ***k**ya**p***, the initial *ā* of the derivate is not accounted for, since this affix is marked with *k* showing it does not condition *vṛddhi* substitution, in this instance *ā* for *a*. Hence, it is suggested that the affix introduced be ***ṇ**ya**t***,[7] which does condition *vṛddhi* replacement. However, this affix does not determine the deletion of penultimate *-n-* in a base, as does ***k**ya**p***.[8] On the other hand, *vṛddhi* replacement applies to a penultimate *-a-* of a stem,[9] which requires deleting the *-n-* of *anj*. Patañjali therefore reverts to introducing ***k**ya**p***.[10] Of course, this gets us back to the first problem, which is now avoided by assuming that *ājya* is a compound with *ajya* (← *anj-ya*) and the preverb *ā**ṅ***.[11]

Under this view, however, still another issue arises. *ājya* is used in Vedic texts. Moreover, the *padapāṭha*s to these texts do not divide *ājya* into two constituents separated by a pause, as is the norm for com-

6 Bh. II.85.2 *sañjñāyām añjeś copasaṅkhyānaṃ kartavyam ājyam*.

7 A 3.1.124: *ṛhalor ṇyat* (*dhātoḥ* 91) introduces this affix after a verbal base (*dhātoḥ*) ending with a *ṛ*- vowel or a consonant (*ṛhaloḥ*).

8 By A 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti* (*nalopaḥ* 23), penultimate (*upadhāyāḥ*) *n* of a stem is dropped (*nalopaḥ*) before affix marked with *k* or *ṅ* (*kṅiti*) if this follows a verbal base that ends in a consonant (*halaḥ*) and is not marked with *i* (*aniditām*).

9 According to A 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* (*vṛddhiḥ* 114, *ñṇiti* 115), a *vṛddhi* vowel substitutes for penultimate (*upadhāyāḥ*) *a* (*ataḥ*) of a stem before an affix marked with *ñ* or *ṇ* (*ñṇiti*).

10 Bh. II.85.2–3 *yadi kyab vṛddhir na prāpnoti. tasmāṇ ṇyad eṣah. yadi ṇyad upadhālopo na prāpnoti. tasmāt kyab eṣaḥ*.

11 Bh. II.85.3–4 *nanu coktaṃ vṛddhir na prāpnotīti. āṅpūrvasyaiṣa prayogo bhaviṣyati*. This analysis is accepted by commentators on Amarakośa 2.9.52a: *ghṛtam ājyaṃ haviḥ sarpiḥ*. Kṣīrasvāmin analyzes *ājya* as a compound of *ā**ṅ*** and *ājya* – referring to something that is daubed, sprinkled (*añjanīyam*) – with the suffix ***k**ya**p***: *ā añjanīyam ājyam āṅpūrvād añjeḥ sañjñāyāṃ kyap*. Liṅgayasūrin specifies that *ā**ṅ*** here is used in the sense of slightly (*īṣad*) and *ājya* refers to something that is to be sprinkled (*secanīyam*) on cooked rice or such (*odanādau*): *ā īṣad añjanīyam odanādau secanīyam ity ājyam*, *añjū vyaktimrakṣaṇakāntigatiṣu*, *mrakṣaṇaṃ secanam*.

pounds; for example, the R̥gveda *padapāṭha* has: *ājyàm* (10.90.6c, 10.122.7d, 10.130.3b), *ājyèna* (10.53.2d, 10.88.4b[12]), and *ājyaìḥ* (10.79.5b), without any compound division. After suggesting the analysis of *ājya* as derived from *anj* with ***kyap*** and the preverb ***āṅ***, Patañjali, immediately brings up this point: if so, then a constituent pause (*avagrahaḥ*) obtains in *padapātha*s.[13] This is answered with a programatic declaration: authors of *padapāṭha*s (*padakārāḥ*) are not to be followed (*na* […] *anuvartyāḥ*) by grammatical rules;[14] on the contrary, grammatical rules (*lakṣaṇam*) should be followed (*anuvartyam*) by *padapāṭha* authors (*padakārair nāma*); a *pada* in an analyzed text is to be recognized (*kartavyam* "to be made") in accordance with grammatical rules (*yathālakṣaṇam*).[15] That is, if *ājya* is analyzed as shown, then a *padakāra* should indeed recognize this and accordingly make a break between *ā* and the following constituent.[16]

Patañjali asserts this point on the assumption that *ājya* is indeed accounted for as a derivate with a *kr̥t* affix following *anj*. On the other hand, there is no definite indication that Pāṇini himself accounted for *ājya* through any particular explicit derivation. Certainly, as noted above, there is no rule which would derive this nominal with the suffix ***kyap***. Moreover, the usual *kr̥tya* affix *ya* introduced to consonant-final bases, ***ṇyat***, would not account for dropping the penultimate *n* of *anj* and also would fail to account for a *vr̥ddhi* replacement *ā*, which applies to penultimate *-a-* (see note 9). In his R̥gveda *padapāṭha* Śākalya also does not make a division in forms of *ā́jya*.

2.2 A 6.1.207: *āśitaḥ kartā* gives the derivate *ā́śita* as a ready-made form and specifies that this designates an agent (*kartā*). That is, *ā́śita*, formed

12 This passage (*yaṃ sa̲māñja̲nnājyènā vr̥ṇa̲nāḥ* "(Agni Vaiśvānara,) whom they daubed with ghee when they chose him") shows a collocation of *ājya-* and the base *añj* (*sa̲māñjan* [3pl. impfct.]).

13 Bh. II.85.4 *yady evam avagrahaḥ prāpnoti*.

14 *lakṣaṇena*. This term commonly refers to a grammatical rule, also denoted by *yoga* or *sūtra*, and can refer to a set of rules such as Pāṇini's grammar; see CARDONA 1997: 572–576. The particular reference in this context will be considered below (3).

15 Bh. 85.4–5 *na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāḥ. padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvartyam, yathālakṣaṇaṃ padaṃ kartavyam*.

16 Śivarāmendrasarasvatī notes this in his Mahābhāṣyasiddhāntaratnaprakāśa (RaPr. VI.212.20–21): *tathā cāvagrahas tatra kartavya eva*.

from the base *aś* "eat, consume" with the past participle suffix ***k**ta* refers to an agent, one that has eaten, consumed something, and not to an object, as is the norm with verb bases that have objects.[17] In his *vārttika* to this *sūtra*,[18] Kātyāyana states the properties which Pāṇini accounts for by giving *ā́śita* as a ready-made form (*nipātanam*) and not deriving it by particular rules. In the present context, only one of these need be considered: Pāṇini thereby provides for lengthening (*dīrghatvam* "the property of being a long vowel") for the penultimate sound (*upadhā-*) of the base. Patañjali, however, advances the claim that this lengthening need not be accounted for in a ready-made form (*anipātyam*). Instead, he remarks, *ā́śita* involves the use of a term with *ā* as a first constituent (*āṅpūrvasya prayogaḥ*). This claim meets with an objection: if so, then a pause between constituents (*avagrahaḥ*) obtains. In turn, this objection is met in the manner noted in 2.1: authors of *padapāṭha*s are not to be followed by grammatical rules; on the contrary, grammatical rules should be followed by *padapāṭha* authors; a *pada* in an analyzed text is to be recognized in accordance with grammatical rules.[19]

Here again, Pāṇini's giving *ā́śita* as a ready-made form instead of deriving it as a compound with the preverb *ā* agrees with what Śākalya does in the R̥gveda *padapāṭha*, where a form such as *āśìtāḥ* is given (R̥Vpp 10.94.10b) without any interconstituent pause.

2.3 Let me now turn briefly to an instance of real discrepancy with what is provided by a grammatical rule and the stance taken by a padakāra. According to A 3.2.1: *karmaṇy aṇ*, the kr̥t suffix *a**ṇ*** follows any verbal base which is construed with a nominal term denoting the immediate object (*karmaṇi*) of the act in question; e.g., *kumbha-kāra* "one who ma-

17 According to A 3.4.70 *tayor eva kr̥tyaktakhalarthāḥ*, affixes called *kr̥tya* as well as the past participle suffix ***k**ta* and affixes introduced under conditions which determine the use of ***kh**al* occur when two meanings alone are to be signified (*tayor eva*), namely an abstract action (*bhāva*) and an immediate object of an action (*karman*).

18 6.1.207 *vt.* 1 *āśite kartari nipātanam upadhādīrghatvam ādyudāttatvaṃ ca*.

19 Bh. III.117.16–19: *āśita iti ktaḥ kartari nipātyate āśitavā n āśitah . upadhādīrghatvam ādyudāttatvaṃ ca nipātyate* […] *upadhādīrghatvam anipātyam āṅpūrvasya prayogaḥ. yady evam avagrahaḥ prāpnoti. na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāḥ. padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvartyam. yathālakṣaṇaṃ padaṃ kartavyam.*

kes pots" is a compound[20] with the constituent *kāra* containing the suffix ***aṇ***. As *kumbhakāraḥ* corresponds to an utterance *kumbhān karoti* "…makes pots," so does *annam atti* "…consumes food" have a corresponding compound *annādaḥ* "one who consumes food." Accordingly, the constituents of *annāda* should be *anna-* and *āda*, the latter containing the suffix ***aṇ***. However, another analysis is possible: *anna-ada*, with a derivate *ada* "one who eats" comparable to *paca* "one who cooks."[21] In fact, *annādāyà* (dat. sg.) is analyzed thus by a padakāra: *anna-adāyà*.[22] In a *vārttika* on 3.2.1, Kātyāyana cites *annādāya* and remarks that in Vedic usage (*chandasi*) there is an interchange (*vyatyayaḥ*) of *kr̥t* affixes.[23] That is, *annādāyà* is considered to contain *adāyà*, with the suffix ***ac***. Now, whether the derivate is this or one with ***aṇ*** makes no difference to the segmental sounds or the accent of *annādāyà*. Consequently, one must agree with Kaiyaṭa, who points out that operating with a derivate *ada* containing ***ac*** serves to justify the *padapāṭha* analysis *anna-adāyà*.[24]

Accordingly, Pāṇini truly differs from the *padapāṭha* so far as *annādāyà* is concerned.

20 Derivates like *kāra*, formed with ***aṇ***, obligatorily compound with related nominals (A 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* [*nityam* 17]).

21 With the *kr̥t* suffix ***ac***. By A 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*, the suffixes ***lyu*** (→ *ana*), ***ṇini***, and ***ac***, respectively follow bases of the groups that include *nandi* "make happy," *grah* "grasp, seize," and *pac* "cook, bake."

22 AV 19.55.5bc: *annādāyānnàpataye rudrāya namò agnayè* "Reverence to Agni Rudra, who consumes food, is master of nourishment", AVpp: *anna-adāyà* | *annàpataye* | *rudrāyà* | *namàḥ* | *agnayè* | I have cited only the Atharvaveda and its *padapāṭha*, although the text occurs also in the Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā (2.1.10), because I do not have access to the *padapātha* of the latter.

23 3.2.1 *vt.* 9: *annādāyeti ca kr̥tāṃ vyatyayaś chandasi*. Patañjali (Bh. II.96.10–11) cites *annādāyānnàpataye* and another Atharvaveda passage, which I omit because this entails textual issues that are beside the point in the present discussion.

24 Pr. III.225.14–15: *annādāyeti: annam attīty aṇaḥ prasaṅge 'cpratyayaḥ kriyate, tenānna adāyety evam avagraha upapadyate.* Nāgeśa (Ud. III.225.18–19) appropriately points out that what Kaiyaṭa notes serves to indicate something concerning Kātyāyana's suggestion. Patañjali's assertion that *padakāra*s should follow grammatical rules instead of grammatical rules having to follow what *padakāra*s do renders faulty a grammatical rule's being meant solely to account for a *padapāṭha* pause, so that Kātyāyana's claim serves no purpose: *na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyā ityādi bhāṣyeṇāvagrahārthatāyā lakṣaṇasya dūṣitatvād idaṃ vyartham iti sūcitam.*

2.4 In one instance the Aṣṭādhyayī differs from the *padapāṭha* of an author who definitely preceded Pāṇini and to whom Pāṇini explicitly refers, namely Śākalya.

2.4.1 This scholar analyzes forms of the derivate *akṣaṇvát* "endowed with eyes, sighted" with a break after *akṣaṇ*: *akṣaṇ-vān* (nom. sg. masc.), *akṣan-vantàḥ* (nom. pl. masc.).[25] Pāṇini, on the other hand, recognizes a division *akṣa-ṇvat*. The derivation of this nominal base proceeds as follows:[26]

> (a) *akṣi-s-mat* (A 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminniti matup*) → (b) *akṣi-mat* (A 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* [*luk* 58]) → (c) *akṣan-mat* (A 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate* [*anaṅ* 75]) → (d) *akṣa-mat* (A 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*) → (e) *akṣa-vat* (A 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo 'yavādibhyaḥ*) → (f) *akṣa-nvat* (A 8.2.16 *ano nuṭ* [*chandasi* 15]) → (g) *akṣa-ṇvat* (A 8.4.1–2 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇah samānapade*, *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi*)

The difference in segmentation between Śā kalya's *akṣaṇ-vat* and Pāṇini's *akṣa-ṇvat* reflects a chronological difference and historical developments with respect to the stems *akṣi-* and *akṣan-*.[27] In the current language Pāṇini describes, *akṣan-* is restricted to occurring with nominal endings other than nominative and accusative that begin with vowels:[28] *akṣi* (nom.-acc. sg.), *akṣiṇī* (nom.-acc. du.), *akṣīṇi* (nom.-acc. pl.), *akṣibhyām* (instr.-dat.-abl. du), *akṣibhiḥ* (instr. pl.), *akṣibhyaḥ* (dat.-abl. pl.), *akṣiṣu* (loc. pl.); *akṣṇā* (instr. sg.), *akṣṇe* (dat. sg.), *akṣṇaḥ* (abl.-gen. sg.), *akṣṇoḥ* (gen.-loc. du), *akṣṇām* (gen. pl.). A derivate with the suffix *mat**up*** (A 5.2.94, see (a) above) also has the stem *akṣi-* (*akṣimat*). In

25 ṚV 1.164.16b: *paśyàd akṣaṇvān na vi cètad andhaḥ* "One who is sighted (insightful) sees (this), one who is blind (uninsightful) does not pereceive (it)", pp: *paśyàt* | *akṣaṇ-vān* | *na* | *vi* | *cetat* | *andhaḥ* | ṚV 10.71.7ab: *akṣaṇvantaḥ karṇàvantaḥ sakhā̀yo manojaveṣv asàmā babhūvuḥ* "There were companions with eyes and ears, of uneven (sight and hearing) with respect to things that are (extremely subtle,) faster than the mind", pp: *akṣaṇ-vantàḥ* | *karṇà-vantaḥ* | *sakhā̀yaḥ* | *manaḥ-javeṣù* | *asàmāḥ* | *babhūvuḥ*|.

26 I omit accentual rules. For ease of presentation I also consider here *akṣi-mat* alone, although this is part of a *pada*, with a nominal ending; see 2.4.3 with note 36. Details concerning the operations involved will be considered in 2.4.2.

27 On the distribution of the stem forms *akṣi-* and *akṣan-*, see Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 302–304 (section 158).

28 A 7.1.75 *asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ* (*tṛtīyādiṣu* 74, *aci vibhaktau* 73).

early Vedic, on the other hand, the stem *akṣan-/akṣa-* has a wider distribution, occurring also in forms such as *a̱kṣabhìḥ*. Accordingly, in his *padapāṭha* Śākalya recognizes such a stem in segmenting forms like *a̱kṣabhìh* (pp *a̱kṣa-bhìḥ*) and *a̱kṣaṇvā̀n*, with *vat*, an alternant of *mat*.

Also in accordance with these facts, Pāṇini provides first that *ána**ṅ*** (*anaṅ udāttaḥ*) substitutes for the *-i* of *asthi* "bone," *dadhi* "curd," *sakthi* "thigh" and *akṣi* "eye" before a vowel-initial (*aci*) ending of the third and following triplets (*tṛtīyādiṣu*, see note 28), then states that this replacement applies (*dṛśyate* "appears") more generally in earlier Vedic usage (A 7.1.76, (c) above). Moreover, again reflecting historical development, Yāska cites R̥V 10.71.7 (see note 25) and in his exegesis of the verse uses *akṣimantaḥ* as the equivalent of *a̱kṣa̱ṇvantàḥ*.[29]

2.4.2 In order to appreciate arguments concerning possible alternative ways of accounting for *akṣaṇvat*, it is necessary to consider first the derivation of the historically later equivalent, *akṣimat*.

By A 5.2.94 (2.4.1(a)), the *taddhita* suffix *mat**up*** is optionally (*vā*) introduced after a *pada*[30] $X\text{-}E_1$, consisting of a nominal base and an ending of the first triplet (nominative), that is syntactically and semantically connected (*samartha*) with another *pada*[31] $Y\text{-}E_6$ with a sixth-triplet (genitive) ending,[32] to form a nominal base (*prātipadika*)[33] meaning "Y with which X bears a relation R." In the instance under consideration, the value of *X* is *akṣi*, so that the relation in question is that of endowment: Y has X as a part, is endowed with X. The affix *mat**up*** follows *akṣi-s* (nom. sg.) of a string such as

29 Nir. 1.19 (p. 34) *akṣimantaḥ karṇavantaḥ*...

30 In this instance, this is an item that terminates with a nominal ending (*subanta*): A 1.4.14: *suptiṅantaṃ padam*.

31 A 5.2.94 occurs in the section of rules headed by A 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, whereby affixes are introduced optionally and, where related *pada*s are referred to in *sūtra*s, after the first (*prathamāt*) of such syntactically and semantically related *pada*s. Thus, *mat**up*** is introduced after a *pada* that is a value of *tad*, that is one with a first-triplet nominal ending.

32 A 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. This rule introduces a sixth-triplet ending after a nominal when a remainder (*śeṣa*) is concerned, that is, when a relation other than one between an action and a direct participant in its accomplishment is involved.

33 A 1.12.46: *kr̥ttaddhitasamāsāś ca* (*prātipadikam* 45) provides that derivates with *kr̥t* and *taddhita* affixes, as well as compounds (*samāsa*), have the class name *prātipadika*.

(1) *idam-as$_6$ puruṣa-as$_6$ akṣi-s$_1$*

where this pada is related to *idam-as* "this" and *puruṣa-as* (gen. sg.) "man," with the sixth-triplet ending ***ṅas*** signifying a relation: the man in question possesses the organ of sight, an eye, is endowed with sight. From (1) can be derived

(2) *asya puruṣasyākṣi* "This man has sight."[34]

Alternatively, with *mat**up*** introduced, one has

(3) *idam-s puruṣa-s akṣi-s-mat-s*

The item with *mat**up*** is a nominal base (see note 33), so that the nominal ending (*sup*, gen. sg. *supaḥ*) contained within it is replaced by zero (*luk*, 2.4.1(b)). Moreover, the derived base with the *taddhita* affix now signifies Y and the relation in question, so that a sixth-triplet ending is not introduced after either *idam* or *puruṣa*. Instead, these bases are now followed by the singular member of the first triplet (*prathamā*), ***su***:[35] *puruṣa* takes this ending on condition that the base meaning (*prātipadikārtha*) and a number (*vacana*) are to be signified. Moreover, *akṣimat* in (3) is coreferential with *puruṣa*, so that it too takes the ending ***su***: *akṣimat-s*. After operations apply which need not be taken up here, one gets *akṣimān*, as in

(4) *ayam puruṣo 'kṣimān* "This man has sight."

equivalent to (2).

34 *idam-as* → *idaa-as* (A 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*) → *ida-as* (A 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* [*pararūpam* 94]) → *ida-sya* (A 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasām inātsyāḥ* [*ataḥ* 9]) → *asya* (A 7.2.113 *hali lopaḥ* [*idaḥ* 111]); *puruṣa-as* → *puruṣasya*; *akṣi-s* → *akṣi* (A 7.1.23: *svamor napuṃsakāt* [*luk* 22]); *puruṣasya akṣi* → *puruṣasyākṣi* (A 6.1.101: *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*).

35 A 2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*. *idam-s* → *idam* (A 6. 1.68: *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisy apr̥ktaṃ hal* [*lopaḥ* 66]) → *ayam* (A 7.2.111 *ido 'y puṃsi*); *ayam p-* → *ayaṃ p-* (A 8.3.23 *mo 'nusvāraḥ*), → *ayam p-* (A 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* (*anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* [58])); *puruṣas* → *puruṣar* (A 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*) → *puruṣaḥ* (A 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*).

2.4.3 To account for Vedic forms such as *akṣaṇvān* requires additional rules, shown in 2.4.1. As pointed out in 2.4.2, *mat**up*** is introduced after a *pada*, in this instance *akṣi-s_1*, the ending of which is dropped, leaving *akṣi-mat*. The *-i* of *akṣi* preceding *mat* is then replaced by *-an*. Now, even after the deletion of the nominal ending in *akṣi-s-mat*, the classification as *pada* which depends on the occurrence of this ending applies.[36] Consequently, the regular deletion of *pada*-final *-n* (*nalopaḥ*) applies: (c) *akṣan-mat* → (d) *akṣa-mat*. In order to account for *akṣaṇvat*, Pāṇini then has three additional operations apply: (d) *akṣa-mat* → (e) *akṣa-vat*, (e) *akṣa-vat* → (f) *akṣa-nvat*, (f) *akṣa-nvat* → (g) *akṣa-ṇvat*. The rules which provide for these operations are part of a section in the Aṣṭādhyāyī where a rule R+1 is suspended (*asiddham*) with respect to any preceding rule R (*pūrvatra*).[37] Thereby, A 8.2.9, A 8.2.16, and A 8.4.1–2 apply in this order. Thus, given *akṣa-mat*, two operations could possibly apply, by A 8.2.9 and 16, of which only one may actually be considered. According to the first rule, *v-* (*vaḥ*) substitutes for the *m-* of *mat* (*matoḥ*) after an item that ends in *-m* or *-a* (*māt*) and also if this has these sounds as its penultimate element (*upadhāyāś ca*), excepting items of the group starting with *yava* "barley" (*ayavādibhyaḥ*). A 8.2.16 introduces the initial augment *n* (*nuṭ*) to *mat* after an item with original *-an* (*anaḥ*). Since A 8.2.16 is suspended with respect to A 8.2.9, so that it does not exist relative to this rule, only the latter can be considered at the stage *akṣa-mat*.

Now, (f) → (g) involves rules that provide for *ṇ* (*ṇaḥ*) to substitute for *n* (*naḥ*) which follows *r* or *ṣ* (*raṣābhyām*) – whether *n* immediately follows these sounds or is separated from them by a vowel, *h*, a semivowel other than *l*, a velar stop, a labial stop or the augment ***num*** (*aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi*) – within the same *pada* (*samānapade*). The substitution applies properly to *akṣa-nvat*, although *akṣa-* is derivationally a *pada*, because in Pāṇini's system an item such as *akṣanvat* is not

36 A 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* provides that what is conditioned by an affix (*pratyayalakṣaṇam*) applies even when the affix in question has been replaced by zero (*pratyayalope*). Due to space limitations, I cannot discuss here the status of 1.4.17: *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*, according to which the class name *pada* applies also to items followed by any of a group of affixes, beginning with ***su*** – the first ending of the first triplet (nom. sg.) – excepting those which bear the class name *sarvanāmasthāna*. The affixes in question include *taddhita*s.

37 A 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*.

considered independently of syntactic factors: as *akṣimat-* in (3) (2.4.2) is part of a syntactic *pada*, so also is *akṣanvat-* part of a *pada* such as *akṣanvat-s* (→ *akṣaṇvān*), *akṣanvat-as* (→ *akṣaṇvantaḥ*), so that *ṣ* and *n* do indeed occur in the same *pada*.[38]

2.4.4 It is noteworthy that Pāṇinīyas consider an alternative to A 8.2.16: *ano nuṭ* as formulated by Pāṇini. This *sūtra*, which applies with respect to usage found in the Vedas (*chandasi*), introduces the augment ***nuṭ*** to *mat**up*** if this suffix follows an item that originally ended in *-an*. The augment bears a marker *ṭ*, showing that it constitutes the first segment of the item to which it is introduced (A 1.1.46; see note 5). Kātyāyana and Patañjali consider the possibility of reformulating A 8.2.16 as A 8.2.16a: **ano nuk*, introducing *n*, now marked with *k*, as a final augment to the item preceding *mat*.[39]

Kātyāyana immediately brings up issues related to two topics, one of which concerns us here: if ***nuk*** is added as the final segment of an item originally ending with *-an* (*ano nuki*), then an additional rule has to be formulated for retroflexion (*vināmaḥ*) of this *-n*.[40] That is, retroflexion must apply to account for *akṣaṇvān* and so on, but if A 8.2.16a is adopted, retroflexion will not apply unless it is provided for by a new rule. For, it is the norm that retroflexion does not apply to a *pada*-final *-n*; for example, *vṛkṣān* (acc. pl.) "trees."[41] To be sure, Kātyāyana also envisions two objections to A 8.2.16 as originally formulated, so that the augment *n* is the initial part of the suffix that follows (*parādau*): (a) replacement by *v-* must now be excluded (*vatvapratiṣedhaḥ*); (b) the position of the constituent break (*avagrahaḥ*) in the *padapāṭha* is not accounted for.[42] Under (a), the claim is that, if *n* is introduced as an initial augment,

38 In Pāṇini's system, what western grammarians call morphological derivation is not fully independent of syntax. See CARDONA 2009.

39 Bh. III.397.4 *yadi punar ayaṃ nuṭ pūrvāntaḥ kriyeta*. In the Rohtak edition (V. 380), this is followed by the reformulated *sūtra*: *ano nug iti*. In his *apparatus criticus* (III.527 under 397.4), Kielhorn lists this as occurring in two of his manuscripts.

40 8.2.16 *vt.* 1 *ano nuki vināmaruvidhipratiṣedhaḥ*. Bh. III.397.6 *ano nuki sati vināmo vidheyah akṣaṇvān*.

41 Bh. III.397.6–7 *padāntasya neti pratiṣedhaḥ prāpnoti*. Patañjali here alludes to A 8.4.37: *padāntasya* (*na* 34), which excludes replacing *pada*-final *-n* with *-ṇ*.

42 8.2.16 *vt.* 2 *parādau vatvapratiṣedho 'vagrahaś ca*.

A 8.2.9 could apply to substitute *v* for the *n* of *nmat* that follows *akṣa-*,[43] so that forms like *akṣaṇvān* would not be accounted for.[44] (b) raises the objection that the *padapāṭha* pause in examples such as *a̱kṣa̱ṇvān*, which should occur after *a̱kṣa̱ṇ*, would now be allowed to occur (*prāpnoti* "obtains") in an unacceptable place (*aniṣṭe deśe*): *a̱kṣa̱-ṇvān* instead of *a̱kṣa̱ṇ-vān*.[45]

Concerning the first objection, there is some argumentation. First the suggestion is made that, under the Pāṇinian formulation, A 8.2.9 will not apply to replace the *n-* of *nmat* because the rule states *matoḥ* and thus specifies that *ma**tu*** is subject to this substitution, so that the replacement must apply to *m-*. This too, however, will not do, since A 8.2.9 applies to replace *m* if this immediately follows *a* and now *m* is separated by *n* from *a* which precedes. Finally, Patañjali asserts what must be the acceptable position: A 8.2.16 is suspended with respect to A 8.2.9, so that *m* is replaced by *v* before augmenting with *n* applies.[46] The second objection is rebutted by once more asserting the general principle noted earlier: authors of *padapāṭha*s are not to be followed by grammatical rules; on the contrary, grammatical rules should be followed by *padapāṭha* authors; a *pada* in an analyzed text is to be recognized in accordance with grammatical rules.[47]

43 The genitive form *matoḥ* in A 8.2.9 is interpreted by A 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*, whereby a sixth-triplet ending (*ṣaṣṭhī*) not otherwise interpretable in context is understood to signify the relation "in place of" (*sthāneyogā*), so that *matoḥ* refers to the item *ma**tu*** as subject to a replacement. The ablative *māt* is interpreted by A 1.1. 67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*: a term with a fifth-triplet ending (*tasmāt*) refers to an item such that an operation applies to something which follows it (*uttarasya*). Further, according to A 1.1.54: *ādeḥ parasya*, an operation that thus takes effect on a following item (*parasya*) applies to its initial element (*ādeḥ*). Consequently, if A 8.2.9 applies with respect to *-nman*, it lets *v* replace its first sound, *n*.

44 Bh. III.397.10–11 *yadi parādir vatvasya pratiṣedho vaktavyahī: akṣaṇvān. mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo 'yavādibhya iti vatvaṃ prāpnoti*.

45 Bh. III.397.11–12 *avagrahaś cāniṣṭe deśe prāpnoti: akṣaṇvān*.

46 Bh. III.398.6–8 *yat tāvad ucyate vatvapratiṣedha iti nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavantīty evaṃ na bhaviṣyati. yas tarhi nirdiśyate tasya na prāpnoti. kiṃ kāraṇam. nuṭā vyavahitatvāt. asiddho nuṭ tasyāsiddhatvād bhaviṣyati*. Patañjali here cites the *paribhāṣā nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti* (PIŚpbh. 12), according to which replacements apply with respect to entities directly referred to by replacement genitive forms, interpreted by A 1.1.49 (see note 43).

47 Bh. III.398.9–11 *avagrahe 'pi*: *na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāḥ. padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvartyam. yathālakṣaṇaṃ padaṃ kartavyam.*

3. In stating this principle, Patañjali uses the term *yathālakṣaṇam* "in accordance with rules." The author of a *padapāṭha* is supposed to make his work appropriately compatible with a set of rules so as not to transgress such rules. Patañjali thus assumes the presence of rules (*lakṣaṇa*) governing where a *pada* pause is to occur. In Patañjali's time, *the* set of grammatical rules to be considered is of course Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Yet Pāṇini himself refers to Śākalya and how this author treats *-o* of vocative singular forms as *pragr̥hya* segments in his *padapāṭha* to the R̥gveda (see 1), so that rules observed by Śākalya in composing his *padapāṭha* cannot be those of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Śākalya did indeed observe certain principles in determining where to make constituent breaks.

3.1 One difference between Pāṇini's system and Śākalya's consists in what each posits as basic units. For Śākalya, the basic unit is the *pada*. In Pāṇini's system, on the other hand, a derivation begins with bases (*prakr̥ti*), to which affixes (*pratyaya*) are introduced to form strings of related *pada*s. To illustrate, consider the following R̥gveda *pāda*s in the *saṃhitā-* and *padapāṭha* forms:

(4) *devo devebhir ā gàmat* (R̥V 1.1.5c) "The god (Agni) shall come with the gods"
(4a) *devaḥ* | *devebhìḥ* | *ā* | *gamat* |

(5) *agnim ī̀ḷe purohìtam* (R̥V 1.1.1a) "I praise Agni set at the fore"
(5a) *agnim* | *ī̀ḷe* | *puraḥ-hìtam* |

Once the pauses between *pada*s in (4a) and (5a) – whether syntactic units separated from each other by the pauses marked with '|' or constituent pauses (*avagraha*) marked here with '-' – are eliminated,[48] so that initial and final sounds of these items come into contact, phonological changes apply. When followed by a voiced consonant (*ghoṣavatparaḥ*), *-ḥ* (*visarjanīyaḥ*) preceded by short *a* (*hrasvapūrvaḥ*) changes to *-o* (*okāram*) along with the preceding sound (*sahopadhaḥ*), but *-ḥ* preceded by a vowel other than *a* or *ā* changes to *-r* (*repham*) before a vowel or

48 The pause between constituents, which is called *avagraha*, regularly has the duration of a short vowel, one *mora*; the pause between syntactic *pada*s is longer. However, there are details which I cannot take up because of space limitations.

voiced consonant (*svaraghoṣavatparaḥ*):[49] *de̱vaḥ d- → de̱vo d-*, *de̱vebhi̱ḥ ā → de̱vebhi̱r ā*, *pu̱raḥ-hi̱ta̱m → pu̱rohìtam*. Although (4a) and (5a) represent the recited version of the *padapāṭha* texts, one must assume as the source of these a basic text such that tonal *sandhi* rules have not applied. Here, instead of *de̱vebhìḥ*, with extra-low pitch on the first syllable and a *svarita* syllable *bhìḥ*, one has *de̱vebhi̱ḥ*, with one high-pitched syllable.[50] Similarly, one has *pu̱raḥ-hi̱ta̱m*, with a single high-pitched syllable. If a pause follows, the last syllable of *de̱vebhìḥ* has a *svarita* vowel, as in (4a), but if a high-pitched syllable immediately follows, the preceding syllable is made extra low, as in (4).

In the Pāṇinian system, on the other hand, an initial string corresponding to (4)–(5) would be

(6) *déva-s_1 devá-bhis_3 ā́-s_1 gam-l*

(7) *agní-am_2 īḍ-l puróhita-am_2*

consisting of the verbal bases (*dhātu*) *gam*, *īḍ* followed by *l*-affixes and the nominal bases (*prātipadika*) *devá, ā́ , agní,* and *puróhita*, with endings.[51] A series of operations apply to derive (4) from (6) and (5) from (7). These operations are stated in *sūtra*s of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.[52] On the other hand, although Śākalya's *padapāṭha* is indeed related to the R̥gveda *saṃhitāpāṭha*, there is no extant group of such rules attributable to its author, Śākalya.[53]

Nevertheless, one must accept that Śākalya observed certain discernible principles in composing his *padapāṭha*. To begin with, he allows only one constituent break even when an obviously tripartite term is in-

49 R̥Pr. 4.25 *okāraṃ hrasvapūrvaḥ* (*visarjanīyaḥ* […] *arephī ghoṣavatparaḥ* 24), 1.67 *sahopadho 'riphita ekavarṇavad visarjanīyaḥ svaraghoṣavatparaḥ*, 4.27 *sarvopadhas tu svaraghoṣavatparo rephaṃ rephī* […] It is not necessary to deal with other details concerning these *sūtra*s.

50 Śaunaka proceeds under this assumption in his R̥gvedaprātiśākhya (see note 56), and I see no cogent reason to suppose Śākalya should have considered otherwise.

51 *gam-l* and *īḍ-l* respectively contain the *l*-affixes ***loṭ**, **laṭ***, which are introduced in deriving imperative and present indicative forms.

52 See CARDONA (1997: 144–58) for rules involved in the derivation of utterances comparable to (4) and (5).

53 The closest set of rules of this type available is found in Śaunaka's R̥gvedaprātiśākhya. Rules of phonological change are stated here whereby the *padapāṭha* is converted to the *saṃhitāpāṭha*.

volved. Examples such as *pra-jā* "creature," *puraḥ-hìtam* "set at the fore," and *soma-pā* "soma drinker" are compounds with two constituents, so that only one pause is appropriate. On the other hand, *prajā-pàtiḥ* "Prajāpati (master of creatures)" is tripartite, and the *pada* break is made after *prajā-*. Similarly, a term such as *citraśràvaḥ-tamaḥ* "supremely endowed with varied fame," includes the superlative suffix *tama* and a compound *citráśravas-* "of varied fame" which is comparable to *citra-bhā̀nuḥ* "of varied resplendent brilliance." Here too only one *pada* break is made, and this occurs before the constituent that would come last in a derivation. On the other hand, in *soma-pātàmaḥ* the division is not made after *somapā* although this also has the suffix *tama*.

Such facts are sufficient, I think, to justify certain conclusions concerning Śākalya's divisions. These breaks are made on the basis of phonological criteria that involve syntactic units. A constituent *puraḥ-* in *puraḥ-hitam* behaves, so far as concerns segmental elements, in the same manner as a syntactically separate *pada* like *devaḥ*, which contains a nominal ending: as the *-aḥ* of *devaḥ* changes to *devo* before a voiced segment, so does the *aḥ* in *puraḥ-* although this does not contain an overt ending. Moreover, in cases such as *kavi-kràtuḥ* "endowed with extraordinary power of insight," where the first constituent is in a context such that no segmental phonological change affect it, a *pada* break is made. This accords with a derivational history: *kavi- is* derivationally a syntactic *pada*. Further, examples like *prajā-pàtiḥ* support the conclusion that Śākalya takes derivational history into account, and the different breaks made for superlative forms indicate that Śākalya does not segment mechanically. One is justified in concluding that the R̥gveda *padapāṭha* reflects certain rules governing where pauses are made, although we do not have a work in which Śākalya himself formulates such rules. [54]

54 The procedures involved are actually stated in Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya. This text provides (VPr. 5.7 *bahuprakr̥tāv āgantunā parvaṇā* [*avagrahaḥ* 1]) that in an item with more than two constituents (*bahuprakr̥tau*), such as *prajāpàtiḥ*, the pause (*avagrahaḥ*) occurs with the joint (*parvaṇā*) that comes last (*āgantunā* "adventitious"). The rule in question has to do with compounds. For two other *sūtra*s concern in particular items with the suffixes *tara* and *tama*: VPr. 5.2 *taratamayoś cātiśaye 'dakṣiṇapratyāsaṅge vītama-hūtama-sūtama-pātama-ratnadhātama-vasudhātamāḥ pūrveṇa*. In general, a break is made before these affixes if they occur in items signifying degrees of excellence (*atiśaye*). However, the break is made with

Additional factors come into play with respect to accentual properties. Consider again, for example, the compound

(8) *purohìtam*

of the saṃhitāpaṭha (5).[55] Corresponding to (8), one can have a string

(9) *pu̱raḥ-hi̱ta̱m*

depending on whether or not one chooses to pronounce the two *pada*s in question with an intervening pause or continuously, without any pause between them. (9) shows both a segmental and an accentual difference from (8). It has *-aḥ*, with *-ḥ*, which regularly occurs before a pause or a voiceless segment; (8) has *-o*, which occurs instead of *-aḥ* when a voiced segment follows. In addition, *hì-* of *hìtam* of (8) has a *svarita hì-* following high-pitched *-o*, but in (9), the high-pitched syllable *-aḥ* is followed by two low-pitched syllables, reflecting the fact that a compound generally has only one high-pitched syllable. The low-pitched *i* in the first of these syllables is replaced by the svarita vowel *ì* following high-pitched *o*, and this replacement takes effect if the two syllables are in close juncture (*saṃhitāyām*, see note 3), as in (8).[56]

In composing a *padapāṭha*, a *padakāra* would have certain choices with respect to (8). He could choose to have (9) recited in the *padapāṭha*, with two low-pitched vowels in the second constituent, showing that the compound has only one high-pitched syllable. Under this option, the constituents are separated by a pause, so that the change of a low-pitched

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the item that precedes these suffixes (*pūrveṇa*) in certain instances that are listed, among them terms with *pātama*.

55 I leave aside the fact that *-m* is subject to changes depending on what follows.

56 A 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* provides for this replacement. Moreover, this *sūtra* comes under the heading of *saṃhitāyām* stated in A 8.2.108 *tayor yvāv aci saṃhitāyām*. The Kāśikā (Kāś. 8.2.108 *saṃhitāyām ity etac cādhikr̥tam, ita uttaram ādhyāyaparisamāpter yad vakṣyāmaḥ saṃhitāyām ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*) points out that *saṃhitāyām* is made a heading (*adhikr̥tam*) valid through the end of the eighth *adhyāya*. In a rule part of which is comparable to A 8.4.66, R̥Pr. 3.17 *udāttapūrvaṃ niyataṃ vivr̥ttyā vyañjanena vā svaryate 'ntarhitaṃ na ced udāttasvaritodayam*, states that a low-pitched vowel (*niyatam*) changes to a *svarita* (*svaryate*) when preceded by a high-pitched vowel (*udāttapūrvam*), even if it is separated (*antarhitam*) from this by a hiatus (*vivr̥ttyā*) or a consonant (*vyañjanena*), provided that it is not followed by an *udātta* or *svarita*.

syllable to a *svarita* syllable immediately following a high-pitched syllable does not apply.[57] One could also choose to recite

(10) *pu̱raḥ-hìtam*

in a *padapāṭha*. This has the appearance of a hybrid. On the one hand, *pu̱raḥ* has pre-pause *-ḥ*, but on the other hand *hì-* has a *svarita* vowel, as though low-pitched *hi-* followed the preceding segment with no intervening pause. This choice is the one Śākalya made. It can be justified on the basis of a difference between the duration of a pause made between syntactic *pada*s and one made between constituents of grammatical complexes such as compounds as well as a theoretical assumption that a constituent break within a syntactic *pada* be treated as not affecting tonal sandhi variation.[58]

4. Under the assumption that Śākalya followed discernible principles in positing the *pada*s of his *padapāṭha*, we must also accept that the manner in which he divides *a̱kṣa̱ṇ-vā́n*, *a̱kṣa̱ṇ-vantàḥ* (see 2.4.1) is based on principle and not arbitrary. The immediate justification for this segmentation is that it reflects the use of a stem *akṣan-* with a domain wider than the one this stem has in later usage. As noted earlier (2.4.2), in the Sanskrit of Pāṇini's time the derivate corresponding to *akṣaṇvat* is *akṣimat*. Comparable differences are observed in other instances involving bases in *-an*. For example, early Vedic has *vṛ́ṣaṇvat* "equipped with bulls": *vṛṣàṇvān* (nom. sg. masc., e.g. ṚV 1.1821b), divided *vṛṣàṇ-vān* in the Ṛgveda *padapāṭha*. The later equivalent to this is *vṛ́ṣavat* (*vṛṣàvān*). In

57 This is the choice made by Ātreya, the author of the *padapāṭha* to the Taittirīyasaṃhitā; corresponding to *pu̱rohìtam* this *padapāṭha* has *pu̱rohìtam̱ itì pu̱raḥ-hi̱ta̱m*.

58 Śrīnivāsayajvan notes the difference between the Taittirīya (see note 57) and Ṛgveda accentuation in the *padapāṭha* recitation, then remarks that only the former is appropriate from the point of view of grammar. He also cites the Kāśikā on A 8. 2.108 (see note 56) in support of this *sūtra*'s not applying to *hi* in the *padapāṭha* because it is included in the set of rules under the heading *saṃhitāyām*. SSC 11: *a̱gnim ī̀ḷe pu̱rohìtam ityādau padakāle pu̱raḥ-hi̱ta̱m ity avagrahe hiśabdam anudāttaṃ taittirīyāḥ paṭhanti bahvṛcās tu svaritam. vaiyākaraṇamaryādayātrānudāttam evocitaṃ tayor yvāv ity ata ā śāstrasparisamāpteḥ saṃhitāyām ity adhikriyata iti vṛttikāravacanāt tanmadhyapatitasya udāttād anudātta iti sūtrasya padakāle hiśabde 'pravṛtteḥ*.

addition, the stage of Sanskrit which Pāṇini accounts for retains traces of the earlier usage. Thus, *rājavat*, as in *rājavatī pr̥thivī* "the earth has many kings," has *rāja-* before the taddhita suffix *vat* (← *mat*), but *rājanvat* is used when the meaning conveyed is being well ruled, having a good king (*saurājye*).[59]

Now, such *-an*-stems show a variant with *-a* in *pada*-final position in forms such as the nominative-accusative singular neuter (e.g., *karmà* "deed"), before case endings that begin with *bh* (instr.-dat.-abl. du. *bhyām*, instr. pl. *bhis*, dat.-abl. pl. *bhyas*), and before *su* (loc. pl.); for example, *karmàbhiḥ*, *karmàsu*. In such cases, Śākalya recognizes a *pada* boundary (*karmà-bhiḥ*, *karmà-su*), as does Pāṇini.[60] Though we have no way of knowing just how Śākalya conceived of arriving derivationally at the stem form with *-a* instead of *-an*, we do know that Pāṇini accounts for this by letting the *-n* of the stem – now the final sound of a *pada* – be deleted.[61] On the other hand, *-an* is retained in vocative forms like *rājàn*, *vr̥ṣàn* as well as in Vedic locative singulars like *u̲dan* "water," *ca̲rman* "skin."[62]

Note that *vr̥ṣàn* has *-n*, although this now follows *-ṣ-* within a *pada*. This contrasts with instances where the nasal in question is not word-final, e.g., *vr̥ṣàṇam* (acc. sg.). Both *vr̥ṣàn* and *vr̥ṣàṇam* are syntactic *pada*s, which are followed by full pauses in the R̥gveda *padapāṭha*; *vr̥ṣàn* | (e.g. 1.139.6a), *vr̥ṣàṇam* | (e.g. 1.64.12d). *a̲kṣa̲ṇ-* of *akṣa̲ṇ-vān*, *a̲kṣa̲ṇ-vantàḥ* also is followed by a pause, yet retroflexion applies here after *-ṣ-* in the first constituent. Given what was shown above concerning *pu̲ro-hìtam*, it is reasonable to say that Śākalya segmented as he did under the view that a pause between constituents did not have the same effects as a pause between syntactic *pada*s.

59 8.2.14 *rājanvān saurājye*. I do not take up two other *sūtra*s which can be brought into consideration for this point (8.2.11 *sañjñāyām*, 8.2.13 *udanvān udadhau ca*) because of some interpretational issues. On the historical developments, see DEBRUNNER 1954: 888–889 (§712(a)–(b)).

60 Items followed by affixes such as *bhyām* are assigned to the *pada* class by 1.4.17: *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*. It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss here the relation between this *sūtra* and 1.4.14 (see note 30).

61 A 8.2.7; see 2.4.1(d), 2.4.2. That *-a* here represents historically the development of a vocalic nasal has no relevance for the present discussion.

62 To account for such forms, Pāṇini (A 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ*) provides that the deletion of *pada*-final *-n* does not (*na*) apply before the ending ***ṅi*** (loc. sg.) and before ***su*** used in a vocative (*sambuddhi*).

5. Consider now once more *pu̱rohìtam*, from the stand point of Pāṇinian derivation. This compound is formed from the two related *pada*s *purás-s* and *hitá-am*.[63] When the two *pada*s are combined to form a compound, which is a derived nominal base, the endings included therein are deleted:[64] *puras-s hita-am → puras-hita → purohita*. A nominal ending *am* is then introduced after the compound.[65] Although the compound derives from two related *pada*s, once these have been combined and their endings dropped, the result is a nominal base such that there is no pause between constituents. However, formally the classification of such an item as *pada* still applies, so that, for example, the *-n* of a constituent *rājan-* in a compound *rājan-puruṣa* is deleted (A 8.2.7, see 2.4.2): *rājan-puruṣa → rājapuruṣa* "king's servant." Nevertheless, the compound is a separate unit formally and semantically.

Similarly, once nominal endings have been dropped to give *akṣimat* (see 2.4.1), the result is a derived nominal base, yet *akṣi-* retains its classification as *pada*, which holds also for *akṣan-* resulting from the substitution of an for *i*. And *akṣaṇvantas* is a *pada* with a nominal ending following a derived nominal base. Consequently, although *-n-* is introduced as an initial augment to the suffix, so that the Pāṇinian division is *akṣa-nvant*, this sound and the *-ṣa-* of the preceding syllable occur in the same *pada*, so that retroflex replacement conditioned by *ṣ* properly applies: *akṣanvant → akṣaṇvant*.

63 *puras* is derived from a *pada* consisting of *pūrva* and an ending of the seventh, fifth or first triplets (locative, ablative, nominative), after which the *taddhita* suffix *as**i*** is optionally introduced, with concurrent replacement of *pūrva* by *pur* (A 5.3.39: *pūrvādharāvarāṇam asi puradhavaś caiṣām*). This derivate belongs to the class of items called *avyaya* (A 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* [*avyayam* 37]) and is assigned to the *gati* class (A 1.4.67 *puro 'vyayam* [*gatiḥ* 60]). A *pada* containing a member of this group obligatorily compounds with a related nominal term (A 2.2.18: *kugatiprādayaḥ* [*nityam* 17]). It is not necessary to consider additional details here.

64 A 2.4.71; see 2.4.1(b), 2.4.2.

65 The compound *puróhita* in (7) is coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) with *agní*, and both these nominal bases take the same ending am introduced to signify an immediate object of an action, here the act denoted by *īḍ*.

6. Summary and Conclusions

Authors of analyzed Vedic texts corresponding to the continuously recited texts of Vedas followed principles in making segmentations, not only between syntactically separate *pada*s but also between constituents of certain complex items such as compounds and derivates with taddhita affixes. These principles could be formally stated as rules. However, no text of such rules attributable to *padakāra*s such as Śākalya and Ātreya, respective authors of the R̥gveda and Taittirīyasaṃhitā *padapāṭha*s, is extant or cited, so that one has no way of knowing whether or not these scholars composed such texts. On the other hand, *prātiśākhya*s such as the R̥gvedaprātiśākhya formulate phonological rules for arriving at the *saṃhitāpāṭha* starting with the posited *padapāṭha*. Moreover, the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya not only formulates comparable phonological rules but also states the criteria observed in making breaks between constituents. In his Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini states rules for deriving utterances from posited strings, though he does not explicitly formulate the criteria whereby posited bases and affixes are arrived at. Pāṇini also knows of and refers to Śākalya and his *padapāṭha*. In addition, he differs from Śākalya in at least one instance: his derivation of *akṣaṇvat* "sighted" involves a segmentation *akṣa-ṇvat*, as opposed to Śākalya's segmentation *akṣaṇ-vat*.

This, together with incontrovertible evidence of Pāṇini's having been preceded by several grammarians, makes it reasonable to conclude that Pāṇini did not merely codify a received "traditional understanding of language." On the contrary, he considered critically the work of his predecessors in the light of his own system as reflected in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

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A = Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. *adhyāya*, *pāda*, *sūtra* with numbering as in CARDONA (1997: 607–731).

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AV = *Atharvaveda* in the Śaunaka recension. See VISHVA BANDHU *et al.*

AVpp = *Atharvaveda* padapāṭha.

Bh. = *Mabhābhāṣya*. See ABHYANKAR (ed.) 1962–1972.

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pbh. = paribhāṣā; see PIŚ.
PIŚ = *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa; see ABHYANKAR 1962.
pp = padapāṭha.
Pr. = *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa; see VEDAVRATA.
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ṚPr. = *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*; see MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI.
ṚV = *Ṛgveda*; see SONTAKKE *et al.* (eds).
ṚVpp = *Ṛgveda* padapāṭha; see SONTAKKE *et al.* (eds).
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SSC = Śrīnivāsayajvan's *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā*; see Śivaramakrishna Sastri.
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ABHIJIT GHOSH

Yāska's Treatment of Verb *vis-à-vis* Noun: Will the Verbal Noun Please Stand up?*

1.1 Yāska, a pioneer among the ancient Indian etymologists, enumerates the Sanskrit parts of speech, four in number,[1] as follows (Nirukta 1.1):

> *tad yāny etāni catvāri pada-jātāni, nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca, tānīmāni bhavanti.*

This *sūtra* offers an instance of Yāska's loose style, which had misled traditional scholars throughout ages until SARUP (1921: 5) offered a brilliant interpretation thereof. The passage may be construed as:

> *tat, yāny etāni catvāri pada-jātāni, tānīmāni nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca* [*iti*] *bhavanti*, or [...] *tānīmāni bhavanti – nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca* [*iti*]
> Well [*tat*], the very [*etāni*: i.e. these (well known)] four [*catvāri*] classes of words [*pada-jātāni*] (are) what [*yāni*] these [*tāni*] preceding [*imāni*] are [*bhavanti*]: noun and verb [*nāmākhyāte ca*], prepositions and particles [*upasarga-nipātāś ca*].

* This paper is based on lectures on a similar topic in the National Seminar on Bengal's Contribution to Vedic Studies organized by the School of Vedic Studies, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata on 24.3.2006, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune on 19.9.2008 and in the National Seminar on Translation Studies: from and into Sanskrit and related languages organized by the Department of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University, Kolkata on 28.2.2009. The references to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya in the paper were kindly checked by Pt. Dr. Tapan Sankar Bhattacharyya and Dr. Kakali Ghosh of the Department of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, and by Prof. Arlo Griffiths of École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta. Dr. François Voegeli of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland criticized an earlier draft of the paper and his criticisms led to a substantial betterment thereof.

1 Moreover, the technical term *ardha-nāman* – for *tva* 'one; other; several, etc.' – was known to him, cf. MEHENDALE 1966: 203–206.

In other words, *tānīmāni*[…] is the subject, while *yāny etāni*[…] is the predicative part of the sentence, and should more properly have changed place. For similar other examples of Yāska's flexible manner of writing, cf.:

> *chandobhyaḥ samāhṛtya samāhṛtya samāmnātās te nigantava eva santo nigamanān nighaṇṭava ucyanta ity aupamanyavaḥ*
> Aupamanyava [*aupamanyavaḥ*] thinks [*iti*]: "Traditionally handed down [*samāmnātāḥ*], after being repeatedly coined [*samāhṛtya samāhṛtya*] from Vedic hymns [*chandobhyaḥ*], they [*te*], being [*santaḥ*] but [*eva*] Vedic quotations [*nigantavaḥ*], are termed [*ucyante*] 'Nighaṇṭavas'[2] [*nighaṇṭavaḥ*] on account of (their) being quoted [*nigamanāt*]"[3] (Nir. 1.1).

> *teṣāṃ manuṣyavad devatābhidhānam*
> As among men [*manuṣyavad*], among gods, (too) [*devatāsv* [*api*]], these (words) [*teṣāṃ* [*śabdānām*]] convey ([the same] meanings) [*abhidhānam*, i.e. *arthābhidhānam*][4] (Nir. 1.2).

2 The ridiculous accusation by THAKUR (1955: 3, n. 1) of SARUP (1921: 5) for rendering *nighaṇṭavaḥ* by 'Nighaṇṭavas' (*sic* for Sarup's *Ni-ghaṇṭavas*) and not by 'Nighaṇṭus' should be plainly ignored; cf. also ROTH (1848–1852).

3 SARUP (1927: 27, 1921: 5) takes the above passage as containing two *sūtra*s: *chandobhyaḥ* […] *samāmnātāḥ*, and, *te* […] *aupamanyavaḥ*; ultimately there is not much difference. In this analysis, the first part is not related with what follows, but rather with what precedes (*nigamā ime bhavanti*), as a sort of its further elucidation, while Aupamanyava's opinion consists only of the second portion of the passage. As, however, the root *ni-gam-* is attested also in *nigamā ime bhavanti*, interpreting the whole passage as coming from him appears preferable. In either case, the syntax becomes clearer if *nigamanāt* is placed before *nigantavaḥ*: *chandobhyaḥ samāhṛtya samāhṛtya samāmnātās te nigamanān nigantava eva santo nighaṇṭava* [*ity*] *ucyante*. RAJAVADE (1940: 216f.) also pleads for the replacement of *nigamanāt* after *kasmāt* of the preceding passage: *nighaṇṭavaḥ kasmāt? nigamanāt. nigamā ime bhavanti. chandobhyaḥ samāhṛtya samāhṛtya samāmnātās te nigantava eva santo nighaṇṭava ucyanta ity aupamanyavaḥ*. This is an equally good suggestion, as after *kasmāt* "from which (root); why," the mention of a root is expected (*ni-gamanāt*), while the next *nigamā ime bhavanti* answers the "why," the reason for this derivation.

4 Grammatically, *abhidhānam* should be connected with *teṣām* and not with *devatā*(*ḥ*) who are compared with men. SARUP (1921: 6) renders a little differently: "They, too, are the names of gods as well as of human beings." Durga nicely explains: *deveṣv api śabdasyābhidhāna-śaktir aparihīnety arthaḥ* "What is meant is that even with gods the expressive power of a word is immense." It may be recalled that later on Sanskrit came to be regarded as a divine language (*deva-bhāṣā*, °*-vāṇī*, *sura-bhāṣā*, °*-vāṇī*, °*-gīr*, *gīrvāṇa-vāṅmaya*, etc.), whose usual script was styled as divine city-writing (*deva-nāgarī*).

> *puruṣa-vidyā'nityatvāt karma-sampattir mantro vede*
> Owing to the impermanence of human knowledge [*puruṣa-vidyā'nityatvāt*], a stanza [*mantraḥ*] by which an action is accomplished [*karma-sampattiḥ*], is (incorporated) in the Veda [*vede*][5] (Nir. 1.2).

> *vardhata iti svāṅgābhyuccayaṃ sāṃyaugikānāṃ vārthānām*
> The term "growth" [*vardhata iti*] (expresses [*ācaṣṭe*]) the increase of (one's) own limb(s) [*svāṅgābhyuccayam*] or [*vā*] of the associated [*sāṃyaugikānām*] objects [*arthānām*][6] (Nir. 1.2).

> *apakṣīyata ity anenaiva vyākhyātaḥ pratilomam*
> The term "decay" [*apakṣīyata iti*] denotes [*vyākhyātaḥ*] just [*eva*] its [*anena*] antithesis [*pratilomam*][7] (Nir. 1.2).

And, as at *tam imaṃ samāmnāyaṃ nighaṇṭava ity ācakṣate*, *i.e.* "This [*imam*] very [*tam*] list [*samāmnāyam*] is called [*ācakṣate*] as [*iti*] Nighaṇṭavas [*nighaṇṭavaḥ*]" (Nir. 1.1), *yāny etāni* and *tānīmāni* of the passage quoted at the beginning of §1.1 [*tad yāny etāni catvāri pada-jātāni* etc.] are also not exactly translatable into English. An *iti* after the second *ca* would have made the syntactic structure of the suggested construction

5 Though RAJAVADE (1940: 224) finds fault with this "bad way of dissolving the compound" and suggests construing the sentence as *puruṣa-vidyā'nityatvāt mantro vede*, [*yasmāt*] *karma-sampattiḥ* (*tatpuruṣa* compound), *karma-sampattiḥ* has to be explained as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* qualifying *mantraḥ*, even if little awkwardly, as *karmaṇāṃ* or *karmaṇaḥ sampattir yasmāt* or *yena sa mantraḥ* "a stanza from or by which [follows] fruitfulness of [religious] act(s)." Rajavade's construction appears to be inaccurate due to an unaccountable change in the textual word-order and the avoidable addition of an in this interpretation superfluous relative pronoun, though ultimately this syntax would also lead to the same meaning.

6 This is another instance of Yāska's careless Sanskrit; one must take *abhyuccayam* out of *svāṅgābhyuccayam* and place it after *arthānām*: *vardhata iti svāṅgasya/svāṅgānām abhyuccayam ācaṣṭe, sāṃyaugikānāṃ vā 'rthānām* [*abhyuccayam ācaṣṭe*].

7 Here *anena* (variant *etena*), syntactically unconnected with the preceding *apakṣīyate*, refers to the previous passage explaining *vardhate* (*vardhata iti svāṅgābhyuccayam* […] *śarīreṇeti vā*) and goes with the following *vyākhyātaḥ*. A better syntactic order of this *sūtra* would be: *anenaiva* (verily by that (definition of "growth")), *apakṣīyata iti* (this "decay") *pratilomaṃ vyākhyātaḥ* (is contrarily explained). And, as THAKUR (1955: 27) points out, Skandasvāmin's reading *vyākhyātam* is preferable, though the masculine in *vyākhyātaḥ* can also be somehow justified by assuming *bhāva-vikāraḥ* after *iti*, as the subject. Any way, this sentence has been rendered in the body of the present text not very literally, meaning, What is said of *vardhate* is to be used of *apakṣīyate* in a reverse manner, since *apakṣīyate* is the opposite of *vardhate*.

near perfect, but for such omissions of *iti*, cf. only from the Nirukta sections on the parts of speech: *nighaṇṭava* [*ity*] *ucyante* in *chandobhyaḥ samāhr̥tya samāhr̥tya* etc. quoted above, and

> *indriya-nityaṃ vacanam* [*ity*] *audumbarāyaṇaḥ*
> Speech [*vacanam*] (is) permanent (only) in the sensory organs [*indriya-nityam*], (says [*iti*]) Audumbarāyaṇa [*audumbarāyaṇaḥ*].

as if following the present practice of using a dash: *indriya-nityaṃ vacanam – audumbarāyaṇaḥ* (Nir. 1.1).

1.2 This explanation mainly follows Sarup's suggestion, though differing a little from his precise understanding of the syntax of the passage: "Now, what (are) the four classes of words? They are the following: noun and verb; prepositions and particles." This translation could somehow be justified if only a reading **kāni* for the existing *yāni* could be supported by the evidence of manuscript materials. Incidentally, Skandasvāmin also ascribed no special significance to *tat*: *tad iti sarvatra vākyopanyāse* "The word *tad* [is used] everywhere to start a sentence" (also *ad* the *sūtra* '*tad yatrobhe* etc.' discussed at §3.1ff.: *tad iti vākyopanyāse*). Anyway, Yāska, by avoiding pronouns and adjectives as separate categories, was more scientific than pre-modern European grammarians who had eight parts of speech. For Yāska, adverbs and prepositions were one category, perhaps because Vedic *upasarga*s were predominantly adverbial (BHATTACHARYA 2002: 24).

1.3 Durga, as is well known, explained the passage differently, and inaccurately at that. He thinks that though Yāska introduced the *samāmnāya* and declared its other name which he explained, he has till now said nothing about its character or contents, which he now goes to explain:

> *ihaitāvad evoktaṃ samāmnāyo nighaṇṭava iti. samāmnāya-śabda-paryāya-prasaktasya ca nighaṇṭu-śabdasya vyutpattir uktā. na tu nighaṇṭu-śabdasyārtha-tattvam avadhāritam. tad avadhāryata iti paryupayuktas tacchabdaḥ* (cf. BHADKAMKAR 1918: 34).
> This much [*etāvad*] only [*eva*] has been declared [*uktam*] yet [*iha*] that [*iti*] the Samāmnāya [*samāmnāyaḥ*] (is also called) the Nighaṇṭavas [*nighaṇṭavaḥ*]. Also [*ca*], the derivation [*vyutpattiḥ*] of the term *nighaṇṭu* [*nighaṇṭu-śabdasya*] employed as a synonym of the word *samāmnāya* [*samāmnāya-śabda-paryāya-prasaktasya*] has been explained [*uktā*]. Never [*na*], however [*tu*], the true nature [*artha-tattvam*] of

> the term *nighaṇṭu* [*nighaṇṭu-śabdasya*] has been ascertained [*avadhāritam*]. Since [*iti*] that [*tat*] is (now) being ascertained [*avadhāryate*], the word "hence" [*tacchabdaḥ*] is indeed appropriate [*paryupayuktaḥ*].

Mukundaśarman JHĀ (Bakhśī), a modern traditional scholar, in his *Nirukta*(*-laghu*)*-vivṛti* (a summary of Durga's commentary on the Nirukta up to 2.4), clarifies: *tat* (sic) *nighaṇṭu-śabdasyārtha-tattvam avadhāryata iti śeṣaḥ*.

These *nighaṇṭu*s fall into the well known four classes of words enumerated in grammar. In other words, they are but these four kinds of words, *i.e.* the Nighaṇṭu deals with nothing else but the four parts of speech. The punctuation in this case would be somewhat like: *tad yāny etāni catvāri pada-jātāni – nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca, tānīmāni bhavanti*. But this interpretation suffers from a serious drawback. One should expect masculine *ime*, corresponding to the gender of *nighaṇṭavaḥ*, instead of the neuter in *imāni*. RAJAVADE (1940: 219) admits that *tānīme* [*nighaṇṭavo*] *bhavanti* would have been correct, but tries to justify unconvincingly the lapse on Yāska's part by assuming that all the other pronouns (*yāni*, *etāni*, *tāni*), being neuter, forced *ime* into their company. His contention that the idiom in Yāska's day required it is not supported by any other instance in the Nirukta, to say the least. For *imāni*, Rajavade had to invent a corresponding neuter noun *nighaṇṭu-padāni*, not used before by Yāska, while Durga almost tries to skip the problem by vaguely commenting: *yāny etāni catvāri pada-jātāni* […] *tāni* […] *imāni catvāri pada-jātāni santy etasmiñ śāstre* […] *nighaṇṭu-saṃjñāni bhavanti* (cf. BHADKAMKAR 1918: 34f.).

2.1 Proceeding to define a noun and a verb (*tatraitan nāmākhyātayor lakṣaṇaṃ pradiśanti* "With reference to this (or: of these four kinds of words), (they) prescribe this definition of noun and verb, Yāska says: *bhāva-pradhānam ākhyātam*, *sattva-pradhānāni nāmāni*."

He gives the usual definitions of *nāman* and *ākhyāta* current in his days, though in a reversed sequence in which he enumerated them in the preceding two *sūtra*s. Changing Yāska's sequence equally unnecessarily, GUNE (1916: 157) translates: "Nouns are where being predominates and a verb is where becoming predominates respectively." So, *bhāvaḥ pradhānaṃ yasmin tad ākhyātam*: "The verb has becoming as its funda-

mental notion," i.e. a verb is that where action is most important. And, *sattvaṃ pradhānaṃ yeṣu tāni nāmāni*: "Nouns have being as their fundamental notion," i.e. nouns are those in which completed acts are principal. Skandasvāmin and Durga explain the passage very nicely:

> When a verb like *pacati* "(he/she) cooks" is uttered, it conveys an action like cooking [*pāka*], a tense like present as against past [*apacat*, etc.] and future [*pakṣyati*, etc.], a structure like active [*para-gāmi-phalatva*: *parasmai-pada*] as against middle [*kartr̥-gāmi-phalatva*, as in *pacate*: *ātmane-pada*], a voice like active [*kartr̥-vācya*] as against passive [*karma-vācya: pacyate*], a person like the third as against second [*pacasi*] or first [*pacāmi*], and a number like singular as against dual [*pacataḥ*] or plural [*pacanti*] – as also a mood like indicative as against imperative [*pacatu*] or optative [*pacet*] etc. Of these the action is the most important, while the other aspects, which come in for the action's sake, are subordinate to it. In other words, the tense, structure, voice, person or number as also the mode of a verb change, depending on the form of the root: *pacati*, *apacat*, *pakṣyati* or *pacati*, *pacate* or *pacati*, *pacyate* or *pacati*, *pacasi*, *pacāmi* or *pacati*, *pacataḥ*, *pacanti* or *pacati*, *pacatu*, *pacet*, but the action, (like the uninflected crude base [*prātipadika*] in all the inflections of a noun,) remains everywhere the same. Similarly, when a noun like *pācakaḥ* is uttered, it conveys the idea of an action like cooking [*pāka*], a case like nominative as against accusative [*pācakam*] or instrumental [*pācakena*] etc., a number like singular as against dual [*pācakau*] or plural [*pācakāḥ*], a gender like masculine as against feminine [*pācikā*] etc., and the being possessed of all these ideas [*pācaka-*]. Of these the being is the most significant, while the other aspects, coming in for its sake, are of secondary character.[8]

2.2 In other words, a doing word means an act in process; a naming word, a finished act. The R̥k-prātiśākhya says:

8 So Skandasvāmin: *ākhyāte hi pacatītyādāv uccārite kriyā pratīyate pākādiḥ, kālo vartamānādiḥ, puruṣaḥ prathamādiḥ. upagrahaḥ kartr̥gāmi-paragāmitva-lakṣaṇaḥ* […] *pacatīti kartā, pacyata iti karma. saṃkhyā – pacatīty ekatvam, pacata iti dvitvam, pacantīti bahutvam. eṣāṃ kriyā pradhāna-bhūtā, guṇa-bhūtā itare tad-arthatvāt. nāmni hi pācaka ityādāv uccārite kriyā pratīyate, kāraka-śaktiś ca kartr̥tvādiḥ, tad-yuktaṃ ca dravyam. tatra dravyaṃ pradhāna-bhūtam, guṇa-bhūte itare kriyā-kāraka-śaktī, tad-upalakṣaṇārthatvāt* (cf. THAKUR 1955: 7, n. 1). Durga, too, has: […] *bhāva-kāla-kāraka-saṃkhyāś catvāra ete 'rthā ākhyā tasya. teṣāṃ bhāva-pradhānatā bhavati. ato bhāva-pradhānam ākhyā tam ity uktam. nāmno 'pi sattā dravyaṃ saṃkhyā liṅgam ity ete 'rthāḥ. teṣāṃ dravyaṃ pradhānam ity ataḥ sattva-pradhānāni nāmānīty uktam* […] (cf. BHADKAMKAR 1918: 41).

tan nāma yenābhidadhati sattvam, tad ākhyātaṃ yena bhāvaṃ sadhātu (12.5cd[9])
"That [*tat*] (is) a noun [*nāma*] by which [*yena*] being [*sattvam*] is expressed [*abhidadhati*], (and) that [*tat*] which incorporates the (verbal) root [*sadhātu*] (is) a verb [*ākhyātam*], by which [*yena*] becoming [*bhāvam*] (is expressed)," or even: "[…] (and) that [*tat*] by which [*yena*] becoming [*bhāvam*] along with the (verbal) root [*sadhātu*] (is expressed is) a verb [*ākhyātam*]."

kriyā-vācakam ākhyātam […] *sattvābhidhāyakaṃ nāma* (12.8ac)
Verb expresses an action […] noun denotes a substance.

Going to define *ākhyāta* and *nāman*, Patañjali (at Pāṇ. 5.3.66) appears to have reproduced in essence, though not verbatim, Yāska's remarkable *dictum* only with the difference that he uses *kriyā* for *bhāva* and *dravya* for *sattva*: *kriyā-pradhānam ākhyātam*, i.e. a verb belongs to a class of words wherein the implication of action is dominant, and *dravya-pradhānaṃ nāma*, i.e. a noun has substance as its chief denotation. Obviously, Yāska classifies the parts of speech according to their meanings. But, he must have recognized morphological properties, too. Had only the semantic position counted for him, he would have considered pronouns and adjectives as separate parts of speech (BHATTACHARYA, *loc. cit.*).

3.1 Next, Yāska distinguishes between a verb and a noun in an extremely important passage in the sections on the parts of speech:

tad yatrobhe bhāva-pradhāne bhavataḥ, pūrvāparī-bhūtaṃ bhāvam ākhyātenācaṣṭe: vrajati, pacatīti. upakrama-prabhṛty apavarga-paryantaṃ mūrtaṃ sattva-bhūtaṃ sattva-nāmabhiḥ: vrajyā, paktir iti.

This Nirukta portion is very controversial, since in contradistinction to the traditional commentators' interpretation that herein Yāska deals with the verb *vis-à-vis* the noun, SARUP (1921: 201), along the lines of GUNE (1916: 158), considers that in these lines the author differentiates the verb from the verbal noun.

SARUP (1920: 67) further claims that Yāska was superior to Aristotle in defining the noun and the verb, and whereas he had also defined the verbal noun, this was totally ignored by the latter.

9 SARUP (1927: 28, n. 1) inaccurately reads *sa dhātuḥ* for *sadhātu*.

3.2 Owing to the want of precise punctuation, however, Skandasvāmin and Durga clearly misunderstood the passage. They assumed a comma after *ubhe* and ended the sentence with *bhavataḥ*: *tad yatrobhe*, *bhāva-pradhāne bhavataḥ*.

Durga tried to get over the grammatical problem by repeating *bhavataḥ*: *atha punar yatraite ubhe bhavataḥ* […] *bhāva-pradhāne bhavataḥ* "Where (as in a sentence) both (occur), (there) becoming predominates (etc.)." He construed *upakrama-prabhṛty apavarga-paryantam* of the next *sūtra* with *pūrvāparī-bhūtam* etc.; so also Śabara in his Bhāṣya *ad* 1.1.5.

ROTH (1948: 4) appears to agree with Durga in the punctuation and interpretation of the passage, when he translates: "Where both are conjoined (in a sentence), they conjointly express a becoming." Both interpret, quite unjustifiably, *yatra* as referring to a sentence, and look upon the sentence starting with *pūrvāparī-bhūtam* as a fresh one, unconnected with *tad yatrobhe* etc. (cf. SARUP 1921: 201). According to them, *pūrvāparī-bhūtam* etc. and *mūrtam* etc. are further explanations of *ākhyāta* and *nāman* respectively. RAJAVADE (1940: 221) follows suit, thinks the explanation of Gune to be strange, and only accuses Yāska for the serious omission of such necessary words like *bhavatas tatra te* between *ubhe* and *bhāva-pradhāne* (at p. LXXI of the introduction). He explains:

> Definitions of verbs and nouns hold so long as they are treated separately; but when they are talked of jointly, i.e. in a sentence (*yatrobhe*), then of these two, *bhāva* is principal. For, it is a process of evolving something for which instruments or agents (subject, object etc.) are necessary and exist. The line then means: *vrajati* "goes," having a beginning and an end, consists of many stages, and the succession of these stages is *vrajati*.

But then, RAJAVADE (*op. cit.* p. 220) admits, *upakrama-prabhṛty apavarga-paryantam* will be a mere paraphrase of *pūrvāparī-bhūtam*.

Moreover, the *iti* after *pacati* unmistakably indicates that the sentence *pūrvāparī-bhūtam* etc. ends there. It must be noted that the identical roots (*vraj-*, *pac-*) are illustrated to differentiate the verbs (*vrajati*, *pacati*) from nouns (*vrajyā*, *paktiḥ*). Also, *yatra* cannot refer to a sentence, and Yāska expectably does not give any example of a sentence, but illustrates only isolated verbs and nouns.

All this compelled Rajavade to think that "Yāska might as well have omitted *tad yatrobhe bhāva-pradhāne bhavataḥ* since it interrupts the illustrations of nouns and verbs" (*op. cit.* p. 221)!

It may be mentioned that Rajavade found a supporter in THAKUR (1955: 10ff., and also at many other places in his voluminous work, extensively used in Bengal), who sticks in an unscholarly manner to the inaccurate explanations of traditional scholiasts, in spite of having before him the excellent works of Gune and Sarup, and discarding their brilliant expositions, he tries rather strangely to defend the indefensible, the faulty punctuation and interpretations offered by the earlier commentators.

3.3 GUNE (1916: 158), and somewhat following him SARUP (1921: 5f., 201), made an ingenious suggestion. They pointed out that this passage immediately follows Yāska's definition of nouns, which definition is not comprehensive, because it excludes all verbal nouns whose fundamental notion is more a *becoming* than a *being*. Hence, SARUP (1921: 201) thinks, to reconcile his definition with verbal nouns and to differentiate between verbs and verbal nouns, Yāska expresses here his meaning more definitely at a greater length. More or less similarly, Gune thinks the whole to be an answer to a question: what about abstract nouns where we have both the *ākhyāta* and *nāman*? E.g., *vrajyā-* is made of root *vraj-* and suffix *-yā-*, and *pakti-* of root *pac-* and suffix *-ti-*. Are they nouns or verbs? The reply is that they are actually nouns.

> Now, where both are dominated by a *becoming*, a becoming arising from a former to a later state is denoted by a verb, as "goes," "cooks" etc.; the embodiment (of the whole process) from the beginning to the end [i.e. beginning with the original and ending with the final conception], which has assumed the character of *being*, by a noun, as "going," "cooking" etc.

3.4 Any way, in spite of giving full credit to Gune and Sarup for the punctuation of the passage, I hesitate to accept their conclusion that herein Yāska proposes to distinguish between the verb and the verbal noun, and not between the verb and the noun in general. It seems more reasonable to understand the passage as *further* distinguishing the verb from the noun, and Yāska did not mean to define a verbal noun here. It must be emphasized that not only is this passage preceded by a discussion of the verb and the noun, it is also followed by the treatment of the

same two parts of speech, where Yāska says that there is a specific distinction in the use of terminologies applicable to these two:

> *ada iti sattvānām upadeśaḥ: gaur aśvaḥ puruṣo hastīti. bhavatīti bhāvasya: āste śete vrajati tiṣṭhatīti.*

This, as understood by SARUP (1921: 6), can be rendered as:

> The demonstrative pronoun is a reference to *beings*, as "cow," "horse," "man," "elephant," (etc.), (while) "to be" (is a reference) to *becoming*, as "(he/she) sits, sleeps, goes, stands" (etc.).

What Yāska meant in the first part of the above passage is this: *ada iti sattvānām upadeśaḥ*: [*asau*] *gaur* [*asāv*] *aśvo* [*'sau*] *puruṣo* [*'sau*] *hastīti*. It is interesting to note that of all the pronouns (demonstrative, as also relative and interrogative, this last being used somewhat like interrogative adjective), Yāska chose the one (*adas* "that") which is declined identically (*asau*) in nominative singular in both its masculine and feminine forms[10], the ones exemplified by him (*gaus*- f., *aśva*- m., *puruṣa*- m., *hastin*- m.). He did not select the other ones inflected differently (*etad*- "this": *eṣaḥ* m., *eṣā* f.; *idam*- "this": *ayam* m., *iyam* f.; *tad*- "that": *saḥ* m., *sā* f.; *yad*- "which": *yaḥ* m., *yā* f.; *kim*- "which": *kaḥ* m., *kā* f.). It may be remembered that *amu*-, a pronominal base used in the declension of *adas*-[11], is used to denote a person or thing referred to without name, cf. *amuka*- m. f.(°*ā*-) n. "such and such a person or thing (nameless)," *amuvat* ind. "like such person or thing, without name," etc., in Classical Sanskrit.[12] Thus, since pronouns have references in general to particular nouns, Yāska's *ada iti sattvānām upadeśaḥ* might have been thought to compare favourably with Patañjali's *sarva-nāma ca sāmānya-vāci* "And,

10 Perhaps Durga, too, wants to convey the same thing when he says: *sarveṣām api sattvānām adhyayane prāpte* liṅgāviśiṣṭatvād *idam evaikam udāhṛtam upapradarśanārtham* (cf. at BHADKAMKAR 1918: 43).

11 Cf. acc. sg. *amum* m.; instr. sg. *amunā* m. n., *amuyā* f.; dat. sg. *amuṣmai* m. n., *amuṣyai* f.; abl. sg. *amuṣmāt* m. n., *amuṣyāḥ* f.; gen. sg. *amuṣya* m. n., *amuṣyāḥ* f.; loc. sg. *amuṣmin* m. n., *amuṣyām* f.; gen. and loc. du. *amuyoḥ* m. f. n., etc.

12 From NIA, in Bengali *amuk-tamuk*, *amuk-tusuk* etc. are used in the same sense, the second elements of the compounds being possibly derived from **tv* (= *tu* 'but') *amuka*-, **tv asau-ka*-.

the pronoun is the general exponent" (under Pāṇ. 1.1.66f., 4.1.92[13]). This very fact might have inspired Durga to infer *sāmānyena* or *sāmānyataḥ* before *upadeśaḥ* – when *nothing* permits it, and to add, on the strength of something which does not exist at all, its opposite concept *sattvānāṃ viśeṣopadeśaḥ* after *hastīti*, and applying the same principle also in the next sentence.[14]

3.5 Since in the preceding two *sūtra*s noun and verb are spoken of, it is most expected that by *ubhe* Yāska should refer only to the verb *vis-à-vis* the noun, and not suddenly out of nothing to the verb *vis-à-vis* the verbal noun. And so, no reference to the verbal noun should be searched here. From all the various types of nouns, Yāska illustrates here only abstract nouns that are also verbal nouns because he can thereby more easily point out the *identical* roots existing in both verbs and the nouns derived from the same verbs. The other classes of nouns (e.g. common nouns like *gaus-*, *aśva-*, *puruṣa-*, *hastin-*, as in the next *sūtra*) might not necessarily serve his purpose. Oftener than not, the noun associated with a verb is derived from a different root, e.g. *devadatto gacchati* etc., which

13 In George Cardona's e-text for the 6th *āhnika* of the Mahābhāṣya, under *vārttika* 4 ad Pāṇ. 6.4.172 (3rd ed., 1972, vol. 3, p. 234, l. 20), there is a cross-reference to *sarva-nāmnā 'yaṃ nirdeśaḥ kriyate*, *sarva-nāma ca sāmānya-vāci*.

14 Cf. Durga: *tatrāda iti sattvānām upadeśaḥ. sāmānyata iti vākya-śeṣaḥ* […] *viśeṣopadeśaḥ katham ity ucyate – gaur aśvaḥ puruṣo hastīti. sattvānāṃ viśeṣopadeśa iti vākya-śeṣaḥ* […] *sāmānya-vr̥ttyā viśeṣa-vr̥ttyā cobhayathā śabdaḥ pravartata ity ubhayam upadarśitam. bhavatīti bhāvasya sāmānyenopadeśaḥ. viśeṣa-nirdeśaḥ katham ity ucyate – āste śete vrajati tiṣṭhatīti* (cf. at BHADKAMKAR, *loc. cit.*). RAJAVADE (1940: 222), as also THAKUR (1955: 11f.), fall along the line of Durga in their expositions. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that RAJAVADE (*loc. cit.*) has nevertheless noticed a subtle point: If *bhāva* is the basis of all sorts of actions, every action can be explained as related to it [*bhavati*], *i.e. āste*, *śete*, *vrajati*, *tiṣṭhati* would respectively mean *āsīno/śayāno/vrajan/tiṣṭhan bhavati* (or according to B.B. Chaubey *āsanaṃ/śayanaṃ/vrajanaṃ/sthānaṃ bhavati*: personal communication in September 2008). Thus, all acts will arise out of and be included in *bhavati*. The use of singular in *bhāvasya* may also be another way of indicating that action (*bhāva*), though essentially one and indivisible, is found to reveal itself in various aspects, cf. at Nir. 1.2 (following Vārṣyāyaṇi): *ṣaḍ bhāva-vikārā bhavanti* […] *jāyate 'sti vipariṇamate vardhate 'pakṣīyate vinaśyatīti* "Becoming has six modifications: genesis, existence, alteration, development, decline and ultimate destruction," a classification strikingly comprehending every type of motion: physical, biological, chemical and even social if necessary (BHATTACHARYA 2002: 25f.).

will not help Yāska in this case, and the rather artificial examples like *gantā gacchati*, or for that matter *pācakaḥ pacati*, *vrā̆jako vrajati* etc., would have been tautologies. This is *not* to support the punctuation and interpretation of the traditional scholars involving a sentence (*yatra* = "in a sentence"), also for the simple reason that to consider both *devadattaḥ* and *gacchati* in a sentence like *devadatto gacchati* as being dominated by a verb is preposterous. This is why Yāska did not give examples like *vrā̆jakaḥ*, *pācakaḥ* for *vrajyā*, *paktiḥ*. So, the point that Yāska illustrated only verbal nouns here should not be pushed too far. This may also answer RAJAVADE's objection (*op. cit.* p. 222), raised more or less to aim at the same conclusion but in a different context, to Yāska's giving no examples of other types of nouns except the abstract ones. Moreover, Yāska has not as well given any name for the verbal noun, unless *sattva-nāman-*, where the first part, as pointed out at §4.1 below, seems apparently to be an unnecessary repetition, is taken for one. But, Yāska does not seem to have intended to attach any special significance to *sattva-nāmabhiḥ* for denoting the verbal noun.

3.6 Braj Bihari Chaubey, while commenting on my lecture on a similar topic as chairman of the session in a seminar in Kolkata in March 2006, ventured to say that the concerned passage involves an attempt to distinguish between a verb and its present participial form (i.e. with the suffix *-ant-* or Pāṇinian *-śatr̥-*). His being the concluding address there was no scope for me then to contradict him. His argument, however, could be acceptable had only Yāska used *vrajan* and *pacan* instead of *vrajyā* and *paktiḥ* in the passage. In September 2008, Chaubey was kind enough to clarify to me at Pune that he understands a *tatra* after *bhavataḥ*, and thinks that *sattva-nāman-* has a reference to the verbal noun, but in its widest possible sense so as to include even the present participial forms. This, any way, does not appeal to me to be at all convincing, and all this reminds me of the well known amusing poem about Andrew Cecil Bradley's critique of William Shakespeare:

> One night I dreamt that Shakespeare's ghost
> Sat for a civil service post.
> The English papers of the year
> Contained a question from King Lear,
> Which Shakespeare answered very badly,
> Because he had not studied Bradley!

4.1 My explanation, and I think a better way of understanding the passage, is:

> Now [*tat*], while [*yatra*] both (the verb and the noun) [*ubhe*] are [*bhavataḥ*] predominated by a *becoming* [*bhāva-pradhāne*], a *becoming* [*bhāvam*] originating from a prior to a later (stage) [*pūrvāparī-bhūtam*] is expressed [*ācaṣṭe*] by the verb [*ākhyātena*], as [*iti*] "goes" [*vrajati*], "cooks" [*pacati*]; the incorporation (of the entire course) [*mūrtam*] from the commencement to the end [*upakrama-prabhṛty apavarga-paryantam*], which has taken up the quality of *being* [*sattva-bhūtam*], by nouns meant for a *being* [*sattva-nāmabhiḥ*], as [*iti*] "going" [*vrajyā*], "cooking" [*paktiḥ*].

The initial part of the passage, "whereas (the verb as well as) the noun is dominated by a *becoming*" (where *yatra* has been a little freely translated), is in conformity with Yāska's fundamental notion about language that nouns are derived from verbs (*nāmāny ākhyāta-jāni*), a discussion on which immediately follows at 1.12 no sooner than Yāska has finished his treatment of the parts of speech:

> *itīmāni catvāri pada-jātāny anukrāntāni. nāmākhyāte copasarga-nipātāś ca*
> Thus these four classes of words, [viz.] noun and verb, prepositions and particles, have been enumerated.
>
> *tatra nāmāny ākhyāta-jānīti śākaṭāyano* nairukta-*samayaś ca*
> Nouns originate from verbs, says Śākaṭāyana in this connection; (this) also (is) the view of the *school of etymology*.

In other words, while writing *yatrobhe bhāva-pradhāne bhavataḥ* etc., Yāska of the *etymological* school was swayed by the intuition of anticipation, i.e. a reflex of the later *nāmāny ākhyāta-jānīti* etc. This is a psychological action due to which a writer, while choosing the right expressions, is influenced by the wording of a later verse, examples of which are plenty in Vedic literature. To take up only one text, see GRIFFITHS (2009: XLI ff.) on several such cases of anticipation (if it is forward in the text)[15] *vis-à-vis* citations for its counterpart, viz. persever-

15 In an e-mail dated 18.6.2010, Arlo Griffiths informs me that since writing that paragraph, he has found a few more, and it really seems to be a very common phenomenon in both the Kashmirian and Orissan branches of Paippalāda-saṃhitā transmission. He, however, adds: "Of course, in the case of texts learned by heart, the distinction forward/backward is probably less relevant than in the case of texts

ation (if backward) in the Paippalādasaṃhitā. Both are psychology-based phenomena due to a confusion of closely similar information stored in the memory. In the present case, comparable with the above is the underlying psychological process by which Yāska was trying to forestall the possibility of any contradiction of his present statement with a forthcoming one, which is *mantra* for him as an etymologist.

4.2 Ergo, a noun, too, is in a sense dominated by a *becoming*, and *sattva-pradhānāni nāmāni*, which immediately precedes this passage, is a view somewhat contrary to the above principle. Hence, Yāska clarifies the position by distinguishing the noun from the verb further more elaborately in the passage quoted above (§3.1):

> *pūrvāparī-bhūtaṃ bhāvam ākhyātenācaṣṭe* […] *upakrama-prabhṛty apavarga-paryantaṃ mūrtaṃ sattva-bhūtaṃ* [*bhāvaṃ tu*] *sattva-nāmabhir* [*ācaṣṭe*].

The difference is this: a becoming in the course of a process or state of flux is denoted by a verb, but the embodiment of the complete process is denoted by a noun. Cf. Patañjali at Pāṇ. 3.1.67: *kr̥d-abhihito bhāvo dravyavad bhavati* "The action stated by a suffix forming noun from verb behaves like a substance."

Interestingly, in *mūrtaṃ sattva-bhūtaṃ sattva-nāmabhiḥ*, the second *sattva-* appears to be tautologous. Like the preceding *pūrvāparī-bhūtaṃ bhāvam ākhyātena ācaṣṭe*, one would in this case also rather expect *mūrtaṃ sattva-bhūtaṃ* [*bhāvaṃ*] *nāmabhir* [*ācaṣṭe*]. But, it may also be surmised that by this repetition of the word, Yāska wanted to stress that [a *becoming*] that has assumed the quality of a *being* (*mūrta sattva-bhūta* [*bhāva*]), is also to be given the *same* appellation, viz. noun, *meant for* the *being*: *mūrtaṃ sattva-bhūtaṃ* (*bhāvaṃ*) *sattva-nāmabhir* [*eva*] (*ācaṣṭe*).

4.3 The above explanation is following the punctuation proposed by Gune and Sarup, which seems to be the most acceptable one, but contradicts their understanding of the passage and tries eventually to establish the traditional interpretation. It may in passing be mentioned that Durga cited under this passage two verses from an unknown source, and one

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with a strictly written transmission (where the phenomenon of anticipation may be expected to be virtually absent)."

can easily find how wonderfully they suit the above Nirukta passage in clearly differentiating verbs from nouns (as rightly noted by SARUP 1921: 202), and not verbs from verbal nouns only. These are quoted below with Sarup's translation:

> *kriyāsu bahvīṣv abhisaṃśrito yaḥ pūrvāparī-bhūta ivaika eva, kriyābhinirvṛtti-vaśena siddha ākhyāta-śabdena tam artham āhuḥ. kriyābhinirvṛtti-vaśopajātaḥ kṛdanta-śabdābhihito yadā syāt, saṃkhyā-vibhakti-vyaya-liṅga-yukto bhāvas tadā dravyam ivopalakṣyaḥ.*
> They call that notion by the term verb, which is connected with many actions, which proceeding from a former to a later state is yet one, and which is accomplished through the termination of the actions. A becoming, produced by the completion of action, capable of being expressed by a word ending in a primary affix, and joined with number, case, inflexion, and gender, should then be regarded as a noun.

4.4 And so, the last word in this regard is perhaps yet to be said, but till now it seems that Yāska did not have anything to do with verbal noun in the controversial passage, and hence can not claim any superiority to Aristotle. This is my conclusion, even risking the wrath of some of my Indian colleagues whose over-all mind-set would even go to the length of assuming that the Vedas existed ever before the big bang!

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JAN E. M. HOUBEN

On the *bahiraṅga*-Rule in Pāṇinian Grammar: Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa

We are left with a single clear truth, a patch of firm ground on which to stand; but it lies in the middle of a swamp of uncertainty.
Ben-Ami SCHARFSTEIN (1989: 59)

1.1 The confrontation of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, grammarian in the school of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Melputtūr in their treatment of the *bahiraṅga*-rule, appears to be revealing in several respects. The aim of this article is not to provide this detailed confrontation, which would require a more extensive study, but to give a brief overview of Nāgeśa's extensive scholarly and sophisticated treatment of the *bahiraṅga*-rule and to have this as background for the pragmatic treatment of the rule by Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa's discussion of this rule and of the immediately following one which constitutes an important exception (*apavāda*) will here be analysed and translated for the first time.

Nāgeśa's treatment which is only summarized here consists of a complex exegetic investigation and the discussion of several examples, for the details of which the reader is referred to the studies of KIELHORN (1868–1874) and BRONKHORST (1986). In Nārāyaṇa's treatment of the *bahiraṅga*-rule, the rule is presented with disarming simplicity and with a minimum of exegesis mainly through examples. It gains in importance if we consider it in the light of Nārāyaṇa's theoretical position which he polemically defended in the Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā. The diverging treatments of this rule by these two grammarians are indicative of profoundly different approaches in Pāṇinian grammar which both had a long and strong tradition in India, at least till the eighteenth century. In spite of the brevity of Nārāyaṇa's discussion and in spite of its no doubt disappointing nature from the point of view of an adept of Nāgeśa's school, it suggests viable theoretical options which are left largely undeveloped by

Nārāyaṇa himself, as his work addresses advanced learners rather than full-fledged specialists and theoreticians in Pāṇinian grammar.

1.2 Around two thousand years after Pāṇini, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (late sixteenth, early seventeenth century) reviewed the entire Pāṇinian system as known in his time from the (basically irrational) perspective of the absolute authority[1] of the ancient three sages or *munitraya*, Pāṇini (ca. 350 BCE), Kātyāyana (ca. 250 BCE) and Patañjali (ca. 150 BCE). The special appreciation enjoyed by the grammatical system presented by Patañjali on the basis of the work of his two predecessors led to the formation of a special expression, *trimuni vyākaraṇa*, already known to the authors of the other major text in Pāṇinian grammar, the Kāśikā-vr̥tti (*ad* AA 2.1.19[2]). Till the sixteenth or seventeenth century, however, no one had suggested that the authority of the three grammarians of the *trimuni vyākaraṇa* was an absolute one, not only in a mythical sense but in the actual practice of grammatical derivation. Positing their absolute authority was equivalent to starting the project of proving it, which is what Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita did when he composed the Siddhānta-kaumudī, in which he went through the entire Aṣṭādhyāyī from the point of view of the derivation of words and with Patañjali as final authority. Even Bhaṭṭoji did not provide, however, a systematic discussion of all interpretive rules or *paribhāṣā*s (also referred to with the attractive but not always entirely appropriate term "metarules") not given by Pāṇini but apparently or supposedly accepted in his system. Many of these interpretive rules have been invoked or referred to since Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgeśa (late seventeenth, early eighteenth century) is the crown stone of Bhaṭṭoji's project, as it is the work on interpretive rules that brings to completion or tries to bring to completion and (near) perfection the Pāṇinian system proposed by Bhaṭṭoji. A crucial rule

1 This absolute authority had been accepted by some (though not all) grammarians before Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, but Bhaṭṭoji demonstrated, for the first time, that the authority of the *munitraya* need not only be a nominal authority: it can be a practical and exclusive authority for the totality of correct forms of Sanskrit. See further below.

2 The three sages are explained by the commentators Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The expression *trimuni vyākaraṇa*, with an undeclinable *trimuni*, is contrasted with *dvimuni vyākaraṇa*, where the two sages are said to be Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

among these interpretive rules, which in turn can be regarded as the crown stone of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara,[3] is the *bahiraṅga*-rule. As Johannes Bronkhorst stated and also demonstrated in detail in his study of the *bahiraṅga*-rule in Pāṇinian grammar, "[t]he difficulties confronting anyone who wants to become acquainted with Nāgeśa's ideas regarding the BP [Bahiraṅga-Paribhāṣā] by reading his PŚ [PbhI = Paribhāṣenduśekhara] are many and varied" (BRONKHORST 1986: 61).

In the conclusion of his review of Bronkhorst's book devoted to the *bahiraṅga*-rule and its discussion by Nāgeśa, Dominik Wujastyk is sceptical about some aspects of Bronkhorst's suggestions for solving these difficulties, but he confirms that Bronkhorst has demonstrated that there are indeed serious problems in Nāgeśa's discussion (1999: 176), to which he refers as "a complex set of arguments" (*ibid.*, 172). WUJASTYK notes that "Bronkhorst examines every phrase of Nāgeśa's discussion of this tenet in the minutest detail, presenting a rich English language commentary on this part of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara in the tradition of the old *śāstri*s" (1999: 173).

1.3 More than hundred years before Bronkhorst's study, Franz KIELHORN (1868, 1874) edited and translated Nāgeśa's discussion of the *bahiraṅga*-rule and that of the immediately following rule which restricts its scope but which is ultimately rejected by Nāgeśa as superfluous.[4] These two, nos. 50 and 51 in Nāgeśa's PbhI, are as follows:

50. *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge.*
51. *nājānantarye bahiṣṭvaprakḷptiḥ.*

Bronkhorst accepts Kielhorn's translation of these two rules:

3 Because of the importance of this rule in turning Pāṇinian grammar into an (almost) closed system of word derivation this characterisation is justified. BRONKHORST (1986: xiii) notes that Renou characterized the *bahiraṅga*-rule as "l'apogée du Paribhāṣenduśekhara," but does not say where exactly Renou said this; in any case not in the *antaraṅga* article in his *Terminologie* where he discusses this rule (RENOU 1942: 37–39).

4 Cf. PbhI 104.9–10 *tena bhāṣyeṇāsyā anāvaśyakatva-bodhanāt, etajjñāpakenāntaraṅga-paribhāṣāyā anityatva-bodhanasyaiva nyāyyatvāt*. Tr. pp. 275–276; BRONKHORST 1986: 49–53.

> 50. That which is *bahiraṅga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing) when that which is *antaraṅga* (is to take effect).
> 51. (Provided that an operation which by the BP [*bahiraṅga*-rule] would be *bahiraṅga* has taken effect, it is, contrary to that Paribhāṣā,) not regarded as *bahiraṅga* (and consequently not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaraṅga* operation is to take effect) which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else).

Nāgeśa's elaborate discussion of rule no. 50 contains serious difficulties, as demonstrated by Bronkhorst. Nāgeśa's much shorter discussion of rule no. 51 consists of comments which are, in the words of BRONKHORST (1986: 52), "a confused lot." Under these circumstances, we cannot aspire to even make a start with analysing Nāgeśa's discussion of these two rules or to attempt to arrive at a better interpretation of his view within the limits of the present article. Instead, we try to briefly sketch our current understanding of these rules mainly in the light of the work of Kielhorn and that of Bronkhorst which is the latest elaborate study.

After that, we will have a closer look at the discussion of these two rules by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Melputtūr (at present in Kerala), a (probably slightly older) contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji who gave, like Bhaṭṭoji, a complete revision and discussion of Pāṇini's system, but who, unlike Bhaṭṭoji, did not leave out the interpretive rules but included them in a chapter of his Prakriyā-sarvasva.

2.1 Difficulties appear immediately with the first two sentences of Nāgeśa's commentary on the *bahiraṅga*-rule:

> *antar madhye bahiraṅgaśāstrīyanimittasamudāyamadhye 'ntarbhūtāny aṅgāni nimittāni yasya tad antaraṅgam. evaṃ tadīyanimittasamudāyād bahirbhūtāṅgakam bahiraṅgam.*

BRONKHORST translates this as follows (1986: 3):

> *Antaraṅga* is (a rule) the causes (of the application) of which lie within the sum of the causes of a *bahiraṅga* rule; in like manner (that rule) the causes (of the application) of which lie without the sum of the causes of that (*antaraṅga* rule) is *bahiraṅga*.

Nāgeśa analyses the compounds *bahiraṅga* and *antaraṅga* as *bahuvrīhi*s, "the *aṅga* of which lies *bahir*, resp. *antar*." Moreover, he takes *aṅga* in

the specific, technical sense of *nimitta* "cause (for employing a rule or for executing a grammatical operation)." This is appropriately translated by Bronkorst and, before him, by KIELHORN (1874: 222). Nāgeśa further explains *antar* as *madhye* and as *antarbhūta*; *bahir* is only explained as *bahirbhūta*. Neither Kielhorn's nor Bronkhorst's translation tries to explicitly identify these glosses in Nāgeśa's sentence.[5] Bronkhorst's translation is different from that of Kielhorn on only one point: where Kielhorn wrote "within (or before)" and "without (or beyond)" Bronkhorst translates, simply, "within" and "without." The reason for Kielhorn's addition – which has no immediate justification in the Sanskrit sentences translated – is, in the view of Bronkhorst, that he anticipates slightly different understandings of the *bahiraṅga*-rule which follow later on in Nāgeśa's discussion.

Both Kielhorn and Bronkhorst take Nāgeśa's analysis of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* for granted. In his subsequent investigation, Bronkhorst finds that Nāgeśa assigns two different meanings to *aṅga* – one time allowing only formal causes, the other time also meanings – but these do not depart from Nāgeśa's initial analysis of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* as *bahuvrīhi*s, nor do the two distinct meanings of *aṅga* perceived by Bronkhorst depart "from the fundamental sense 'cause'" (1986: 29) attributed to *aṅga* (in *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga*). Bronkhorst does find that *antar* and *bahir* are interpreted by Nāgeśa in two different ways.

It is to be noted, however, that it is not at all necessary to take these two terms, *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga*, in the technical sense given to it by Nāgeśa. They also have a common meaning in Sanskrit, resp. "interior" and "exterior." As substantives they would mean, resp., "interior limb" (esp. "heart") and "exterior limb." This is appropriately explained by

5 In order to give a more precise representation of the structure of Nāgeśa's two sentences it is possible to give a more literal translation, which, however, is not as nicely readable as Kielhorn's (and Bronkhorst's) translation. The first sentence would then be rendered as follows: "That (rule or grammatical operation) for which the *aṅga*s ('members' in the sense of) *nimitta*s 'causes' lie *antar* ('inside,' in the sense of) 'within' (which means here) 'within the group of causes of a *bahiraṅga* rule' is (considered) an *antaraṅga* (rule or operation)."

K.C. CHATTERJEE (1948: 299–300),[6] who paraphrases the *bahiraṅga*-rule as follows:

> In Grammar a rule is said to be Antaraṅga with reference to another which is regarded as Bahiraṅga when the former is more closely related to the interior part or base of the word than the latter. (1948: 299)

Here the point of reference for the two terms is *not* the "causes for execution of an operation" and a consideration of the relation between *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* does *not* imply reflections on whether they are within/without each other or before/beyond. Rather the 'base' of the word is the point of reference for both terms, probably on account of the context of their employment as there is no explicit claim that *aṅga* in *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* would have the technical sense of "base."

Chatterjee further refers to an explanation of these two terms given with reference to context of Bhoja's Sanskrit grammar. This grammar, written in the eleventh century at the court of king Bhoja, is to a large extent Pāṇinian, but it integrates in its collection of rules several elements which had otherwise remained outside the Aṣṭādhyāyī even if they were closely associated to it. Among these, there is a large number of interpretive rules (*paribhāṣās*) that have become part of the *sūtra-pāṭha* of Bhoja's grammar, Sarasvat ī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa[7] (SKĀ). The explanation of the terms *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is given by the commentator Daṇḍanātha and concerns Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa (SKĀ) 1.2.84. In its wording, it is nothing but our *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*. Daṇḍanātha's explanation runs *aṅgaṃ nimittam antar yasya tad antaraṅgam, bahir yasya tad bahiraṅgam*. If *yasya* is understood as *yasya kāryasya*, the phrase may be rendered as "that grammatical operation for which the *aṅga* (in the sense of) cause (for the application of that grammatical operation) is interior is *antaraṅga*, that for which it is exterior is *bahiraṅga*." Although Chatterjee does not say so, this interpretation takes the two terms *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* in a more sophis-

6 Chatterjee illustrates this general use with references to the Yogasūtra (3.7–8: *trayam antaraṅgaṁ pūrvebhyaḥ*; *tad bahiraṅgaṁ nirbījasya*) and a few poetical and philosophical works.

7 This grammar is not to be confounded with the work on literary theory and poetics with the same title and by the same author (see e.g. ed. and tr. by SIDDHARTHA 2009).

ticated sense as explicit *bahuvrīhi* with *aṅga* in the specific sense of *nimitta* "cause." This sense is hence two steps removed from the general sense which they have outside grammar and which Chatterjee himself accepted in his initial explanation.

2.2 Starting from a sophisticated interpretation of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* – not entirely original as Daṇḍanātha's earlier interpretation was more or less similar[8] – and aiming at a strict analysis of the rule and its justifications in the Mahābhāṣya, Nāgeśa accepts the *bahiraṅga*-rule apparently in slightly different senses, which BRONKHORST explains as follows (1986: 54–55).

> (1) The meaning of the terms *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* falls into two groups, a_1b_1 and a_2b_2, to which correspond two interpretations of the BP, BP_1 and BP_2. BP_2 itself consists of two parts, BP_{21} and BP_{22}.
>
> (2) A rule or operation is a_1 with respect to another rule or operation which is b_1, (i) when the causes of the former lie within the causes of the latter; (ii) when the former has no cause whereas the latter has; (iii) when the latter depends on two words, whereas the former does not (two-word principle). A cause here is what is mentioned or understood in the rule concerned in a locative case. Where out of a pair of rules one is a_1 and the other b_1, BP_1 applies: If both the rules apply simultaneously, the *antaraṅga* rule supersedes the *bahiraṅga* rule. If the *bahiraṅga* rule has already taken effect when the *antaraṅga* rule applies, the former is *asiddha* with regard to the latter.
>
> (3) A rule or operation is a_2 with respect to another rule or operation which is b_2, when the cause of the former, in the order of the pronunciation of the sounds, comes before the cause of the latter. In such cases BP_{21} applies: If both the rules apply simultaneously, the *antaraṅga* rule supersedes the *bahiraṅga* rule.
>
> (4) A rule or operation is a_2 with respect to another rule or operation which is b_2, when the former directly or indirectly depends on a meaning which presents itself earlier than the meaning on which the latter depends. In such cases BP_{22} applies: What depends on a meaning that presents itself earlier takes effect earlier. In short, first come, first served.
>
> (5) The BP does not apply when out of a pair of rules the *antaraṅga* rule is in the Tripādī, nor when both the *antaraṅga* and the *bahiraṅga* rule are in the Abhīya section and depend on the same element.

8 Further investigation into the history of this interpretation is required. It is not interpreted in this way in the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti under *paribhāṣā* 32, 73. See also below.

2.3 Bronkhorst deals with the problems around Nāgeśa's discussion of the *bahiraṅga*-rule on the basis of a general methodological principle in the study of ancient texts, a principle to which he refers in his introduction in the formulation once given to it by Paul Thieme:

> In interpreting a given text, our basic assumption is that the author means to make sensible statements and to be consistent with himself. Our endeavour is to construct and understand his sentences so as to yield sense and consistency.[9]

Bronkhorst accepts this principle in a very strong sense, such that he is ready to assume that both Nāgeśa's direct pupil and commentator Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa and the text Pāyaguṇḍa comments upon are at a few places incorrect, in order to arrive at an entirely consistent interpretation of Nāgeśa's understanding of the *bahiraṅga*-rule. Pāyaguṇḍa would have misunderstood Nāgeśa on crucial points. In particular, he would have failed to grasp Nāgeśa's understanding of the *bahiraṅga*-rule, which Bronkhorst reconstructs entirely on (it is to be admitted, quite strong) internal grounds, without attempt to verify manuscripts for the problematic passages where he wants to deviate from the edition.[10] In the view of WUJASTYK (1999: 176):

> That there are problems with the BP in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* is certainly demonstrated by Bronkhorst, and his exploration of the interpretations of the BP is a unique contribution. But one is tempted to wonder whether Ockham would not have rejoiced more had we decided that Nāgeśa was simply a flawed grammarian rather than that his works were corrupted by an unknown and undiscoverable hand and were fatally misunderstood by all later scholars.

Other possibilities present themselves a priori – i.e. even before diving into details of Nāgeśa's discussion and the difficulties of its interpretation – apart from the two contrasted here by Wujastyk. In the course of his investigation and argument, Bronkhorst had to make several secondary assumptions in order to arrive at the conclusion that Pāyaguṇḍa had misunderstood Nāgeśa. One of them is that Nāgeśa's own understanding of the *bahiraṅga*-rule is not everywhere identical in all his works. Bronkhorst infers that Nāgeśa's understanding underwent a certain evo-

9 THIEME 1957: 53–54, cited at BRONKHORST 1986: xiii from THIEME 1971: 602–603.

10 BRONKHORST 1986: 81: "What makes the irregularities which we discovered in the PŚ so problematic is that all editions of this text give the same wrong readings."

lution, the latest stage of which was represented in the Paribhāṣenduśekhara (PbhI) discussion as interpreted (and at a few points reconstructed) by Bronkhorst.

Since, in the complex of problems involved in the *bahiraṅga*-rule, Nāgeśa's own understanding was at earlier stages different from the coherent interpretation arrived at by Bronkhorst, it would seem entirely natural to assume that even the PbhI does not yet contain the perfect final state envisaged by Bronkhorst but an intermediate, transitional form. In fact, according to BRONKHORST (1986: 77), "Nāgeśa in the [PbhI] is not only criticizing Bhaṭṭoji. He is at the same time criticizing the opinion which he himself had held earlier." Things would indeed have been easier if not accepting the proposal of Bronkhorst would imply the acceptance of Nāgeśa as a flawed grammarian, as Wujastyk suggested. This, however, is not the case: the view against which Nāgeśa was arguing is apparently his own earlier view, which, moreover, would have been at least partly identical with the view of Nāgeśa's predecessor Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,[11] whose system of Pāṇinian grammar is brought to perfection precisely by Nāgeśa's PbhI.[12] Did Nāgeśa himself try to update according to his latest insight a text he wrote earlier, and did this text retain traces of his own earlier treatment of the problems in accordance with the views of his predecessor Bhaṭṭoji? Did Nāgeśa's student and commentator Pāyaguṇḍa receive instruction according to Nāgeśa's earlier or (also) according to his later insights?

2.4 WUJASTYK rightly remarks that in order to understand the problems addressed in Bronkhorst's in-depth study, it is necessary to "understand the general class of problems which the [*bahiraṅga*-rule] was designed to solve," (1999: 173). Wujastyk introduces this general class of problems which "the [*bahiraṅga*-rule] was designed to solve" as follows:

11 Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's approach has become so dominant among both Indian and western students of Pāṇinian grammar that scholars have become blind for the specific theoretical choices made by him (for some of which see HOUBEN 2008) and accepted without discussion by his followers, including Nāgeśa.

12 As pointed out, the *paribhāṣā*s was the only major subject in Pāṇinian grammar on which Bhaṭṭoji wrote no specific study, even if his grammatical works contain occasional references to interpretational rules that were not part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

> The Indian grammatical tradition preserves a quaint saying (*lokanyāya*) intended to capture at least part of the sense of the BP: "when a man gets up in the morning, he first does that which concerns his own body, then what concerns his dear ones, and after that what concerns his relatives" (cf. BRONKHORST p. 33). In other words, a series of tasks is normally performed starting with the most intimate or internal and progressing to the more remote or external. And this idea is applied to the sequence of application of grammatical rules (ibid.).[13]

Since the very rule that is apparently designed to solve a general class of problems in the application of Pāṇini's grammatical rules, presents so many interpretational problems on its own, it is useful to provide an even wider context regarding these interpretational rules or rules on the application of rules.

For this we go back to an article by Franz KIELHORN that appeared in 1887 and which Louis RENOU (1942: viii) identified as one of the contributions without which progress in the study of Indian grammarians "aurait été singulièrement plus long et plus pénible." In it, Kielhorn discussed "some of the devices [...] which the commentators on Pāṇini are in the habit of resorting to in the course of their discussions." Kielhorn observed that

> The general aim of these devices is to secure the right interpretation and proper application of Pāṇini's rules; to refute objections that might be raised to them; to extend the sphere of the rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, so as to make them apply where at first sight they would seem to be inapplicable, and to render additional rules unnecessary; and sometimes also to shorten or simplify those rules.

Kielhorn further remarked that

> [in] the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana their number is comparatively small; it is greatly increasing already in the work of Patañjali; and, to a certain extent, one may perhaps venture to say that, the later an author, the greater is the number and the more artificial the nature of the devices with which he operates.[14]

Rules that "secure the right interpretation and proper application of Pāṇini's rules" are already found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī itself (most of them in

13 This "worldly principle" or principle known from daily life, would correspond to only part of the rule as understood by Nāgeśa. The validity of the rule is also derived from a *jñāpaka* "indicatory statement" in Pāṇini's rule system, namely *ūṭh* in AA 6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh* (BRONKHORST 1986: 29–33).

14 KIELHORN 1887 [STAAL (ed.) 1972: 123–124].

pāda 1, book 1). These rules do not prescribe or prohibit any grammatical operation (as rules of the type of *vidhi* and *pratiṣedha* do), they are rules on (how to interpret, apply) rules, interpretive rules, *paribhāṣā*s, metarules, or, as Kielhorn refers to them in this article, "devices" (for interpreting and applying Pāṇini's rules). Several versions of collections of such rules, not explicitly given in the Aṣṭādhyāyī but dealing with the way its rules are to be applied, have been critically edited and compared in the *Paribhāṣāsaṃgraha* by K.V. ABHYANKAR (1967).

Apart from Nāgeśa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* which became the most authoritative work in this domain, there is one other work on *paribhāṣā*s which deserves mention here, the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti. It cannot be determined whether or not the *paribhāṣā*-collection itself can be attributed to the Vyāḍi mentioned by Kātyāyana in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (WUJASTYK 1993: xiv–xxvii). Even if this would be the case there can be no guarantee that this collection has reached us in exactly the form which it would have had before the Mahābhāṣya. The arguments in the Vr̥tti on this *paribhāṣā*-collection are akin to those in the Mahābhāṣya and seem to be dependent on them, although this is not acknowledged. Nor is any high authoritative status attributed to its author Patañjali. This would suit the intellectual climate after Patañjali but before Bhartr̥hari (WUJASTYK 1993: xvii–xxix).

2.5 The rule *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* is in this form already invoked in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.[15] On account of the references to this rule in early works of the Pāṇinian tradition – though not in Pāṇini's *sūtras* – its status as an interpretive rule can hardly be disputed. The long and complex discussion devoted to it by Nāgeśa confirms that it is for him at once a basic and a very problematic one. Louis Renou, in his *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, at the end of his article on *antaraṅga* and the *paribhāṣā* in which this and the corresponding *bahiraṅga* occupy a central position, notes that there is some "flottement" in Nāgeśa's discussion (RENOU 1942: 39). When ABHYANKAR (1961: 26) considers the word *antaraṅga*, which is crucial in this *paribhāṣā*, to be a "highly technical term in Pāṇini's grammar," does this point to the

15 Even Kātyāyana refers to this rule, though in somewhat different wordings. The distinct tradition represented in the Kāśikā also refers to the *bahiraṅga*-rule. For an overview of occurrences see WUJASTYK 1993: 144, n. 246.

success of the exegetic efforts by especially Nāgeśa, or rather to the lack of success and overscholastic nature of these efforts?

The complexities surrounding the *bahiraṅga*-rule are also evident from the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti, as it occurs here twice, once as rule no. 32 and once as rule no. 73, with explanations according to different perspectives on the rule. Nāgeśa's *nājānantarya*-rule, which follows the *bahiraṅga*-rule as no. 51 in the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, follows the second occurrence of the *bahiraṅga*-rule in the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti as no. 74. Unlike Nāgeśa, the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti does not reject the *nājānantarya*-rule, but uses it to derive a form such as *akṣadyūḥ* from *akṣa* + *div*. In accordance with the *bahiraṅga*-rule, *ū* would here be regarded as *bahiraṅga* (and hence *asiddha*) with regard to the replacement of *i* by *y*. However, thanks to the *nājānantarya*-rule it is not regarded as *bahiraṅga*, so that *ū* conditions the replacement of *i* by *y*, as desired. An important difference with Nāgeśa's treatment of the *bahiraṅga*-rule is that the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti does not subject this word, and the other member of the pair, *antaraṅga*, to an analysis such as the one given by Nāgeśa. Nor does this text attribute a special meaning to these two words. Wujastyk is therefore no doubt right in giving a straightforward interpretation to these terms, but feels compelled to justify this somewhat apologetically:

> The terms *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* have been neutrally translated here as "internal" and "external," although they are such common and crucial terms in the Sanskrit grammatical system that it could be argued that they should not be translated at all (WUJASTYK 1993: 144).

Apart from the complexity of the problems involved in the *bahiraṅga*-rule, notice should therefore be taken of the fact that the rule has been discussed and employed extensively in the centuries following the Mahābhāṣya and preceding Nāgeśa. Nāgeśa ostensibly takes all his clues and justifications from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, which for him (and, more generally, for Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his school) was the major authoritative source on Pāṇini's grammar. However, he definitely had in mind some of the earlier discussions and employments, for instance when he denies that the distinction *bahiraṅga* vs. *antaraṅga*-rule would be a matter of the distinction between a rule based on "few elements" (*alpāpekṣa*) and one based on "many elements" (*bahvāpekṣa*) (PbhI 80.6–8; BRONKHORST 1986: 10–11).

2.6 Bronkhorst's work on the *bahiraṅga*-rule starts with what was indeed the most natural thing to do in the then current state of Pāṇinian studies: to carefully read and analyse the text edited and translated by Kielhorn around hundred years earlier. For someone who would like to improve on Bronkhorst's study or who is not convinced by its conclusions, it would then be important to verify the manuscripts on the problematic passages identified by Bronkhorst (this is Wujastyk's suggestion at the end of his 1999 review), though this would not be sufficient. Nor would it suffice to go on to reconsider "the examples Nāgeśa deals with along with the next *paribhāṣā* (pbh. 51: *nājānantarye bahiṣṭvaprakptiḥ*) as well as places in the Mahābhāṣya where these issues are also taken up" which is the step suggested by George CARDONA as most urgent (1999: 146). The position of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and other preceding and contemporaneous discussions of the same rule should also be carefully studied and compared.

3.1 If we now turn to the treatment of the *bahiraṅga*-rule by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Melputtūr (late sixteenth, early seventeenth century), we enter an entirely different world of grammatical and linguistic thinking. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, living and working in South India (present day Kerala), discusses this rule in a chapter of his encyclopaedic grammar, the Prakriyā-sarvasva. He composed this grammar, the backbone of which is formed by a re-arrangement of (all of) Pāṇini's *sūtra*s, before – or without knowing – Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's grammar which was based on a (similar but in argumentation and in some details quite different) re-arrangement of (all of) Pāṇini's *sūtra*s, the Siddhānta-kaumudī. From his somewhat peripheral position (geographically), Nārāyaṇa shows awareness of the relative popularity of various grammars in entire India, but he is not aware of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī composed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the centre par excellence of the Sanskrit world, Vārāṇasī. As we have seen, Bhaṭṭoji had reviewed the system of Pāṇinian grammar from the perspective of the absolute authority of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, with the latter as the final authority in case of doubt. Bhaṭṭoji had not systematically dealt with the interpretive rules (those not explicitly mentioned in the Aṣṭādhyāyī): it was left to Nāgeśa, almost a century later, to do this. Nārāyaṇa, however, dealt

himself with the interpretive rules in chapter 17 (out of 20 chapters) of his Prakriyā-sarvasva.

Nārāyaṇa's chapter on rules of interpretation has substantial parallels with the collections of *paribhāṣā*s of Nāgeśa-bhaṭṭa, those in the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vṛtti, and other collections, esp. the one that forms part of Bhoja's grammar Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa.[16] Nārāyaṇa reserves the term *paribhāṣā* for the interpretive rules explicitly given by Pāṇini, which he discusses in chapter 2 of his grammar. Implicit or supposedly implicit *paribhāṣā*s he deals with in the Nyāya-chapter. In his grammar these rules function, indeed, as *nyāya*s, as principles or rules of thumb, which one may or may not choose to invoke.[17] There is no trace of an underlying attempt to turn grammar into a closed axiomatic system of rules and metarules, as is evident in the work of Nāgeśa and as already seen in Bhaṭṭoji's work even if the latter did not pay attention to the interpretive rules not defined by Pāṇini himself. Nor is there any sign that Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, enjoyed any special, authoritative status with Nārāyaṇa. Nowhere Nārāyaṇa tries to justify a given rule by invoking a line or passage from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Hence, the elaborate exegetic argumentations that are so characteristic for Bhaṭṭoji's and Nāgeśa's grammatical works, are entirely absent in the Prakriyā-sarvasva. No surprise that Patañjali is not included among those mentioned

16 In the available manuscripts and editions, the *nyāya*s are neither numbered nor always clearly identifiable within the commentary in which they are embedded. According to my analysis, Nārāyaṇa's chapter 17 contains 121 *nyāya*s, divided over two main groups, one group of 102 mostly with commentary, the second group, 103–121, without any commentary. Within the first group, a distinction can be made between the first 88 which, with a few exceptions, follows the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇam and the last 14 which do not do so but have parallels elsewhere. A reasonably reliable text is presented in the Trivandrum edition (fifth fascicule that appeared in 1987), which I have checked against manuscript T2091 of the Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. The new edition (or "compilation") of Pisharoti has added a few printing mistakes and is in any case for the Nyāya-chapter better ignored. In his *Paribhāṣā-saṁgraha*, K. V. ABHYANKAR (1967) edited and compared a large number of collections of *paribhāṣā*s. Chapter 17 of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's Prakriyā-sarvasva would appear for the first time in print in 1987 (fasc. 5 of the Trivandrum edition) and was not included in the comparison by Abhyankar.

17 This is hardly different in Bhaṭṭoji's work: in the domain of *paribhāṣā*s he did not go beyond his predecessors.

explicitly by Nārāyaṇa in the opening verses: his grammar teacher Acyuta Piśāroti, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and his sponsor the king Devanārāyaṇa.

3.2 Nārāyaṇa's distinctive views on grammar and language are clear from several verses in his grammar. It has been argued that "Indian grammarians" have a peculiar, "theological" view on Sanskrit as an eternal language and that the status of grammarians such as Pāṇini and Patañjali was gradually raised to that of divine, or at least divinely inspired, beings (DESHPANDE 1997, 1998). To assume that this would apply to "all" Indian grammarians would be a serious mistake. An important exception has generally been overlooked: Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. For Nārāyaṇa, Pāṇini is a brilliant grammarian but not divine; and no theology is associated with the technical preliminary inventory of phonemes, the *pratyāhāra-sūtra*s: he never makes the mistake to call them Śiva-*sūtra*s. One verse, which appears at the end of chapter 9 on verbal endings, is particularly revealing and deserves to be mentioned here. It occurs also at the beginning of a separate, small polemic treatise, the Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā, in which Nārāyaṇa elaborates its ideas and defends the authoritativeness of so-called "non-Pāṇinian" grammars (although these grammars, for instance the ones of Bhoja or Candra mentioned by Nārāyaṇa, are for at least 90 percent based on Pāṇini). Since Nārāyaṇa keeps in general polemics out of his grammar, the Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā and the verse which summarizes its argument are of great interest for the history of grammatical and linguistic thought in India.
The verse is as follows:

> "*pāṇiny-uktaṃ pramāṇaṃ, na tu punar aparaṃ candra-bhojādi-sūtram.*" *ke 'py āhus – tal laghiṣṭham* : (1) *na khalu bahuvidām asti nirmūla-vākyam*; (2) *bahv-aṅgīkāra-bhedo bhavati guṇa-vaśāt*; (3) *pāṇineḥ prāk kathaṃ vā*; (4) *pūrvoktaṃ pāṇiniś cāpy anu-vadati*; (5) *virodhe 'pi kalpyo vikalpaḥ*.

Taking into account the elaboration of the argument in the Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā, the verse can be translated and explained as follows.

> "Authoritative is (exclusively) what Pāṇini (or the *munitraya*) said, but not the other grammars of Candra, Bhoja etc." This is what some are saying – this is extremely weak (as is clear from a number of arguments, which can be grouped under five headings): (1) Indeed, by those persons (such as Candra and Bhoja) who know much, no baseless statement is passed. (Hence, the grammars of Candra, Bhoja etc.

> cannot be dismissed just like that.); (2) There is difference in how many people accept (various grammatical works) on account of (diverging) qualities (of those works; one work might be quite easy, another more difficult). (It is hence not justified to follow only grammars and to reject other grammars on the ground that it is followed by fewer persons, esp. on account of its difficulty.); (3) And how was the situation (with regard to linguistic correctness) before Pāṇini? (Even before Pāṇini and without his grammar, people could speak correctly. Then why now to insist that only what is found in Pāṇini can be correct?); (4) And Pāṇini (himself) repeats what has been said by predecessors (and thus accepts their authority). (If he could accept the authority of other, pre- and hence non-Pāṇinian grammarians, on what basis should we refuse to accept non-Pāṇinian grammarians, or refuse the special forms they mention as options?); (5) Even if there is a contradiction (between other authorities and Pāṇini) a (grammatical) option is to be created (so that the non-Pāṇinian grammarian need not be rejected).

From the beginning of the Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā we understand that *pāṇinyuktaṃ pramāṇam* refers specifically to the view that only the *muni-traya* has authority:

> *atra tāvad 'indra-candra-kāśakr̥tsnyāpiśali-śākaṭāyanādi-purātanācārya-racitānāṃ vyākaraṇānām apramāṇatvam eva, munitrayoktasyaiva tu prāmāṇyam' iti ke cit paṇḍitaṃ-manyā manyante. tad apahasanīyam eva, candrādi-vacasām anāpta-praṇītatvābhāvena prāmāṇya-niścayāt.*
> To begin with, there are some who, thinking themselves to be learned, say that the grammars composed by ancient teachers such as Indra, Candra, Kāśakr̥tsni, Āpiśali, Śākaṭāyana, are not authoritative; only what is said by the three sages (*muni-traya*) is authoritative. This is indeed ridiculous, as it is ascertained that the statements of Candra etc. are indeed authoritative, because it is not the case that they are formulated by untrustworthy authors.

Making his position more clear, Nārāyaṇa says that he does not reject that the *trimuni vyākaraṇa* has excellent qualities; however, he does reject that other grammars have nothing to contribute: *pāṇinīyānāṃ tu guṇātiśayo 'smākam iṣṭa eva*; *itareṣām aprāmāṇyam eva tv aniṣṭam* (AP 18). Instead of accepting the Mahābhārata as being composed in largely incorrect Sanskrit, Nārāyaṇa prefers to assume that its alleged author, Vyāsa, referred to lost grammatical knowledge (AP 6):

> *aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni nava vyākaraṇāni ca, nirmathya caturo vedān muninā bhārataṃ kr̥tam.*
> After churning the eighteen Purāṇas, nine grammars and the four Vedas, the sage (Vyāsa) composed the Mahābhārata.

3.3 The *bahiraṅga*-rule is rule 20 in Nārāyaṇa's Nyāya-chapter (chapter 17). The wording of the rule is identical with that of *paribhāṣā* 50 of Nāgeśa, and it is followed by a rule that is equivalent to Nāgeśa's *paribhāṣā* 51, but more tersely formulated. Nārāyaṇa discusses and presents, first, rule 20 as follows:

> *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* [20]
> *antaraṅge kārye kartavye bahiraṅgam asiddhaṃ syāt. antargatāśrayam antaraṅgam, bahirgatāśrayaṃ bahiraṅgam iti sāmānyam. tatrāpi prakr̥tyāśrayam antaraṅgam, tadbahirgatāśrayaṃ bahiraṅgam*; *ekapadāśrayam antaraṅgam, ubhayapadāśrayaṃ bahiraṅgam*; *alpāśrayam antaraṅgam*, *bahvāśrayam bahiraṅgam iti viśeṣāḥ*; *yathā nr̥mata idaṃ nārmatam*, *kr̥tasyedaṃ kārtam*, *nr̥pater idaṃ nārpatyam ity eteṣv avarṇopdhātvān mator vatvam, rānniṣṭhānatvam, rasya khari visargaś ca bahiraṅgāyās taddhita-vr̥ddher asiddhyā na syuḥ. tathā tābhir ity atra tyadādyatve kr̥te bhisa aistvaṃ pratyayabhāktvena bahiraṅgatvād asiddham iti prakr̥tyāśrayatvenāntaraṅgaṣṭāp kriyate. sudhyarcyādau ca padāntarāśrayasya yaṇo 'siddhyāsaṃyogāntalopo na.*

This can be analysed and translated as follows.

> (Rule 20.) That which is *bahiraṅga* "external" is (regarded as) not having taken effect, when that which is *antaraṅga* "internal" (is to take effect).
> (Nārāyaṇa's comments:) For what is internal – (that is,) for the (internal) operation, for the (internal) thing to be done, – let what is external be (regarded as) not having taken effect. What is based on what is interior is "internal." What is based on what is exterior is "external." This is general. With regard to this, moreover, what is based on the *prakr̥ti* "non-derived base" is "internal." What is based on what is external to that (*prakr̥ti* "non-derived base") is "external." What is based on a single word is "internal." What is based on both words is "external." What is based on few (linguistic elements) is "internal." What is based on many (linguistic elements) is "external." These are the particular (domains). For instance, with regard to: (a) *nr̥mata idaṃ nārmatam*; (b) *kr̥tasyedaṃ kārtam*; (c) *nr̥pater idaṃ nārpatyam*, (a) the substitution of *v* for *m* of *matUP* because *a* is the pre-final phoneme (AA 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo 'yavādibhyaḥ*); (b) the substitution of *n* (for *t*) because *niṣṭhā* (in our case *Kta*, i.e. *-ta*) follows *ra* (AA 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ*); (c) the substitution of *ḥ* for *r* (AA 8.3.14, 15 ; *ro ri* ; *khar-avasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*); (all these substitutions) do not take place (*na syuḥ*), because the *vr̥ddhi*-vowel caused by the *taddhita*-affix is *bahiraṅga* and does not take effect (*asiddhi*). (Thus: (a) *nārmatam* does not become **nārvatam*; (b) *kārtam* does not become **kārṇam*; (c) *nārpatyam* does not become **nāḥpatyam*.) Another example: (d) in *tābhir* (fem pl. instr. "with them"), the substitution of *ais* for *bhis* (AA 7.1.9 *ato bhisa ais*), (which could come about) considering that the pronominal stem (*tad*) belongs to the *tyad-ādi* group (and hence will have an *a* replacing the *aṅga*-final, AA 7.2.102 *tyad-ādīnām aḥ*), is not taking effect, because it is external as it is

part of the affix; hence, the feminine affix *ṬāP* which is internal as it is based on the underived base, is placed. And in expressions such as *sudhy-arcya*[*ḥ*] "to be honoured by wise men," deletion of the final consonant of a conjunct (AA 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*) does not take place, because the substitution of a *yaṆ*-phoneme (i.e., *y* for the *ī* at the end of *sudhī* "wise man") is based on (the presence of a vowel of) another word (i.e., of another member of the compound, apart from the member of the compound to which the conjunct belongs).

After this, rule 21 is an exception (*apavāda*) to the *bahiraṅga*-rule, formulated briefly as *nājānantarye* (without addition of *bahiṣṭvaprakḷptiḥ* or *bahiṣprakḷptiḥ* as in Nāgeśa's PbhI and the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti respectively).

nājānantarye [21]
acor ānantaryaje sandhyādikārye bahiraṅgaṃ nāsiddham. yathā dyubhyām, dyubhir ityatra vibhaktyāśrayatvād bahiraṅgam apy utvaṃ yaṇādeśe siddham eva. tathā papuṣa ityatra vibhaktyāśrayaṃ vasor utvam ādajā dyor ānantaryakr̥ta ā llope siddham.

This may be translated as follows.

(Rule 21.) Not in the case of vowel juxtaposition.
(Nārāyaṇa's comments:) That which is *bahiraṅga* "external" is not (regarded as) not having taken effect in the case of an operation of *sandhi* originating from a juxtaposition of two vowels. As in the case of *dyubhyām*, *dyubhis*: although the substitution of *u* (for *v*) is *bahiraṅga* "external" it is nevertheless considered as having indeed taken effect with regard to the substitute *yaṆ* (a *yaṆ*-semivowel, in this case *y* for *i*) (so that y will indeed substitute *i* of *di-u* > *dyu*). Similarly, in the case of *papuṣaḥ* "from/of the one who has drunk"/"those who have drunk" (ptc. perf. act. abl. sg./gen. sg./acc.pl.), the substitution of *u* (saṃprasāraṇa of *v* of *KvasU* acc. to AA 6.4.131 *vasoḥ saṃprasāraṇam*) for (the *v* of) *vasU* (*KvasU*, whereas there is *lopa* of *a* of *KvasU* acc. to AA 6.1.8 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*), which is based on the case ending (*ṄasI*/*Ṅas*/*Śas*), is (although *bahiraṅga* "external," nevertheless) regarded as having taken effect with regard to the deletion of *ā* (of the reduplicated stem *pa-pā*) which should take place considering the juxtaposition of *ā* and (the initial vowel) of the affix starting with a vowel (the *u* substituting *v* of *KvasU*).

4.1 These comments of Nārāyaṇa on two rules till now mainly known from their discussion by Nāgeśa in the Paribhāṣenduśekhara can here not be subjected to a full-fledged comparative analysis, which would involve the analysis of all relevant passages of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Mahābhāṣya,

the Kāśikā, and various collections of *paribhāṣā*s and other relevant texts known to Nārāyaṇa and Nāgeśa. Further research is definitely needed. However, at the present stage the following points are worth considering.

A striking feature of Nārāyaṇa's discussion on these two rules is the complete absence of polemics. There is no reference to any "wrong" view that is refuted or rejected and no attempt to give an exegetic justification of the rule. Instead, the presentation and explanation of the two rules are straightforward, pragmatic, down-to-earth, in accordance with the style of the Kāśikā-vr̥tti rather than that of the Mahābhāṣya and its commentaries. The introductory verse of the Nyāya-chapter is therefore entirely appropriate. It shows, first of all, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's attitude towards the *nyāya*s as principles to be invoked when needed and not as a set of metarules of a strict, formal system; and, second, the importance he attributes to the Paribhāṣā-section in the grammar of Bhoja.

> *bahūpayuktā yuktau ye rūpasiddhāv api kva cit, tān nyāyān ekato vakṣye bhojarājoktavartmanā.*
> The principles that have been frequently used in the reasoning (when applying rules for the derivation of words), and occasionally even in the derivation of a linguistic form, these principles I will state (now) all together, following the way of the statements of king Bhoja.[18]

The structure of Nārāyaṇa's discussion of his rules 20 and 21 (and indeed of most other rules in this Khaṇḍa) is as follows: first there is a brief explanation of the *sūtra* in the form of a reformulation with glosses and brief comments added. Next there are only examples without further argument or explanation.

As for the brief explanation, it is remarkable that the meaning attributed to *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* remains very close to the meaning they commonly have in Sanskrit, "interior" and "exterior." Nārāyaṇa is in this respect similar to the author of the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti, but there is no need to assume any direct influence in this respect as it is a matter of

18 The statement in this verse forms a pair with the prose statement appearing at the end of the group of 102 (88 plus 14) rules and before the subsequent group of 19 rules without any commentary : *evaṃ bhojādy-uktān uktvānye 'pi asphuṭa-dr̥ṣṭāntodāharaṇā nyāyā likhyante*, "Having thus pronounced the statements of Bhoja (most of principles 1–88) and other authors (89–102), different principles (103–121), for which the illustrations and examples are not clear, are also written (in the final part of this chapter)."

taking the words in their common sense.[19] There is no reference to the term which is perhaps crucial for the direction which the discussion of Nāgeśa takes and the complexities in which he gets involved: the term *nimitta* "cause," which entered Nāgeśa's discourse because of his equation of *aṅga* "member" in *bahir-aṅga*/*antar-aṅga* with *nimitta* "cause." In Nāgeśa's discussion (as analysed by Bronkhorst) this interpretation is at the basis of problems which become manifest not directly with regard to the notion of *nimitta* "cause" but rather with regard to the exact sense to be attributed to *antar* and *bahir*, and it leads to a so complex discussion that two major types of *bahiraṅga*-rule and two subcategories have been proposed. In Nārāyaṇa's discussion the underlying unity of the concepts of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is never lost sight of.

Is Nārāyaṇa's interpretation of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* as *antargatāśrayam antaraṅgam* and *bahirgatāśrayaṃ bahiraṅgam* ("What is based on what is interior is 'internal'"; "What is based on what is exterior is 'external'") perhaps a matter of his naivety? From his regular references to Bhoja's grammar and the commentary on it by Daṇḍanātha we have to conclude that he was indeed familiar with the work of the latter. And here, as we have seen, *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* in the *bahiraṅga*-rule had been interpreted as

> *aṅgaṃ nimittam antar yasya tad antaraṅgam, bahir yasya tad bahiraṅgam*
> that grammatical operation for which the *aṅga* (in the sense of) cause (for the application of that grammatical operation) is interior is *antaraṅga*, that for which it is exterior is *bahiraṅga*.

Nārāyaṇa does not follow Daṇḍanātha in this respect, and his interpretation is therefore to be considered as a conscious choice.

As for the examples under the *bahiraṅga*-rule and the next one, they should apparently make clear, through direct demonstration, how and where the rule may work or may be invoked. None of the examples under the *bahiraṅga*-rule is discussed in Nāgeśa's discussion of this rule. Indeed, it has been observed that Nāgeśa is quite frugal with his exam-

19 The importance of the Vyāḍīya-paribhāṣā-vr̥tti lies in its comparative value as a relatively independent work which is, however, much more than Nārāyaṇa in line with the exegetic approach in the Mahābhāṣya.

ples (BRONKHORST 1986: 55 speaks in this regard of Nāgeśa's "parsimony"[20]).

The first three examples are similar in structure and are presented as such by Nārāyaṇa. The first and the last of these three are known from the Kāśikā (respectively under AA 8.2.9 and AA 8.3.15, the *bahiraṅga*-rule is invoked). The last example under the *bahiraṅga*-rule, *sudhyarcyaḥ*, is known from the Siddhānta-kaumudī (54 = AA 8.2.23), where Nāgeśa (Laghuśabdenduśekhara, LŚI p. 254) and the Tattvabodhinī commentary refer to the *bahiraṅga*-rule. For the moment we will assume that these references in the Kāśikā and in the context of the Siddhānta-kaumudī justify their inclusion among examples for the *bahiraṅga*-rule.

The situation is different for the example which follows the first set of three, the derivation of *tābhis* (fem. pl. instr.). Not only is it not mentioned by Nāgeśa, it is also absent as example in other major texts. Nārāyaṇa suggests two possible prakriyās, one leading to the desired form *tābhis*, the other apparently to the undesired form *tais*. The starting point for both of Nārāyaṇa's *prakriyā*s is the juxtaposition of two linguistic units, selected under consultation of the speaker's *vivakṣā* "desire to express," from among pronominal stems and nominal endings (the steps leading to this stage are skipped): *tad* + *bhis* (*bahuvacanam*, *tṛtīyā*). The next step poses no problems, but then we are confronted with a dilemma in the form of two possible ways (according to A or B) of applying the *sūtra*s for whose operation the appropriate causes are present.

A

(1) *tad* + *bhis*
(2) *ta* + *a* + *bhis* (by AA 7.2.102 *tyad-ādīnām aḥ* [*vibhaktau* 7.2.84, 1.1.66])
(3) *ta* + *bhis* (by AA 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*)
(4A) *ta* + *ais* (by AA 7.1.9 *ato bhisa ais*)
(5A) *ta* + *ṬāP* + *ais* (by AA 4.1.4 *ajādy-ataṣ ṭāp*; 3 *striyām*)
(6A) ****tais*** (by AA 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*)

20 Because of the length of Nāgeśa's discussion the absolute number of examples is higher than that given by Nārāyaṇa, but the ratio 'examples : rest of the discussion' is much higher in Nārāyaṇa's discussion.

B

(1) *tad* + *bhis*
(2) *ta* + *a* + *bhis* (by AA 7.2.102 *tyad-ādīnām aḥ* [*vibhaktau* 7.2.84, 1.1.66])
(3) *ta* + *bhis* (by AA 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*)
(4B) *ta* + *ṬāP* + *bhis* (by AA 4.1.4 *ajādy-ataṣ ṭāp*; 3 *striyām*)
(5B) ***tābhis*** (by AA 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*)
(the condition for AA 7.1.9, short *a* before the *vibhakti* "case or finite verb ending," has now disappeared)

It is to be noted that normally *ṬāP* will be added immediately to a short *a*-stem nominal or pronominal (in accordance with AA 4.1.4). In the case of the *tyad-ādi* subset of pronouns, however, AA 7.2.102 *tyad-ādī-nām aḥ* [*vibhaktau* 7.2.84, 1.1.66] is applied first, otherwise AA 4.1.4 cannot apply as the condition of short stem-final *a* is not met. AA 7.2. 102 provides a stem in short *a*, after which AA 4.1.4 *ajādy-ataṣ ṭāp* becomes applicable. At the same moment, however, AA 7.1.9 *ato bhisa ais* is also, and, it seems, with equal right, applicable. How to choose between these two possibilities? Is there any rule or principle that can provide help at this stage, without making our decision dependent on our knowledge that only one of the two possibilities, viz., applying AA 4.1.4 first, leads to the desired result. Nārāyaṇa invokes here the *bahiraṅga*-rule in a way that is in full agreement with his own interpretation of this rule.

However, for Nāgeśa it would be difficult to employ the *bahiraṅga*-rule in the context of the problem of applying AA 7.1.9 or AA 4.1.4. This is because Nāgeśa has given a central place to the concept of *nimitta* "cause (for an operation to apply)" in his interpretation of this rule. It was found that for Nāgeśa such cause should be one stated in the locative in the rule that is involved (BRONKHORST 1986: 54). In normal interpretations of these two rules (AA 7.1.9, 4.1.4), no cause expressed in a locative is involved, either explicitly, or through continuation (*anuvr̥tti*) from a previous rule.

The problem which we perceive here for Nāgeśa – even if he does not address it himself in his discussion of the *bahiraṅga*-rule – would go back to his definition of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* but more with his understanding of *aṅga* (which has nothing to do with the Pāṇinian concept of *aṅga* as pre-suffixal stem) than with his understanding of *antar* and *bahir* (which was in the center of attention of Bronkhorst), the latter

being rather derived problems. Since cases in which a rule has "no cause" create a considerable part of the problems in Nāgeśa's discussion, and since Nārāyaṇa steered away from these problems at an early stage, by not following the interpretation of *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* suggested by Daṇḍanātha, we can formulate as a reasonable thesis, to be further investigated, that Nārāyaṇa solves Nāgeśa's problem before they arise. Nārāyaṇa gives preference to "intuitive" concepts for crucial terms, where Nāgeśa tries to determine analytic ones. This is only partly successful in the *bahiraṅga*-rule.

With regard to the second rule, *nājānantarye* "not in the case of vowel juxtaposition," the brief explanation is straightforward. Nārāyaṇa's examples of *dyubhyām*, *dyubhis* correspond to Nāgeśa's example of *dyukāma* (which he did not give in his Paribhāṣenduśekhara but in his commentary on the Mahābhāṣya and Kaiyaṭa). The example of *papuṣaḥ* plays a role in connection with the *bahiraṅga*-rule, but Nāgeśa employs it not to demonstrate the validity of the exception *nājānantarye* (*bahiṣṭvaprakḷptiḥ*) but to prove that the *bahiraṅga*-rule itself is not permanent.

4.2 In Bhaṭṭoji's and his successor Nāgeśa's effort to be more orthodox than the orthodox and to place Pāṇinian grammar on an absolute footing, something was gained, something was lost. Among things that were gained there was (a) the simpler, not to say simplistic, authority structure underlying the grammar, and (b) scope for a passion for grammar as a closed system. Among things that were lost was the capacity of grammar to account for certain forms of 'uncommon' Sanskrit (as used by otherwise widely respected authors and in otherwise widely appreciated domains of literature such as the epics and Purāṇas). More generally, something of Pāṇini's spirit of liberality was lost: the spirit attested, for instance, in Pāṇini's adopting as optional the views of other grammarians before him and of his time. Grammar, the traditional discipline of Vyākaraṇa, lost something it had maintained solidly till the time of Bhoja and his commentators: not just the capacity but the very challenge to deal with variations and perhaps, evolutions, even if very slow, in the language.

Wilhelm Halbfass once observed that

> [...] in general, those who present themselves as the most orthodox and uncompromising guardians of the sanctity and authority of the Veda are not necessarily closest to its spirit. (HALBFASS 1991: 390)

This was meant to apply to the ancient Indian philosophical school Sāṃkhya-Yoga in contrast to Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika which were "supposedly more 'orthodox'" schools (HALBFASS *ibid.*), that is, more in accordance with the Vedas. Does this apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to grammar?

A question parallel to the second part of Halbfass' observation can in any case be posed: When Bhaṭṭoji presented himself as "the most orthodox and uncompromising guardian of the authority" of Pāṇini's grammar, how close did he remain to him in spirit? Nārāyaṇa's grammatical works, the polemical Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā and his technical, mainly non-polemical Prakriyā-sarvasva, help us to perceive better what was lost in Bhaṭṭoji's otherwise most successful approach. The very effort to present grammar, with reference to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, as a closed system demonstrates that Pāṇini's grammar as it was found by Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa was not (yet) such a closed system. It may be that this effort was not on all fronts successful, and that even now, we have to consider the system basically a historically grown conglomerate, in spite of all attempts, from Pāṇini onwards and preliminarily culminating in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, to streamline its functioning. It is at this point that Nārāyaṇa went in a very justifiable different direction, not trying to make the system more closed but, in accordance with Pāṇini's spirit of integration, to accept additional forms and to make the lists underlying the grammatical rules more comprehensive. The *bahiraṅga*-rule, of considerable importance in Pāṇinian grammar according to the way it is invoked both in the Mahābhāṣya and in the Kāśikā, is one of the areas where Nāgeśa's project to turn grammar into a closed system and the *paribhāṣā*s into 'metarules' remains unconvincing. In contrast, the brief discussion of Nārāyaṇa is compact and convincing in the context of Nārāyaṇa's view on these rules as interpretive *nyāya*s 'rules of thumb,' rather than as 'metarules.'

Abbreviated Titles of Sanskrit Sources

AA[21] = Aṣṭādhyāyī (*sūtra-pāṭha*) of Pāṇini; (a) ed. and german translation, Otto BÖHTLINGK 1887; (b) ed. and translation, extracts from Kāśikā, S. C. VASU 1891–1898; (c) ed. and french translation, extracts from the commentaries, Louis RENOU 1966; (d) translation, Sumitra M. KATRE 1989; (e) translation and analysis, Shivram D. JOSHI and J. A. F. ROODBERGEN 1992–2004 (to be continued); (f) translation, analysis and extracts from commentaries, RAM NATH SHARMA 1987–2003.

AP = Apāṇinīya-pramāṇatā (sānubandhā) of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; (a) ed. by E. V. NAMPŪTIRĪ, Trivandrum: Reddiar & Sons V. V. Press Branch, 1942; (b) new ed. and transl. by E. R. SREEKRISHNA SHARMA, under the title Apāṇinīya-prāmāṇya-sādhanam, Tirupati: Sri Venkatesvara University Oriental Research Insitute, 1968; (c) without acknowledgement or reference to (b) the same text and translation (with minor corrections and several misprints) appears also at the end of PS (b) on pages numbered separately from 1–30. Numerals refer to the paragraph numbering according to (b), which is also followed in (c).

K = Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya; (a) ed. by ARYENDRA SHARMA and Khanderao DESHPANDE, Hyderabad: Osmania University, 1969 [repr. 2008]; (b) Kāśikā-vṛtti with the Padamañjarī and the Nyāsa, ed. by DVĀRIKĀDĀSAŚĀSTRIN and KĀLIKĀPRASĀDAŚUKLA (6 Vols.), Vārāṇasī, 1983–1985.

LŚI = Laghu-śabdenduśekhara of Nāgeśa; ed. by Bal SHASTRI, Varanasi: Vanivilasa Prakasha.

MBh = (Vyākaraṇa-) Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali; ed. by F. KIELHORN (vols. I–III), Bombay, 1880–1885; Third revised edition K. V. ABHYANKAR, Poona, 1962–1972.

PbhI = Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgeśa; (a) ed. and transl. by Franz KIELHORN, Bombay: Indu-Prakash Press, 1868–1874; second edition by Kāśinātha V. ABHYANKAR, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1960–1962; (Ref. to page and line of this ed.) (b) see ABHYANKAR 1967.

PS = Prakriyā-sarvasva of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; (a) ed.: Trivandrum: Thiruvananthapuram: Oriental Research Institute, Manuscripts Library, 1931–1992 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 106, 139, 153, 174, 258, 262, 263), by SAMBASIVA SASTRI (fasc. 1–2 [1931, 1938]), RAMASWAMY SASTRI (fasc. 3 [1947], introduction by S. Venkitasubramonia IYER), Suranad Kunjan PILLAI (fasc. 4 [1954]), Madhavan UNNI (fasc. 5, 7 [1987, 1992]), Visweswari AMMA (fasc. 6 [1989]); (b) synthetic volume ("compiled by") K. P. Narayana PISHAROTI, Guruvayur: Guruvayur Devaswom, 1998 (cannot replace (a) because of lack of critical aparatus and numerous misprints).

21 Current abbreviations for Pāṇini's work, P and A, are inconsistent, confusing and unsatisfactory; hence this abbreviation that evokes the derivation of Aṣṭādhyāyī as *aṣṭan+adhyāya+ṄīP* and that is parallel to generally accepted abbreviations such as VP for the Vākyapadīya.

SK = Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, with the Tattvabodhinī commentary of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the Subodhinī commentary of Jayakṛṣṇa, ed. by Vasudev Lakshman Shastri PANASHIKAR, Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, reprint 2002.

SKĀ = Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa [vyākaraṇa] of Bhoja. Ed. T. R. Chintamani DIKSHIT, Madras: Univ. of Madras, 1937.

VyPbhV = Vyāḍīyaparibhāṣāvṛtti ("Vṛtti on Vyāḍi's paribhāṣās"); (a) ed. WUJASTYK 1993; (b) see ABHYANKAR 1967. References to *paribhāṣā*-numbers acc. to (a).

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EIVIND KAHRS

Bhartṛhari and the Tradition: *karmapravacanīya*[*]

In the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini deals with a group of nominal forms[1] in a sequence of rules starting with A 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, which assigns the class name *avyaya* ("indeclinable, not undergoing change") to members of the *gaṇa* beginning with *svar* "sun, heaven" and linguistic elements called *nipāta*. Rule A 1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ* stipulates that the elements referred to in subsequent rules up to the word *īśvara-* in rule A 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare* are called *nipāta* (sometimes translated "particle") under conditions laid down by the rules in question. Rules A 1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* and A 1.4.60 *gatiś ca* assign the class names *upasarga* ("preverb") and *gati* (another technical term for preverbs and some other adverbial prefixes) to the members of the *gaṇa* beginning with *pra* (A 1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*) when there is a connection with an action, that is to say, when there is a direct connection with a verb or a verbal derivative. The section of rules headed by A 1.4.56 includes also a subsection headed by rule A 1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ* which teaches that elements taught in the subsequent rules through rule A 1.4.97 are assigned the class name *karmapravacanīya* under conditions stipulated by the rules in question. Patañjali, commenting on A 1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*, interprets the technical term *karmapravacanīya* as (Mbh I 346, 16–17) *karma proktavantaḥ*, "which have expressed an action." For example, A 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe* teaches that *anu* is called *karmapravacanīya* when it conveys the sense of indication. Patañjali gives the ex-

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1 These include particles, preverbs and pre- and post-positions. Pāṇini treats of these as nominal forms with their case endings subsequently deleted.

ample (Mbh I 346, 21) *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat*, “after Śākalya’s (recitation of the) Saṃhitā, it rained.” He goes on to clarify this:

> Mbh I 347, 2–3 *anor api hi na vr̥ṣiṃ prati kriyāyogaḥ. kiṃ tarhi. aprayujyamānam. śākalyena sukr̥tāṃ saṃhitām anuniśamya devaḥ prāvarṣat.*
> For *anu* too has no connection with the action of raining. With what then? With what is not being expressed [here, viz., the act of listening:] “After listening to the well-performed (recitation of the) Saṃhitā by Śākalya, the god (Indra) let it rain.”

In other words, in the Aṣṭādhyāyī the *nipāta* class of particles includes the subgroups *upasarga*, *gati*, and *karmapravacanīya*, the respective terms serving to assign certain linguistic elements to one or the other of these categories in particular contexts so that operational rules affect them in the correct manner.

A 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* teaches that a genitive case ending is introduced to denote “the rest” (*śeṣa*). According to the Kāśikāvr̥tti this rest is any relation (*sambandha*) which is not a *kāraka*-relation and different from the meaning of the nominal stem. The Kāśikāvr̥tti states:

> Kāś II 209–11 *karmādibhyo yo ’nyaḥ prātipadikārthavyatiriktaḥ svasvāmisaṃbandhādiḥ śeṣas tatra ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati.*
> The rest is such relations as owner-owned which is other than (*kāraka*-relations) such as *karman* “object” (and) different from the meaning of the nominal stem (indicated in the nominative case); in this context the sixth case ending applies.

Let me now turn to the Sādhanasamuddeśa of the third *kāṇḍa* of the Vākyapadīya where Bhartr̥hari introduces his discussion of *śeṣa*-relations with two verses that immediately precede a verse that presents his view on *karmapravacanīya*s:

> VP 3.7.156–7 *saṃbandhaḥ kārakebhyo ’nyaḥ kriyākārakapūrvakah, śrutāyām aśrutāyāṃ vā kriyāyāṃ so ’bhidhīyate. dviṣṭho ’py asau parārthatvād guṇeṣu vyatiricyate, tatrābhidhīyamānaḥ san pradhāne ’py upayujyate.*
> That relation [i.e. *śeṣa*-relation] which is different from *kāraka*(-relations, but still) presupposes (a relation between) an action and a participant (in that action), whether the action has been stated or not, is (now) explained. Although it rests on both, (the relation) brings about a distinction in the qualifiers since these are subservient to others. While it is expressed therein [i.e. in the qualifiers], it applies to the principal element as well [i.e., it touches upon the qualificand as well].

Distinguishing between elements that are *guṇavācin* “denoting a quality” and elements that are *dravyavācin* “denoting a thing,” an element that is

a *dravyavācin* can also be termed a *guṇa* when it is a qualifier of another *dravyavācin*, such as *rājan-* in the expression *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* "the king's man" where it denotes a qualifier of *puruṣaḥ*. Thus, the master-servant or owner-owned relation here, although it rests on both, requires the application of a genitive case ending, but only to one of the elements. Otherwise the relation would be expressed twice. The owner-owned relation brings about a change in the qualifier, while the principal element remains the same. The relation conveyed by the expression *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*, then, presupposes a *kriyā-kāraka* relation whether the action involved has been expressed or not. The question is how to determine what particular action and what particular *kāraka* are involved.

The issue is addressed in the immediately following verse, where Bhartṛhari tells us how he understands the function of *karmapravacanīyas*. The verse in question, with parts of Helārāja's commentary, reads as follows:

> VP 3.7.158/Hel 358, 9–18 *uktam idaṃ kriyākārakapūrvakaḥ saṃbandha iti. tatra kriyākārakasaṃbandho 'sya nimittam, sa ca phalabhūtāt sambandhād anumīyamāno na viśeṣeṇānumātuṃ pāryeta, api tu sāmānyena, evaṃ svabhāvatvād anumānasyeti kuto 'yaṃ viśeṣāvasāya ity āha – nimittaniyamaḥ śabdāt saṃbandhasya na gṛhyate, karmapravacanīyais tu sa viśeṣe 'varudhyate* ||158|| *pituḥ putraḥ, paśoḥ pāda ityādau saṃbandhisvarūpaviśeṣāvadhāraṇād eva niyatasthitijananādikriyāprabhāvitatvaṃ saṃbandhasya pratīyate. rājapuruṣa ityādau tu yācñāvinimayāpahāraprabhṛtibhir*[2] *api svasvāmibhāvasya saṃbhavād yady*[3] *api niyatanimittatvaṃ nāvadhāryate tathāpi dānādīnām anyatamāvinābhāvāt kriyānumīyata eva saṃbandhisvarūpād iti nāyaṃ karmapravacanīyaviṣayaḥ. kvacit tu śabdasāmarthyān nimittaviśeṣo nāvadhāryate. nimittasāmānyāvadhāraṇaṃ tu. so 'yam evaṃvidho viṣayaḥ karmapravacanīyānām. tair anvādibhir nimittaniyamenāvacchidyate saṃbandhaḥ. tathā hi śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣad ityatra saṃhitāpravarṣaṇayor hetuhetumadbhāvo niśamayatikriyājanita ity anunā vedyate. tathā kriyayāsyān yatrānuniśamyetyādau sāhacaryopalabdheh. karma proktavanta iti ca karmapravacanīyeṣv atikrāntakriyāprakāśanāṅgīkārāt saṃprati kriyām ayaṃ na dyotayati. kriyāpadasya cāśruteḥ dyotyābhidāyakābhāve tanniṣṭhadyotakatvābhāvāt. svarūpeṇa tu saṃbandho vibhaktyaiva pratipādyate iti nāpi tadvācakaḥ. kriyāpadākṣepe tu nāsya sāmarthyam, kārakavibhaktyabhāvād iti saṃbandhaviśeṣāvadyotakatvaṃ sthāpitaṃ karmapravacanīyānām. tad uktam antarakāṇḍe – kriyāyā dyotako nāyaṃ na saṃbandhasya vācakaḥ, nāpi kriyāpadākśepī saṃbandhasya tu bhedakaḥ – iti.*

2 Corrected in the Errata list (Hel 407) from *yāñcā-*.
3 So read for *saṃbhavādādyady api*.

This has been stated, (namely) that a (non-*kāraka*) relation[4] is preceded by (a relation) between an action and a *kāraka*. In this regard, the relation between the action and the *kāraka* is its cause, and being inferred from the relation that has resulted (from it), one should not go about inferring (it) as (something) specific, but rather as (something) general, because such is the nature of (this) inference. Therefore, (in case someone asks) how (it is possible) to determine the specific (relation), he says: "Determination of (the action that is) the cause of the relation is not understood from the wording (itself). Rather, the (relation) is confined [*avarudhyate*][5] to a particular (action) by the *karmapravacanīya*s." In (expressions) such as *pituḥ putraḥ* "the father's son" (or) *paśoḥ pādaḥ* "the foot of the sacrificial animal," the relation is recognised through specific actions such as 'producing, procreating' (or) 'being located' simply by grasping the particular nature of the related things. However, in (a compound) such as *rājapuruṣaḥ*, because of the possibility of an owner-owned relationship even through request, barter, abduction, etc., even if the specific [*niyata*] cause (of the relation) is not determined, nevertheless, since it is necessarily connected with one or the other (of these actions) of giving, etc., an action is definitely [*eva*] inferred on the basis of the nature of the connected things; thus this is not the domain of *karmapravacanīya*s. But in some cases no specific cause is grasped on the strength / from the power of the words (themselves), however there is grasping of a general cause. Such is the domain of *karmapravacanīya*s. By these, that is to say, by (*karmapravacanīya*s) such as *anu*, the relationship is delimited by restricting (the possible causes) to a (specific) cause. To explain: in *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat*, "after Śākalya's (recitation of the) Saṃhitā, it rained," the cause and effect relation between the Saṃhitā recitation and the raining is produced by the action of listening, (the relation) thus being made known by *anu*. For elsewhere there is cognition of concomitance between it [*anu*] and the action (of listening) in this way, as in *anuniśamya* "after listening," ect.[6] And, since it has been agreed that *karmapravacanīya*s bring to light a past action, according to (the analysis) *karma proktavantaḥ* "those that have expressed an action,"[7] it does not indicate/co-signify [*dyotayati*][8] any current action. (This is) because no word denoting an action is heard, and, in as much as there is no term denoting what is to be indicated/co-signified, (also) because there is no capacity of being a co-signi-

4 That is to say, a *śeṣa*-relation that presupposes an action.

5 RAU (VP) lists a variant reading *avabudhyate* "is realised, understood" which at first sight may seem preferable. However, Helārāja (358, 19–20), remarks: *tair anvādibhir nimittaniyamenāvacchidyate saṃbandhaḥ*, "by these, that is to say, by *anu* etc., the relationship is delimited (*avacchidyate)* by restricting the field of causes."

6 The example is taken from the Mahābhāṣya, as mentioned earlier.

7 Mbh I 346, 16–17; cf. above.

8 The question is whether to take *dyotayati* in the technical sense of "co-signifies" or whether to take it simply as parallel to *prakāśana* in the sense of "brings to light, illuminates, indicates." I shall return to this issue later on.

fier/indicator that depends on such (a term). By its nature a relation is conveyed by a case ending alone, (and) therefore (a *karmapravacanīya*) is not even (directly) expressive of that. Nor does it have the capacity to imply a word denoting an action, since there is no case ending conveying a *kāraka*(-relation). Thus it has been established that *karmapravacanīya*s are indicators/co-signifiers of a specific relation. This has been stated in the preceding *kāṇḍa*: "It is not a co-signifier/indicator of an action, nor does it (directly) signify a relation, nor does it hint at (an unexpressed) word denoting an action. It specifies (the nature of) the relation."[9]

Helārāja goes on to provide a few examples, intended to illustrate how this works with regard to various types of relations.

Now, as Helārāja intimates, Bhartṛhari has in fact already addressed the issue of *karmapravacanīya*s in the second *kāṇḍa* of the Vākyapadīya, more precisely in verses VP 2.197 to 204, the latter being the verse just quoted. Vākyapadīya 2.197 runs:

VP 2.197 *janayitvā kriyā kā cit saṃbandhaṃ vinivartate*, *śrūyamāṇe kriyāśabde saṃbandho jāyate kva cit.*
(Sometimes) an action produces a relation (and then) withdraws; sometimes a relation is produced while the word denoting the action (actually) is heard [i.e., is expressed].

The following passage from Puṇyarāja's Ṭīkā sheds some light on this:

Ṭīkā on VP 2.197 (84, 11–14) *sambandhaś ca sarvaḥ kriyākārakapūrvako bhavati. tatra kvacit sambandhaṃ janayitvā kriyā vinivartate. yathā rājapuruṣa iti. atra hi rājñaḥ puruṣo 'yaṃ yasmāt sa rājā puruṣaṃ bibharti, ato bharaṇalakṣaṇā kriyāśrayāśrayibhāvalakṣaṇaṃ sambandhaṃ janayitvā nivṛttā.*
And every relation presupposes (a relation between) an action and a participant (in that action). In that respect, sometimes the action, having produced a relation, withdraws, as for example in *rāja-puruṣaḥ*. For here this (*rāja-puruṣaḥ*) is *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* "the king's man," since the king supports [*bibharti*] the man; accordingly, an action defined as 'supporting' has (first) produced a relation, defined as the relation between support and supported, and (then) withdrawn.

In his Pradīpa commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, Kaiyaṭa too reasons along similar lines, having just quoted Vākyapadīya 3.7.157 discussed above:

MbhP II 518b *tatrāśrutāyāṃ kriyāyāṃ rājñaḥ puruṣa ityādau kriyākārakasaṃbandhapūrvako 'nya eva svasvāmibhāvādikaḥ saṃbandhaḥ pratīyate.*

9 VP 2.204.

> In this respect, when an action has not been stated, (expressions) such as *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* convey a relation that is definitely different (from *kāraka*-relations) such as an owner-owned relation, (but which nevertheless) presupposes a relation between an action and a participant (in that action).

That is to say, in the case of *rāja-puruṣaḥ*, the verb *bibharti* of the underlying sentence *rājā puruṣaṃ bibharti*, "the king supports the man," where the king is the agent (*kartṛ*) and the man is the object (*karman*) in relation to the action of supporting, produces a relation and then 'withdraws.' The genitive we meet with in the *vigraha* of the *samāsa*, namely *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*, expresses the *śeṣa*-relation of supporter-supported or owner-owned, but it presupposes a *kriyākāraka*-relation. Conversely, the *kriyākāraka*-relation produces a *śeṣa*-relation, and this is how a connection can be established between *rājā puruṣaṃ bibharti* and *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*.

The second half of Vākyapadīya 2.197 refers to instances where a verb is heard, as in *mātuḥ smarati*, "he remembers his mother." This is further developed in Vākyapadīya 2.198, which alludes to six rules in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, beginning with A 2.3.52, which teach that a genitive case ending is added in specific cases, the main purpose of this being the prohibition of compounding in these instances, as in *mātuḥ smarati*. A compound such as **mātṛsmaraṇam* is not allowed since the *karmakāraka* here is considered a general relation. This need not concern us further here. Vākyapadīya 2.199 then continues the issues brought up in the first half of verse 197:

> VP 2.199 *sa copajātaḥ saṃbandho vinivṛtte kriyāpade, karmapravacanīyena tatra tatra niyamyate*.
> And this secondarily (*upa-*) produced relation – in as much as the word denoting the action has disappeared – is determined in this and that instance by a *karmapravacanīya* [which *has* expressed an action: *karma proktavantaḥ*; cf. Mbh I 346, 16–17 above, and Puṇyarāja below].

Puṇyarāja comments on this as follows:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.199 (86, 1–4) *sa ca kriyayopajanitaḥ sambandhas tasminn upajāta yadā kriyāpadaṃ kvacin na śrūyate tadā* [? *kiṃ*] *kriyājanito 'yaṃ syād iti sandehe karmapravacanīyena tatra tatra tasyāṃ kriyāyāṃ niyamyata iti saṃbandhaviśeṣaḥ karmapravacanīyaiḥ pratyayyate. ata eva karma proktavantaḥ kriyākṛtaṃ viśeṣasambandhaṃ dyotayantīti karmapravacanīyā ucyante*.

And regarding this relation that has been secondarily produced by an action, after it has been produced (and) when the word denoting the action is not heard anywhere, at that time the question arises: was this produced by the action? Concerning this doubt it is said that [*iti*] in this and that place, in the case of that action (which has been expressed), it [= the relation] is determined by a *karmapravacanīya*; that is to say, the particular relation is understood through the *karmapravacanīyas*. (And) for that very reason they have expressed an action; and (now) they indicate/co-signify [*dyotayanti*] a specific relation created by an action, and so they are called *karma-pravacanīya*s.

Bhartṛhari continues his discussion with the following verse:

VP 2.200 *yena kriyāpadākṣepaḥ sa kārakavibhaktibhiḥ, yujyate vir yathā tasya li-khāv anupasargatā.*
That (linguistic element) through which there is implication of a word which denotes an action, that (element) is connected with case endings (that express) a participant in an action, such as *vi*; before (the verbal root) *likh* this does not possess the property of being an *upasarga*.

Puṇyarāja comments (*ibid.*):

Ṭīkā on VP 2.200 (86, 9–13) *iha yena śabdena kriyāpadasyākṣepaḥ kriyate sa kārakavibhaktyā yujyate iti dṛśyate. yathā prādeśaṃ viparilikhatīti. atra viśabdo mānakriyāyā ākṣepakaḥ prādeśaṃ vimāya parilikhatīty arthāvagateḥ. tato vimāna-kriyayātra prādeśalakṣaṇaṃ karmākṣiptam iti tasya kārakavibhaktyaiva dvitīyayā yogaḥ. yadā ca kriyāntarākṣepako viśabdas tadā 'sya likhatyasaṃbandhāt taṃ praty anupasargatvam eva.*
Here it is observed that the linguistic element through which there is implication of a word that denotes an action, that (linguistic element) is connected with a case ending (that expresses) a participant in an action. For example: *prādeśaṃ viparilik-hati*, "he outlines the span." Here the linguistic element *vi* is something that implicates the action of measuring, for what is understood is this: "having measured out [*vimāya*] the span, he outlines (it)." Accordingly, in this case, by the action of measuring out, an object-*kāraka* defined as *prādeśa* "the span" is implicated, and therefore [*iti*] there is its [= the linguistic element *vi*'s] connection with precisely the case ending that expresses the participant in the action, that is to say, with the second case ending. And when the linguistic element *vi* implicates another action, then, because it has no relation to *likhati*, it does not possess the property of being an *upasarga* with regard to this (verb *likhati*).

In the next three verses, Bhartṛhari goes on to discuss the functions of specific *karmapravacanīya*s and, in doing so, pays attention to specific Pāṇinian rules:

VP 2.201–3 *tiṣṭhater aprayogaś ca*[10] *dṛṣṭo 'praty ajayann iti*, *sunvatīty*[11] *ābhimukhye ca kevalo 'bhiḥ*[12] *prayujyate. karmapravacanīyatvaṃ kriyāyoge vidhīyate*, *ṣatvādivinivṛttyarthaṃ svatyādīnāṃ vidharmaṇām. hetuhetumator yogaparicchede 'nunā kṛte*, *ārambhād bādhyate prāptā tṛtīyā hetulakṣaṇā.*

In (the form) *apraty ajayan*, one sees that (the verb) *tiṣṭhati* has not been employed (although it is brought to mind by *prati*).[13] (The *karmapravacanīya*) *abhi* on its own is used in the sense of "direction towards" in connection with (the verbal form) *sunvanti* [i.e. *abhi ṣuṇvanti* "they are pressing out"]. When there is connection with an action, *su*, *ati*, etc., which (really) are of a different nature,[14] are assigned the class name *karmapravacanīya* in order to prevent (the change of *s* into) *ṣ*, etc. When (the *karmapravacanīya*) *anu* denotes the specific relation of cause and effect, the third case ending which denotes both *hetu* and *lakṣaṇa* is prevented by a (special) undertaking.[15]

This takes us to Vākyapadīya 2.204 which came up in the passage from Helārāja's commentary discussed earlier, and constitutes the final verse dealing with the topic of *karmapravacanīya*s in the second *kāṇḍa*:

VP 2.204 *kriyāyā dyotako nāyaṃ na saṃbandhasya vācakaḥ. nāpi kriyāpadākśepī saṃbandhasya tu bhedakaḥ.*

It is not a co-signifier/indicator of an action, nor does it (directly) signify a relation, nor does it hint at (an unexpressed) word denoting an action. It specifies (the nature of) the relation.

10 v.l. *upayogaś ca*.

11 So read, with the Vṛtti (SUBRAMANIA IYER 1983: 239), for *sunv abhīty*.

12 So read, with the Vṛtti (*ibid.*), for *'pi.*

13 Puṇyarāja explains as follows (*ibid.*): *apraty ajayan ity atra pratiśabdaḥ sthitikriyāyā ākṣepakaḥ paridṛṣṭah*, *devā asurān apratitiṣṭhataḥ pratiṣṭhām alabhamānān ajayann iti tiṣṭhater upayoga ākṣepaḥ paridṛṣṭaḥ* "in (the form) *apratyajayan*, the linguistic element *prati* is perceived to imply the action of 'standing, remaining' (denoted by *tiṣṭhati*); (as in) 'the gods defeated the *asura*s who were not gaining ground as they were not firmly established,' where implication is perceived with regard to the application of *tiṣṭhati*."

14 That is to say, they would be classed as *upasargas* were it not for A 1.4.94 *suḥ pūjāyām* and 1.4.95 *atir atikramaṇe ca* which assign them to the *karmapravacanīya* class.

15 The "special undertaking" is provided by A 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe* which teaches that *anu* is called *karmapravacanīya* when it is used to indicate that something is a cause that is characteristic of another. See above for the example *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat*, provided by Patañjali.

Resorting to the by now familiar example *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat*, "after Śā kalya's (recitation of the) Saṃhitā, it rained," the Vṛtti has the following observations to offer:

> Vṛtti on VP 2.204[16] *tasmād anyaprakārāsambhavād ayaṃ niśamayatikriyopajanitaṃ sambandham avacchinatti, hetuhetumatsambandho 'yam, nedaṃ*[17] *sambandhāntaram ity etasmāc ca vṛttibhedāt pañcamaṃ padajātaṃ karmapravacanīyāḥ kaiścid ācāryaiḥ pratijñāyante*.
> Therefore, since no other way (of explanation) is possible, (the *karmapravacanīya anu*) specifies the relation brought about by the action of hearing: it is a relation of cause and effect, and not any other relation. And thus, because of this special function, *karmapravacanīya*s are considered a fifth class of words by some teachers.

Who those teachers would be, we are not told. The fourfold classification of words or parts of speech, however, is first met with in Yāska's Nirukta (Nir 1.1, *catvāri padajātāni*): *nāman* "noun," *ākhyāta* "verb," *upasarga* "preverb" and *nipāta* "particle." Now, while the latter verse (VP 2.204) deviates somewhat from the views put forward in the previous stanzas, several of the issues raised earlier are reminiscent of issues brought up in the very context of Yāska's Nirukta.

As is well known, the opening chapter of Yāska's Nirukta contains a discussion of the semantic role of *upasarga*s.[18] The beginning of the passage runs as follows:

> Nir 1.3 *na nirbaddhā upasargā arthān nirāhur iti śākaṭāyanaḥ. nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti*.

The first difficulty that presents itself in this passage is the meaning of *nirbaddhāḥ*. Lakshman SARUP (1921: 7) takes *nirbaddhāḥ* to mean "unconnected." So do V. K. RĀJAVĀḌE (1940: 228) and K. C. CHATTERJI (1964: 399). In the Erläuterungen to his edition of the Nirukta, Rudolph ROTH (1852: 5) too talks of prepositions that are unconnected (with a corresponding German expression),[19] but it is noteworthy that he did not include this meaning of *nirbaddha-* in the Petersburger Wörterbuch. The

16 SUBRAMANIA IYER (1983: 240).

17 So read for *vedaṃ*.

18 For a full discussion of the passage in question, see KAHRS 2005.

19 "Çâkaṭâyana ist der Ansicht, dass die Upasargas am Haupt- und Zeitwort zwar eine Nebenbeziehung ausdrücken, ausserhalb dieser Verbindung aber keine Bedeutung haben."

interpretation of *nirbaddhāḥ* as 'unconnected' is possibly based on the commentary of Durga who remarks (D I 58,16–17): *niṣkṛṣya nāmākhyātamadhyāt padavākyarūpeṇa viracitāḥ santaḥ*, "when they are composed in the form of word-statements [*padavākya*],[20] taking them separately from nouns and verbs." Durga takes *niḥ* in the sense of *niṣkṛṣya* "having separated" and *baddha* in the sense of *viracita* "composed, constructed": when they are composed or constructed separately. Skanda-Maheśvara too take *niḥ* in a privative sense (SM I 33,13–34,1): *niḥ pṛthagarthe, bandhiḥ prayogārthe*, "*niḥ* in the sense of separate; the (verbal root) *bandh* in the sense of use": when they are used separately. This is also how Nīlakaṇṭha interprets *nirbaddhāḥ* in his Niruktaślokavārttika (NŚV 1.1.818 cd): *pṛthagarthe nir ity eṣa dvitīyo 'py avadhāraṇe*, "this *niḥ* (of *nir-baddhāḥ*) in the sense of separate; and the second [element, i.e., *baddhāḥ*] in the sense of fixing it there." However, to take *nirbaddhāḥ* in the sense of "unconnected" seems rather problematic if we look at standard Sanskrit *lexica*, and, as I have argued elsewhere, its straightforward meaning seems rather to be "connected" or "attached."[21] There are, however, genuine difficulties with the latter interpretation. First and foremost there is the fact that the Nirukta passage goes on to list specific meanings for unconnected *upasarga*s. This may well be the reason why the commentators felt obliged to interpret *nirbaddhāḥ* as "unconnected" or "separated," considering such a meaning to be required by the context. Another reason would be that the Nirukta is largely concerned with Vedic Sanskrit, and as in the Veda *upasarga*s frequently occur separated from the verb with which they are semantically connected, it would be reasonable for Durga and Skanda-Maheśvara to consider the possibility of *upasarga*s that stand on their own. So we may in the end be talking of *upasarga*s that are unconnected to nouns or verbs. The first sentence of the Nirukta passage cited earlier could then be translated: "*upasarga*s

20 The literal translation of *padavākya* as "word-statements" is admittedly ambiguous, as is the compound itself. It could be a *tatpuruṣa* compound having some such meaning as "statements about words" (which, in many instances, would also be statements about word meanings). However, the fact remains that in many of its occurrences *padavākya* is a *dvandva* so that a translation of Durga's phrase such as "when they are composed/arranged in the form of a word or a (single-word) sentence" is not to be ruled out.

21 KAHRS (2005: 68).

which are unconnected (to nouns or verbs) do not express meanings, according to Śākaṭāyana."

This statement is indisputably attributed to Śākaṭāyana. The subsequent statement, *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti*, is either the continuation of Śākaṭāyana's view or Yāska's response to that view. Under either alternative, it is clear that Yāska associates the term *dyotaka* with Śākaṭāyana. Whether its usage here is in the technical sense of "co-signifier" as opposed to *vācaka* "signifier" is difficult to determine. The continuation of the Nirukta passage, *uccāvacāḥ padārthā bhavantīti gārgyaḥ*, could be interpreted so as to mean "there are diverse word-meanings (for unattached) *upasarga*s, according to Gārgya," and hence to ascribe *vācakatva* to *upasarga*s so that they are directly denotative. This would be in contrast to Śākaṭāyana's view which holds *upasarga*s to be indicative or suggestive, *dyotaka* in a more or less technical sense. The question of whether the statement *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* really are the words of Yāska is of some importance, as the term *dyotaka* then would be part of Yāska's own vocabulary, which again would strengthen certain aspects of Ashok Aklujkar's interpretation of the *nipāta* section of the Nirukta (AKLUJKAR 1999: 43–46, 94). As AKLUJKAR points out (*ibid.*: 44), the earliest extant undisputable evidence of the term *dyotaka* clearly contrasted with that of *vācaka* is met with in the Vākyapadīya Vṛtti at VP 2.187. However, George CARDONA (1983: 64, 100–01, 116)[22] has demonstrated how it is plausible to attribute to Pāṇini an awareness of the *dyotaka* terminology in a technical sense.

SARUP takes *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* to be the continuation of Śākaṭāyana's statement and translates it (1921: 7): "but [they] only express a subordinate sense of nouns and verbs." As Ashok AKLUJKAR (1999: 94) has suggested, Sarup might have confused the term *upasaṃyoga* with the term *upasarjana* of the Pāṇinian tradition.[23] In any case, Sarup's translation seems to me unfounded. Admittedly, *upasaṃyoga* is not a common term. It occurs in the second *vārttika* on rule A 4.2.21 *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti*. This rule teaches that the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* is added to a nominal stem that ends in the first *sUP*

22 See also CARDONA (1997: 442–3).

23 Most importantly, the term *upasarjana* denotes a subordinate member that does not get the treatment of the principal member.

triplet (*sā*) and denotes the full-moon night to designate a name of the period in which that full moon falls. So *pauṣo māsaḥ*, "a month in which the Pauṣī full moon occurs." The second *vārttika* runs: *asaṃjñāyāṃ hi garīyān upasaṃyogaḥ*. Patañjali elaborates on this as follows:

> Mbh II 275,10–11 *akriyamāṇe hi saṃjñāgrahaṇe garīyān upasaṃyogaḥ kartavyaḥ syāt – māsārdhamāsayor iti vaktavyaṃ syāt*.
> For when mention of a conventional usage is not made, an *upasaṃyoga* that involves a greater effort must be made, that is, with reference to a month or a half month.

Kaiyaṭa interprets *upasaṃyoga* as *upādhi* "limiting condition":

> MbhP IV: 165b *upasaṃyujyata ity upasaṃyogaḥ – upādhir ucyate. aneka upādhir nirdeṣṭavyaḥ syād ity arthaḥ*.
> (According to the *karmasādhana* analysis) "it is joined closely" it is called *upasaṃyoga*, that is *upādhi* "limiting condition"; that is to say, multiple limiting conditions must be pointed out.

This is the only occurrence of *upasaṃyoga* in the context of the Mahābhāṣya. It seems more reasonable to take *upasaṃyoga* in the sense of "precise connection" or "delimiting connection" than to let it denote anything "subordinate." It is, of course, attractive to take *upa* in *upasaṃyoga* in the sense of *upajana* because that is the sense attributed to it later in the Nirukta passage when it goes on to list meanings for specific *upasarga*s, but the question remains what sense one should attribute to *upajana*. If we take it in the sense of "addition," *karmopasaṃyoga* could be interpreted as "additional connection with an action," that is to say, with an action other than that conveyed by the noun or verb without the *upasarga*. We may not even be compelled to read "addition" into the meaning of *upajana*. Could not "occurring near, coming to exist near" be a description of what the state-of-affairs already is, rather than a description of what happens to a certain state-of-affairs?

Now, just as *dyotaka* is a central term in this little exploration, so are two words for action, *karman* and *kriyā*. However, in his translation Lakshman Sarup takes *karman* in *karmopasaṃyoga* to mean "sense." This is how Durga takes it as well:

> D I 58, 24–59, 2 *tuśabdo 'vadhāraṇārthaḥ. nāmākhyātayor eva yo 'rthaḥ karma tatraiva viśeṣaṃ kaṃcid upasaṃyujya dyotayanti. sa eṣa nāmākhyātayor evārthaviśe-*

ṣa upasargasaṃyoge sati vyajyate. yathā pradīpasaṃyoge dravyasya guṇaviśeṣo 'bhivyajyamāno dravyāśraya eva bhavati na pradīpāśrayaḥ.
The word *tu* has the sense of specification. That meaning, (that is to say,) *karman*, which belongs to nouns and verbs themselves [*eva*], as far as that (meaning) is concerned, the (*upasargas*) indicate/co-signify [*dyotayanti*] something specific, providing (as they do) a close connection [*upasaṃyujya*] (with that meaning). (And) it is this specific meaning that belongs to the nouns and verbs themselves which becomes manifest when there is a connection with an *upasarga*, just as a specific quality of a thing that becomes manifest when there is a connection with a lamp rests only in the thing, not in the lamp.

Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara also take *karman* in the sense of *artha* "meaning" here:

SM I 34,4 6 *nāmākhyātayor eva karmaṇo 'rthasyopasaṃyujyata ity upasaṃyogo viśeṣaḥ prakarṣādis tasya śabdagaḍumātreṇa sannidhānād dyotakā bhavantīti.*
(An *upasarga*) provides a close connection with the *karman*, that is to say, with the meaning of the noun or verb itself; thus (the word) *upasaṃyoga* "close connection" (here) means something specific, such as *prakarṣa* "excellence" (in the case of the upasarga *pra*); (and) as a result of the presence of this (specification of meaning) by their mere appendage to a word, [*upasarga*s] are indicators/co-signifiers [*dyotakāḥ*].

Now, as is well known, Yāska uses the term *karman* as the final member of a masculine *bahuvrīhi* compound to indicate what finite verbs, finite verb substitutes or verbal roots convey, hence the distinction between *karman* and *artha* may not appear so crucial in this context.[24] Still, I think it should be kept in mind that the basic meaning of *karman* is "action," and so argue that this is the appropriate meaning to attribute to it in the expression *karmopasaṃyogadyotakāḥ*, not least because of the link this sense provides to the *vyākaraṇa* tradition. As we have seen, in the Aṣṭādhyāyī the *nipāta* class of particles includes the subgroups *upasarga*, *gati*, and *karmapravacanīya*. Rule A 1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* as-

24 There are a few instances where *karman* is employed to indicate what non-verbal elements convey, for example *pañcamīkarman*. In the words of Ashok AKLUJKAR (1999: 96): "In their case, *karman* seems to have acquired a second technical sense of the form 'function, grammatical meaning, semantic role.' This sense can be seen as an extension of the first and foremost technical sense 'action.' Thus, *pañcamī-karman* is that which performs the action (or role) of the fifth triplet of case endings; *cit* is *aneka-karman* in the sense that it performs more than one (semantic) action (or function)."

signs the name *upasarga* to the members of the *gaṇa prādayaḥ* (A 1.4. 58) when there is a connection with an action (*kriyā*). Moreover, as we have also seen, Patañjali, in his commentary on A 1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*, interprets this technical term as (Mbh I 346, 16–17): *karma proktavantaḥ,* "which have expressed an action."

The statement *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti*, then, I take to mean: "But they indicate (*dyotakā bhavanti*) that a noun or a verb has a specific connection with an action." If we are talking about *upasargas* that indicate a specific connection with an action, it seems to me possible to put forward the hypothesis that what Śākaṭāyana and Yāska are talking about in the Nirukta is precisely what the Pāṇinīya tradition calls *karmapravacanīya*, and that it is this link back to Śākaṭāyana and Yāska that is reflected in the *Vākyapadīya* and its surrounding literature. This also goes some way to illustrate how and why the Vākyapadīya puts forward certain views only to discard them later on. The text serves as a kind of reference point or *origo* reflecting the earlier grammatical tradition, bridging over into the works of later authors as if through a looking glass.

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A = Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. See BÖHTLINGK (1887).

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Mbh = Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. See KIELHORN (1962–1972).

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Nir = Nirukta of Yāska. See SARUP (1927).

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MALHAR KULKARNI, ANUJA AJOTIKAR & TANUJA AJOTIKAR

Derivation of the Declension of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in Cāndra Vyākaraṇa

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that Sanskrit is a morphologically rich language. Pāṇini's treatment of the morphology of Sanskrit is indeed unique and has been a subject matter of study for many years.

Pāṇini, having arrived at a stage, in his morphological analysis, where he stops any further segmentation, takes that stage as the base for the rule-based derivation process. There are two elements known to Pāṇiniyas as being at the base of the derivation process, namely the *dhātu* and the *prātipadika*. It is amazing to see how Pāṇini has arranged his whole system of grammar around these two concepts. It has been a question however, as to why Pāṇini preferred to call only certain verbal elements, as *dhātu* and *prātipadika* over the others. Did he have any choice in this process? In other words, what was the methodology with the help of which Pāṇini arrived at the elements which were the bases for his system and not some other ones? Did he have different levels of analysis and what were the items and contexts that determined these levels?

It is these and similar questions that induced us to undertake a study of Pāṇini's methodology. A part of that study was carried out in relation to the personal pronouns and their declension. It was also interesting to study how Pāṇinian as well as non-Pāṇinian grammars dealt with these personal pronouns. The main questions we tried to address were: 1. Did the non Pāṇinian grammarians have any other idea about the base with which to start the process of derivation? 2. If yes, then what kind of new techniques they had to invent in order to account for the actual forms? 3. How far did they follow Pāṇini?

In the present paper we undertake to study the derivation of the declension of the two personal pronouns *yuṣmad* and *asmad* as provided in

the Pāṇinian grammar and in the Cāndra school of grammar in the light of the above discussion. The paper is divided into following parts: 1. Brief introduction about Cāndra grammar. 2. Rules in Cāndra grammar required for the derivation of the forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. 3. Comparative statement of the derivation of declension in Pāṇinian and Cāndra grammar. 4. Analysis. 5. Conclusion (followed by references and abbreviations).

2. Brief Introduction about Cāndra Grammar

The function of grammar is to derive forms of words from bases or stems and systematize them through commonalities. In the process of derivation of the inflected forms of pronouns it is very difficult to establish a formal relation between the majority of actual forms and the grammatical stems. This observation gets strengthened by the way Pāṇini (hereafter P) treats them,[1] e. g. *saḥ, sā* from *tad* and *asau, amū, amūni* from *adas*. Likewise the forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are also difficult to derive. P is known for brevity. But he spends a lot of rules to derive these forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. It is interesting to investigate how other Sanskrit grammars have dealt with this issue. In the present paper we try to study Cāndra grammar (hereafter C) from this point of view.

The author of this grammar is Candragomin (hereafter CG). The name of the author is found variously quoted as Candra, Candrācārya etc.[2] He is considered to have flourished in 5th century AD[3]. We are not concerned with this issue here yet we can say that he could be said to precede Bhartr̥hari, as Bhartr̥hari mentions him. Opinions vary concerning his birth-place also. Some scholars hold that he was from Bengal,[4]

1 See Section 3 of this paper.

2 VP 2.481.3. There are two separate entries as Candra, and Candrācārya found in ABHYANKAR 1961: 140.

3 See SCHARFE 1977: 164, BELVELKAR 1997: 49.

4 See MIMAMSAKA 1984: 522.

some others that he was from eastern part of India.[5] Scholars like Bronkhorst believe that his place was near Kauśāmbi.[6]

Cāndra grammar is divided into six chapters with four sub-chapters each. The total number of rules is 3110. Some scholars opine that there were eight chapters originally, two chapters being devoted to Vedic and accent rules.[7]

There is one commentary available on C named *vr̥tti* (hereafter CV). The authorship of this particular commentary is also a subject of debate. Some scholars accept a dual authorship, the rules having been composed by CG and the author of the commentary being Dharmadas.[8] Scholars like Yudhisthira Mimamsaka on the other hand, maintain that the author is one.[9] Bronkhorst has a slightly different view and according to him both the CV and the C have been composed in the same course of time.[10] All these arguments are based on internal pieces of evidence. Goonetilleke has mentioned one more work on C titled Bālāvabodhana composed by Kāśyapa.[11] The nature of this work is like that of the Laghusiddhāntakaumudī by Varadarāja. Another work called Cāndravyākaraṇapaddhati by Ānandadatta is mentioned in the *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*.[12]

We base our arguments on C and CV. CG has dealt with the derivation of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* at two places: 2.1. and 5.4. With this much introduction we shall move to the actual derivation of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

No.	Rule	Application
2.1.26	*yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṅaso 'ś*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*ṅas* → *aś*]
2.1.27	*ṅesuṭo 'm*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*su-au-jas-am-au* → *am*]
2.1.28	*śaso naḥ*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*śas* → *ns*]
2.1.29	*bhyaso 'bhyam*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*bhyas* (4/3) → *abhyam*]

5 See DASH 1986: 8.
6 See BRONKHORST 2002: 196.
7 See MIMAMSAKA 1984: 523–525; DASH 1986: 18; SCHARFE 1997: 164.
8 See DASH 1986: 17–18.
9 See MIMAMSAKA 1984: 528.
10 See BRONKHORST 2002: 185.
11 See GOONETILLIKE 1880: 82; BELVALKAR 1997: 52.
12 See ABHYANKAR 1961: 140.

2.1.30	*ṅaseścāt*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*ṅas-bhyas* (5/1, 3) → *at*]
2.1.31	*āma ākam*	*yuṣmad/asmad* [*ām* → *ākam*]
5.4.54	*yuṣmadasmador anādeśe*	[*yuṣmad* → *yuṣmā*] *anādeśa vibhakti* [*asmad* → *asmā*] *anādeśa vibhakti*
5.4.55	*auśasamsu*	[*yuṣmad* → *yuṣmā*] *au/śas/am* [*asmad* → *asmā*] *au/śas/am*
5.4.56	*yo 'ci*	[*yuṣmad* → *yuṣmay*] *ajādi vibhakti* [*asmad* → *asmay*] *ajādi vibhakti*
5.4.57	*śeṣe lopo 'daḥ*	[*yuṣmad* → *yuṣmø*] where there is no *ātva/yatva* [*asmad* → *asmø*] where there is no *ātva/yatva*
5.4.58	*māntasya yuvāvau dvivacane*	[*yuṣmad* → *yuvad*] *dvivacane* [*asmad* → *āvad*] *dvivacane*
5.4.59	*yūyavayau jasi*	[*yuṣmad* → *yūyad*] *jas* [*asmad* → *vayad*] *jas*
5.4.60	*tvāhau sau*	[*yuṣmad* → *tvad*] *su* [*asmad* → *ahad*] *su*
5.4.61	*tubhyamahyau ṅayi*	[*yuṣmad* → *tubhyad*] *ṅe* [*asmad* → *mahyad*] *ṅe*
5.4.62	*tavamamau ṅasi*	[*yuṣmad* → *tavad*] *ṅas* [*asmad* → *mamad*] *ṅas*
5.4.63	*tvamāvekasmin*	[*yuṣmad* → *tvad*] *ekavacane* [*asmad* → *mad*] *ekavacane*

Table 1: Rules required for the derivation in Cāndra grammar

3. Comparative Statement of the Derivation of Declension in Pāṇinian and Cāndra Grammar

In the light of the information presented above, we present below the derivation of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in both P and C.

Cāndra		Pāṇini	
yuṣmad su	2.1.1 *svau-jas-am-auṭ-śas-ṭā-bhyām-bhis-ṅe-bhyām-bhyas-ṅasi-bhyām-*	*yuṣmad su*	1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam* 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* 4.1.2 *svau-jas-am-auṭ-śas-*

	bhyas-ṅas-os-ām-ṅi-os-sup		*ṭā-bhyām-bhis-ṅe-bhyām-bhyas-ṅasi-bhyām-bhyas-ṅas-os-ām-ṅi-os-sup*
tva ad su	5.4.60 *tvāhau sau*	*tva ad su*	7.2.91 *maparyantasya*
tva ad am	2.1.27 *ṅesuṭo 'm*		7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*
tvad am	5.1.101 *ato 'deṅi*	*tva ad am*	7.1.28 *ṅeprathamayor am*
tv am	5.4.57 *śeṣe lopo 'daḥ*	*tvad am*	6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
tvam		*tva am*	7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*
		tvam	6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*
yuṣmad au	2.1.1	*yuṣmad au*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad am	2.1.27	*yuṣmad am*	7.1.28
yuva ad am	5.4.58 *māntasya yuvāvau dvivacane*	*yuva ad am*	7.2.92 *yuvāvau dvivacane* 7.2.91
yuvad am	5.1.101		
yuva ā am	5.4.55 *auśasamsu*	*yuvad am*	6.1.97
yuvā am	5.1.106 *ako 'ki dīrghaḥ*	*yuva ā am*	7.2.88 *prathamāyāś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām*
yuvām	5.1.113 *ami pūrvaḥ*	*yuvā am*	6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
		yuvām	6.1.107
yuṣmad jas	2.1.1	*yuṣmad jas*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yūya ad jas	5.4.59 *yūyavayau jasi*	*yūya ad jas*	7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi*
yūya ad am	2.1.27	*yūya ad am*	7.1.28
yūyad am	5.1.101		
yūy am	5.4.57	*yūyad am*	6.1.97
yūyam		*yūya am*	7.2.90
		yūyam	6.1.107
yuṣmad am	2.1.1	*yuṣmad am*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad am	2.1.27	*yuṣmad am*	7.1.28
tva ad am	5.4.63 *tvamāvekasmin*	*tva ad am*	7.2.92 *tvamāv ekavacane*
tvad am	5.1.101		
tvā am	5.4.55	*tvad am*	6.1.97
tvā am	5.1.106	*tva ā am*	7.2.87 *dvitīyāyā ca*
tvām	5.1.113	*tvā am*	6.1.101
		tvām	6.1.107
yuṣmad au	2.1.1	*yuṣmad au*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2

yuṣmad am	2.1.27	*yuṣmad am*	7.1.28
yuva ad am	5.4.58	*yuva ad am*	7.2.92; 7.2.91
yuvad am	5.1.101		
yuva ā am	5.4.55	*yuvad am*	6.1.97
yuvā am	5.1.106	*yuva ā am*	7.2.88
yuvām	5.1.113	*yuvā am*	6.1.101
		yuvām	6.1.107
yuṣmad śas	2.1.1	*yuṣmad śas*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣma ā śas	5.4.55	*yuṣmad ns*	7.1.29 *śaso na*
yuṣmā śas	5.1.106	*yuṣma ā ns*	7.2.87
yuṣmā ns	2.1.28 *śaso naḥ*	*yuṣmā ns*	6.1.101
yuṣmān ϕ	6.3.52 *saṁyogasya padasya*	*yuṣmān ϕ*	8.2.23 *saṁyogāntasya lopaḥ*
yuṣmān		***yuṣmān***	
yuṣmad ṭā	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ṭā*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
tva ad ā	5.4.63	*yuṣmad ā*	1.3.7 *cuṭū*
tvad ā	5.1.101		1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
tvay ā	5.4.56 *yo 'ci*	*tva ad ā*	7.2.92
tvayā		*tvad ā*	6.1.97
		tvay ā	7.2.89 *yo 'ci*
		tvayā	
yuṣmad bhyām	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhyām*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuva ad bhyām	5.4.58	*yuva ad bhyām*	7.2.92
yuvad bhyām	5.1.101		
yuva ā bhyām	5.4.54 *yuṣmadasmador anādeśe*	*yuvad bhyām*	6.1.97
yuvābhyām	5.1.106	*yuva ā bhyām*	7.2.86 *yuṣmadasmador anādeśe*
		yuvābhyām	6.1.101
yuṣmad bhis	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhis*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣma ā bhis	5.4.54	*yuṣma ā bhis*	7.2.86
yuṣmā bhis	5.1.106		
yuṣmābhiḥ	6.3.98 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* 6.4.20 *virāme visarjanīyaḥ*	***yuṣmābhiḥ***	*sasajuṣo ruḥ 8.2.66 kharavasānayorvisarjanīy aḥ 8.3.15*

yuṣamd ṅe	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ṅe*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
tubhya ad ṅe	5.4.61 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*	*tubhya ad ṅe*	7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*
tubhya ad am	2.1.27	*tubhya ad am*	7.1.28
tubhyad am	5.1.101	*tubhyad am*	6.1.97
tubhy am	5.4.57	*tubhya am*	7.2.90
tubhyam		***tubhyam***	6.1.107
yuṣmad bhyām	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhyām*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuva ad bhyām	5.4.58		
yuvad bhyām	5.1.101	*yuva ad bhyām*	7.2.92
yuva ā bhyām	5.4.54	*yuvad bhyām*	6.1.97
yuvābhyām	5.1.106	*yuva ā bhyām*	7.2.86
		yuvā bhyām	6.1.101
		yuvābhyām	
yuṣmad bhyas	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhyas*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad abhyam	2.1.29 *bhyaso 'bhyam*	*yuṣmad bhyam*	7.1.30 *bhyaso bhyam*
yuṣm abhyam	5.4.57	*yuṣma ø bhyam*	7.2.90
yuṣmabhyam		***yuṣmabhyam***	

yuṣmad ṅasi	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ṅasi*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad at	2.1.30 *ṅaseścāt*	*yuṣmad at*	7.1.32 *ekavacanasya ca*
tva ad at	5.4.63		
tvad at	5.1.101	*tva ad at*	7.2.97
tv at	5.4.57	*tvad at*	6.1.97
tvat		*tvaø at*	7.2.90
		tvat	6.1.97
yuṣmad bhyām	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhyām*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuva ad bhyām	5.4.58	*yuva ad bhyām*	7.2.92

yuvad bhyām	5.1.101	*yuvad bhyām*	6.1.97
yuva ā bhyām	5.4.54	*yuva ā bhyām*	7.2.86
yuvābhyām	5.1.106	***yuvābhyām***	6.1.101
yuṣmad bhyas	2.1.1	*yuṣmad bhyas*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad at	2.1.30	*yuṣmad at*	7.1.31 *pañcamyā at*
yuṣm at	5.4.57	*yuṣmaø at*	7.2.90
yuṣmat		***yuṣmat***	6.1.97
yuṣmad ṅas	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ṅas*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
tavad ṅas	5.4.62 *tavamamau ṅasi*	*tava ad ṅas*	7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi*
tavad aś	2.1.26 *yuṣmadasmabhyām ṅaso 'ś*	*tavad ṅas*	6.1.97
tav a	5.4.57	*tavad aś*	7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmabhyām ṅaso 'ś*
tava		*tavaø a*	7.2.90
		tava	6.1.97
yuṣmad os	2.1.1	*yuṣmad os*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuva ad os	5.4.58		
yuvad os	5.1.101	*yuva ad os*	7.2.92
yuvay os	5.4.56	*yuvad os*	6.1.97
yuvayoḥ	6.3.98; 6.4.20	*yuvay os*	7.2.89
		yuvayoḥ	8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* 8.3.15 *kharavasānayorvisar-janīyaḥ*
yuṣmad ām	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ām*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣmad ākam	2.1.31 *āma ākam*	*yuṣmad ākam*	7.1.33 *sāma ākam*
yuṣm ākam	5.4.57	*yuṣma ākam*	7.2.90
yuṣmākam		***yuṣmākam***	6.1.101
yuṣmad ṅi	2.1.1	*yuṣmad ṅi*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
tva ad i	5.4.63	*tva ad ṅi*	7.2.86
tvad i	5.1.101		
tvay i	5.4.56	*tvad i*	6.1.97

tvayi		*tvay i*	7.2.89
		tvayi	
yuṣmad os	2.1.1	*yuṣmad os*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuva ad os	5.4.58	*yuva ad os*	7.2.92
yuvad os	5.1.101		
yuvay os	5.4.56	*yuvad os*	6.1.97
yuvayoḥ	6.3.98; 6.4.20	*yuvay os*	7.2.89
		yuvayoḥ	
yuṣmad sup	2.1.1	*yuṣmad sup*	1.2.45; 4.1.1; 4.1.2
yuṣma ā su	5.4.54	*yuṣma ā su*	7.2.86
yuṣmā su	5.1.106	*yuṣmā su*	6.1.101
yuṣmāsu		***yuṣmāsu***	

Table 2: derivation of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* according to Cāndra and Pāṇini

4. Analysis

CG spends a total of 16 rules to derive the forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* presented above. He has rephrased the rules of P in this task. He deals with this derivation in two different sub-chapters i.e 2.1 (dealing with the substitution of affixes) and 5.4 (substitution of stems).

In the section dealing with the substitution of suffixes there is an *adhikāra* of *yuṣmadasmadbhyām*. In the Aṣṭādhyāyī (hereafter A) also the suffix substitutions are stated under the same *adhikāra* in 7.1. There are seven rules in A and six rules in C under this *adhikāra*.

The order of the rules in C is exactly the same as that of A, only the last rule is slightly different. It is 2.1.31 *āma ākam* whereas P says *sāma ākam* (A 7.1.33). To avoid forms like **yuṣmeṣākam* and **asmeṣākam* P states *ākam* as substitute for *ām* with *suṭ*. After the elision of final *d* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* conditions are favourable for the application of the rule A 7.1.52.[13] *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are termed as *sarvanāma* by the rule A 1.1.27.[14] They end in *a* after the deletion of final *d*. Then there would

13 A 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ.*

14 A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni.*

be forms like **yuṣmeṣākam* and **asmeṣākam* by the rule A 7.3.103.[15] This over-application is foreseen by P. Hence, in order to avoid this problem, he states the substitution with the augment *suṭ*. CG has cleverly avoided this difficulty as he states *sām* as a substitute for *ām*[16] which immediately follows a *sarvanāma* ending in *a*. Hence he has no difficulty in deriving the genitive plural of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. He probably had the difficulty faced by P in derivation of this form of *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* in mind, when he made such an arrangement.

The term *prathamayoḥ* in A 7.1.28[17] is replaced by the term *suṭ* in C because *prathamayoḥ* is quite ambiguous. The term *prathamayoḥ* is the genitive dual of *prathama/prathamā,* which stands for the nominative and accusative cases. This would mean that the rule enjoins the substitute *am* for all the six suffixes. Now, to avoid the over-application of this particular rule, a new rule, A 7.1.29 is stated as an exception.[18] In this way, the meaning of A 7.1.28 is incomplete without the knowledge of A 7.1.29. On the other hand, if the *pratyāhāra* device is used, the rule does not depend upon any other rule for the completion of its meaning. In the rule A 7.1.29 the term *na* is used to remove ambiguity in A 7.1.28: *na* stands for negation also and at the first glance, it would not be clear that *na* means the substitute and not the negation.

The rules A 7.1.31–32[19] are merged in C 2.1.30 as *ṅaseścāt*. P has given two rules to account for the same operation of the substitution of *at*, which could have been stated in a single rule. Why does P spend two rules? The answer is that the role of *ca* in this rule is to resolve ambiguity by isolating rules.[20]

CG has stated *abhyam* as a substitute for *bhyas* (4/3). This issue can be put as follows: CG states the deletion of *ad* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* by the rule C 5.4.57. If *ad* is deleted then it is difficult to derive *yuṣmabhyam* with the substitution of *bhyam*. Hence CG has to accept *abhyam* as a substitute for *bhyas*. The Kaśikāvr̥tti (hereafter KV) refers to this issue while commenting on the rule A 7.1.30. What is the benefit if the substitute is *abhyam*? In A the technical problem arises in the form of unde-

15 A 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhalyet*.

16 C 2.1.9 *ād āmaḥ sām.*

17 A 7.1.28 *ṅeprathamayoram*.

18 A 7.1.29 *śaso na*.

19 A 7.1.31 *pañcamyā at*; A 7.1.32 *ekavacanasya ca*.

20 See Joshi & Bhate 1983: 32, 66.

sired forms like **yuṣmebhyam* and **asmebhyam*. After substituting *bhy-as* with *bhyam* and after the deletion of *d* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad*[21] there is a chance for applying the substitution of *a* with *e* by rule A 7.3.103.[22] This rule prescribes the substitution of *e* for *a* in final position of *aṅga* before a *jhal* sound. Now, a *jhal* sound includes *bh*. Hence we would get the forms like **yuṣmebhyam* and **asmebhyam*, which are not desired. To avoid these forms there is a *paribhāṣā*: *aṅgavr̥tteḥ punarvr̥ttāv avidhiḥ* "Once an operation on an *aṅga* has been applied we are not supposed to apply another operation on the same stem."[23] In this way these undesired forms are avoided by applying a *paribhāṣā*. Another way out is accepting *abhyam* as a substitute. CG accepts this substitute.

There is another dimension to this problem, namely that of accentual system, *svaraprakriyā*. It is also related to the interpretation of the rule A 7.1.30. KV has also discussed the issue of the accent of *yuṣmabhyaˈm* and *asmabhyaˈm* taking into account both the views on A 7.1.30. There is no harm in accepting any of the two substitutes, because the accent remains the same. If *abhyam* is accepted then the original accent remains the same by the rule A 8.2.5.[24] Here there is another issue, namely, whether *śeṣe lopaḥ* is *antyalopa*, deletion of the final sound or *ṭilopa*, deletion of the *ṭi*.[25] In case of the deletion of the *ṭi,* the rule A 6.1.161[26] is there to take care of the accent. The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya also mentions the same solution.[27] This issue is discussed in the book Svaraprakriyā[28] also. The discussion in the book Svaraprakriyā agrees with the KV in this regard. Hence we may say that accent can't be a criterion to decide which substitute is preferable. The examples, which are often quoted on the rule A 6.1.161, are those in which the deletion of *udātta* is caused by *anudātta*. When the same rule is applicable to the form of *yuṣmabhyam* and *asmabhyam* the deletion of the final *d* is not caused by the

21 A 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*.

22 A 7.1.30 *bahuvacane jhalyet*; see KV ibidem.

23 *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* 1987: 353 (*paribhāṣā* no. 93).

24 A 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttena udāttaḥ*.

25 A.1.1.64 "The final portion of a word beginning with the last among the vowels is called *ṭi*." Tr. by VASU 2003: 59.

26 A 6.1.161 *anudāttasya ca yatra udāttalopaḥ*.

27 See Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya on A 7.1.30.

28 ABHYANKAR 2001: 96.

suffix. Hence can A 6.1.161 be applicable to this case? This issue would be a topic of further research.

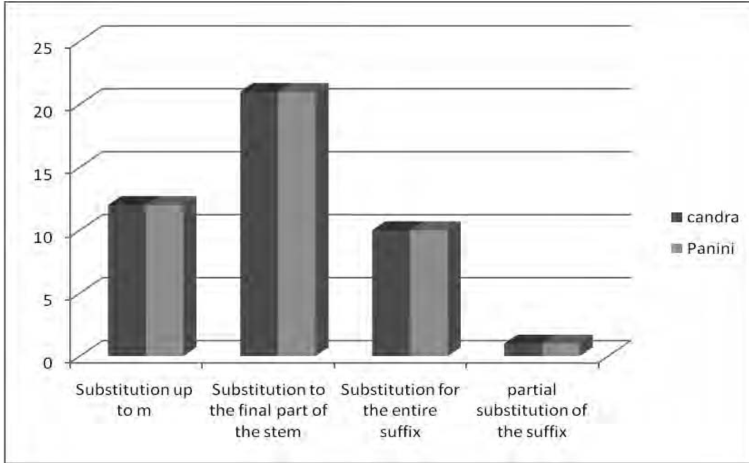
The substitution of the stem is of two types 1. up to the *m* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* and 2. at the end. The first type includes substitutions of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* according to the number (singular and dual) and the second one includes operations like *yatva, ātva* and *lopa*.

The substitutes are *tva* and *ma* in the singular and *yuva* and *āva* in the dual. There is consistency in the paradigm of dual forms, so that no further substitutions are needed, whereas some forms are completely different in the paradigm of singular. Hence they are stated separately. In this regard CG is seen borrowing P's rules. They are *yūyavayau jasi*, *tvāhau sau*, *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*, and *tavamamau ṅasi*. P teaches these substitutions under the section-heading rule A 7.2.91 *maparyantasya*. It means that the substitutions are in place of the element to *m* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

The following table will make this picture clear.

Application	C	P
Substitution up to m	12	12
Substitution to the final part of the stem	21	21
Substitution of the entire suffix	10	10
Partial substitution of the suffix	1	1

Table 3



Graph 1: substitution of final parts of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*

The graph shows that the final part of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is substituted in all the 21 forms. Both P and CG do not differ in this regard. The following figure shows treatment given by CG to derive the forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad.*

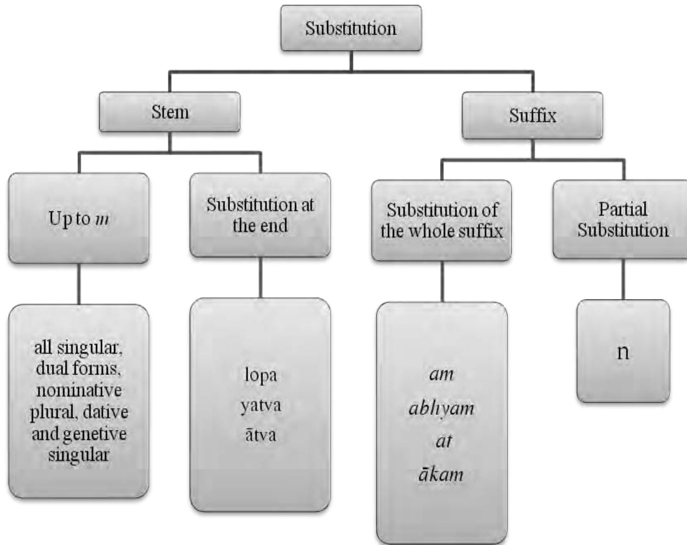


Figure 1: derivation of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* by CG

Why does CG replace the terms *ekavacane*[29] in rule of A by *ekasmin*? The reason would be as follows: the KV interprets *ekavacane* and *dvivacane* as a mention of meaning,[30] that is in the domain in which *yuṣmad* and *asmad* refer to two or a single item. The Nyāsa on the KV explicitly says that, should the terms *ekavacane* and *dvivacane* not be taken in a technical sense, the substitutions taught by these two rules would not be applicable in a compound in which *yuṣmad* and *asmad* refer to duality and unity.[31] The sense of this discussion is reflected in verses in VSK:

> When *yuṣmad* and *asmad* denoting a unity or a duality in themselves and are members of a compound which may denote any number then also *tva* and *yuva* will substitute *yuṣmad* and *ma* and *āva* will substitute *asmad*.[32]

S. D. Joshi does not agree with this argument. According to him *ekavacana* in A always stands for a morpheme, a singular ending, not for singular meaning.[33] It seems that CG favours *arthagrahaṇa*, hence he accepts *ekasmin*. Therefore the rule *pratyayottarapadayośca* (A 7.2.98) is absent in C. It would help CG to get the compounds like *tvatputraḥ*, *matputraḥ* and the forms like *tvadīyaḥ*, *madīyaḥ*. It means that the operation stated by P's rule *pratyayottarapadayośca* is stated in C with the help of one term. Here CG achieves brevity. But he has not adopted such view in stating *yuva* and *āva* as substitutes because the term *dvivacane* is used in the rule 5.4.58. But the term *dvayoḥ* helps in getting the forms

> *yuvām atikrantaḥ* → *atiyuṣmad* and *āvām atikrāntaḥ* → *atyasmad*.

It seems that CG is silent about this kind of compound.[34]

Two rules in A are clubbed into one by CG (rule no. 5.4.55). P has stated the operation of *ātva* in three different rules namely A 7.2.86–88. CG also follows P while stating this operation but clubs the other two

29 *tvamāvekasmin* C 5.4.63, *tvamāvekavacane* A 7.2.97.

30 *dvivacana iti arthanirdeśaḥ* KV on A 7.2.92.

31 *yad idam pāribhāśikasya dvivacanasya grahaṇam syāt tadā tasmin parata eva tavādeśau bhavetāmī, tathā ca yadā samāse dvyrthe yuṣmadasmadī bhavataḥ, tadā na syātām iti*, *arthagrahaṇe sati iṣṭam sidhyati* Nyāsa on KV A 7.2.92.

32 *samasyamāne dvyekatvavacinī yuṣmadasmadī samāsārtho anyasaṅkhyaścet sto yuvāvau tvamāvapi* Vasu 1995: 225.

33 See Joshi & Roodbergen 2004: 202, n. 2.

34 For more discussion see Kulkarni, M. *et. al.* 2010.

rules A 7.2.87–88. These are *dvitīyāyāṁ ca* and *prathamāyāśca dvivacane bhāṣāyām*. The expression *prathamāyāśca dvivacane* means the suffix *au* and *dvitīyāyāṁ ca* means the whole accusative case. P has separated these two rules because P is concerned with the Vedic forms.

CG clearly states the suffixes. At first sight it would seem that CG has achieved brevity more than P but a thorough analysis of P reveals that some other issues are at stake. The analysis of P's technique called *anuvr̥tti* would be helpful here. The above-mentioned rules come under the *adhikāra, vibhaktau*.[35] The term *hali* continues from the rule A 7.2.85 *rāyo hali*. The meaning of A 7.2.86 is thus that *ātva* takes place when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* follow a *halādi vibhakti* (case ending beginning with a consonant) which is not a substitute. This accounts for the suffixes like *bhyām*, *bhis*, *su*. The rest of the suffixes that are *halādi* but have been substituted are excluded in this way. Here we get internal evidence that P wants *bhyam* to be a substitute otherwise there is no need of the term *anādeśe*. Even the suffixes that are *ajādi* (case ending beginning with a vowel) but have not been substituted are excluded by the term *halādi*. Hence the suffixes which are substituted but demand the operation of *ātva* are those of the accusative case. Therefore P makes a separate rule, namely A 7.2.87. Here P cannot say *ami* because the whole nominative case also takes the same substitute[36] and the accusative plural remains out of the scope of the rule, as it does not get that substitute. In that case P has to make a different rule for the same operation that covers the accusative plural. Moreover P has to exclude the nominative singular and plural forms from the same operation. The form of the nominative dual derived by the operation of *ātva* is found only in *bhāṣā*. The Vedic forms of nominative dual without the operation of *ātva* would be excluded in that case. Hence there should be another rule to cover them. In this way the strategy adopted by CG would not be successful in the Pāṇinian framework; on the contrary it would cause defects in it. Later commentators like Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita also discuss the issue of brevity on A 7.2.89. Bhaṭṭojī suggests stating *auṅi* instead of *prathamāyāś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām*.[37] Yet this solution does not work, as there is already the rule A 7.1.18 *auṅa āpaḥ*, covering both nominative and accusative dual and not

35 A 7.2.84 *aṣṭana ā vibhaktau*.

36 By A 7.1.28 *ṅeprathamayoram*.

37 See VSK Vol I, 2005: 400.

only the nominative; thus, Bhaṭṭojī's suggestion does not hold good. Hence we may say that P cannot be challenged on the issue of brevity.

CG has proposed *ad-lopa* to achieve brevity in the derivation. Why hasn't P tried this option? The answer may be sought in accentual facts: *a* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is *udātta* by the rule *phiṣo 'nta udāttaḥ (Phiṭ sū.* 1*)*.[38] P might not have wanted to delete the *udātta*. This is the topic of further research. At this stage we may say that this could be a way to find out P's methodology.

A 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* is the rule by which P has stated the deletion of final *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* whereas CG states the deletion of whole *ad* part of it. There are arguments in the KV discussing whether this *lopa* is *antyalopa* or *ṭilopa*.[39] If the rule is interpreted in the context of its following rules, then it should be *ṭilopa*. The next rule is A 7.2.91 *maparyantasya*. The limit for all substitutes is *m* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. The remaining part of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is indicated by *śeṣa* i.e. *ad*. In this way the *ṭilopa* is explained here. If the rule is interpreted in the context of its previous rules then it would be *antyalopa* as previous rule state substitutes for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, *lopa* is also one of the substitutes, and according to P's mechanism the substitute without any condition always replaces the last element.[40] Hence it is *antyalopa*. The term *śeṣa* is interpreted as *uktādanyaḥ śeṣaḥ*. The rule comes under the *adhikāra vibhaktau*; hence the meaning of *śeṣa* is "those case endings which do not participate in the operations like *ātva, yatva*." In this way the *ṭilopa* view becomes weak as it is against P's mechanism. CG has stated clearly the deletion of *ad* part of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* and has achieved brevity to some extent.

5. Conclusions

Even though CG seems to have achieved brevity in terms of less number of rules, he misses out on important considerations like accent. CG follows P in the formulation of rules to derive the declension of these

38 VSK Vol. IV, 1997: 491.
39 See KV on A 7.2.91.
40 A 1.1.52.

forms. Even the order of the rules and the arrangement is also same as P. In this process he achieves brevity to some extent. Nevertheless CG has not given importance to the Vedic forms and accents. Hence we may say that the issue of brevity is not a strong point on which P can be challenged. On the contrary, P's technique seems stronger in terms of consideration of the accent in the formulation of rules to derive these forms. Does the accent play an important role in this derivation? If the answer is affirmative then all the other grammars except P's can be said to be incomplete.

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THOMAS OBERLIES

Cāndriana Inedita
(Studien zum Cāndravyākaraṇa V)

Mit diesem Beitrag, der einen vollständigen Überblick über die noch nicht edierten Texte des Cāndravyākaraṇa und der Handschriften, in denen diese erhalten sind, zu geben versucht, soll ein Indologe geehrt werden, der sich in seiner für ihn so typischen Art auch mit der einheimischen indischen Grammatik beschäftigt hat. Etliche seiner gängige Erkenntnisse hinterfragenden Beiträge beschäftigten sich dabei mit dem Cāndravyākaraṇa. Und so steht zu hoffen, daß ihn dieser Beitrag trotz seines mehr technischen Charakters interessieren möge, zumal dieser wiederholt das Gebiet der Geschichte der Cāndra-Schule streift, die den Jubilar – neben so vielem anderem – über die Jahre beschäftigt hat.

Das Cāndravyākaraṇa ist eines der wichtigsten Systeme der einheimischen indischen Grammatik des Sanskrit. Begründet wurde es von Candragomin, dem Verfasser des Cāndrasūtra, das denn auch der zentrale Text des Systems ist. Da Candra von dem Sprachphilosophen Bhartr̥hari genannt wird, ist das Jahr 480 n. Chr. als ungefährer *terminus ante quem* für seine Schaffenszeit gegeben. Und vieles spricht dafür, daß Candra nicht allzu lange vor diesem Zeitpunkt gelebt hat.

Im engeren Sinne besteht das Cāndravyākaraṇa aus dem Sūtra-Text des Candragomin und dem zugehörenden Kommentar, der Cāndravr̥tti, als deren Verfasser früher ebenfalls Candra galt, die heute indes allgemein einem gewissen Dharmadāsa zugeschrieben wird.[1] Dieser dürfte im späten 5. Jahrhundert gewirkt haben. Im weiteren Sinne sind mit dem

1 Die kontrovers diskutierte Frage, ob der Verfasser des Sūtra und der Verfasser der Vr̥tti ein und dieselbe oder aber zwei verschiedene Personen sind, hat zuletzt VERGIANI durch eine detaillierte Untersuchung eines Zitats aus der Mahābhāṣyadīpikā in der Cāndravr̥tti dahingehend beantwortet, daß „its author (i.e. of the Cāndravr̥tti) is later than Bhartr̥hari, which in turn implies that he should be different from the author of the C(āndrasūtra)" (2009: 184).

Namen *Cāndravyākaraṇa* alle grammatikalischen Werke gemeint, die sich an das Cāndrasūtra und die Cāndravṛtti als ihre Grundtexte anschließen. Denn ergänzt werden Sūtra und Vṛtti auf der einen Seite durch eine Reihe von Texten, die diese in gewohnter Weise vervollständigen, auf der anderen durch eine größere Zahl von Kommentaren zur Vṛtti, sodann durch verschiedene Texte, die sich an das Sūtra und dessen Kommentare anschließen. Zur erstgenannten Gruppe zählen der Dhātupāṭha, eine Liste von Verbalwurzeln also, auf die Sūtra und Vṛtti rekurrieren, das Varṇasūtra, eine knappe Beschreibung der Laute des Sanskrit und ihrer Aussprache, so wie sie die genannten zwei Texte voraussetzen, der Adhikārasaṃgraha, der die „Themasetzungen" des Sūtra aufführt, und das Paribhāṣāsūtra, eine Zusammenstellung von Interpretationsmaximen. Die zweitgenannte Gruppe umfaßt die Kommentare zu Dharmadāsas Vṛtti, als da sind: die Pañjikā des Ratnamati, zu der Sāriputra einen Kommentar verfaßte,[2] die (Vivaraṇa)pañjikā des Pūṇacandra, die Sumatipañjikā und die Paddhati des Ānandadatta. Und wenn man *Cāndravyākaraṇa* in einem sehr umfassenden Sinn versteht, zählen zu diesem Texte wie die Saṃbandhasiddhi, die Vibhaktikārikā, die Candrakārikā und die Śabdarūpāvalī.[3]

Fast alle diese Texte sind ins Tibetische übersetzt worden,[4] für dessen einheimische Grammatik gerade das Cāndravyākaraṇa eine entscheidend wichtige Rolle spielte.

Ehe die Texte des Cāndravyākaraṇa vorgestellt werden sollen, die noch der Herausgabe harren,[5] sei an dieser Stelle, der Vollständigkeit halber, auf Sūtra-Handschriften in zwei Sammlungen hingewiesen, die für eine – noch ausstehende – kritische Edition des Cāndrasūtra heranzuziehen wären.

2 An Ratnamatis Pañjikā schließt sich der Candrālaṃkāra des Sāriputta an. Für Einzelheiten sei auf DIMITROV (2010: 25–47) verwiesen. Über den Cāndrālaṃkāra haben auch HAHN (2005: 119–122) und HANISCH (2006: 11–113; 2007) berichtet, wobei ihr besonderes Augenmerk der Schrift des Manuskripts galt, der sog. Pfeilspitzenschrift.

3 Daß der Ūṣmabheda der NGMPP-Handschriften, der von mir – wenn auch mit Zweifeln – dem Cāndravyākaraṇa zugeordnet wurde (OBERLIES 1992: 179–181), kein Text dieser Schule ist, hat nun HAHN (2006) gezeigt.

4 In vorbildlicher Weise hat VERHAGEN (1994; 2001) diese Übersetzungen erschlossen.

5 Wertvolle Hinweise steuerte Herr Dr. Dragomir Dimitrov bei, wofür ich mich auch an dieser Stelle ganz herzlich bei ihm bedanken möchte.

Die Asiatic Society of Bengal besitzt mit der Handschrift 9996 A einen Text der Sūtras von Candra V 1.[6] Und zu den Beständen der Kongelige Bibliotek Kopenhagen gehört eine aus dem Jahr 1327 stammende nepalesische Handschrift mit einem vollständigen Sūtra-Text, von der mittlerweile Photographien ins Internet gestellt sind, die dort unter <http://www.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/os/Sydasien/indidigi.html> [im Dezember 2011 geladen] eingsehen werden können.[7]

Dank des freundlichen Entgegenkommens des NGMPP / NGMCP, der Asiatic Society of Bengal,[8] der Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen und der Cambridge University Library, für das ich mich auch an dieser Stelle ganz herzlich bedanken möchte, wurden mir Filme der im folgenden beschriebenen Handschriften[9] überlassen, die mittlerweile alle digitalisiert wurden.

1. Ratnamatis Pañjikā

Auf einer ins Jahr 1412 datierten Inschrift aus Pagan (Myanmar), die die Schenkung einer großen Anzahl von Texten an den buddhistischen Orden festhält, wird neben der Cāndravr̥tti auch die Candrapañjikā genannt (s. BODE 1909: 107). Dieser für die buddhistischen Gelehrten offenbar wichtige Text[10] ist uns nicht nur aus etlichen Zitaten bekannt,[11]

6 Die Handschrift 3823, die den kompletten Sūtra-Text enthält, war Liebich zugänglich und wurde von ihm für seine Textedition verwendet (s. LIEBICH 1902: VII).

7 Dieser Hinweis ist Herrn Dr. Hartmut Büscher, Forskningsbibliotekar an genannter Bibliothek, zu verdanken.

8 Bei meinen Kollegen Srikant Bahulkar und Abhijit Ghosh möchte ich mich ganz herzlich dafür bedanken, daß sie sich für mein Anliegen verwendet haben.

9 Der NGMCP-Katalog verzeichnet unter NGMPP A 51/15 eine weitere Handschrift, die einen zum Cāndravyākaraṇa gehörenden Text enthält (*resp.* enthalten soll), über den ich mir allerdings noch kein Bild machen konnte.

10 Zu seinem Verfasser siehe zuletzt POLLOCK (2005) und nun DIMITROV (2011: 37–46). Im übrigen vergleiche man MALALASEKERA (1928: 168).

11 Siehe OBERLIES (1992: 165, 167, 183–184 und 2006: 381 Fn. 6). Der freundlichen Mitteilung von Dr. Lata Deokar (Sarnath) verdanke ich die Information, daß Ratnamati insgesamt fünfmal in Subhūticandras Kāmadhenu zitiert wird. Für diese Zitate sei auf Frau Deokars alsbald erscheinende Textedition verwiesen.

sondern er ist in mehreren Handschriften auf uns gekommen. Diese gehören zum einen zur Sammlung der Sankrityayan-Handschriften, zum anderen zu den vom Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) verfilmten nepalesischen Handschriften, die derzeit im Rahmen des Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) katalogisiert werden, und schließlich zu den Beständen der Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkatta.

Die Handschrift Xc 14/69 der Sammlung der von Rahul Sankrityayan in Tibet photographierten Handschriften,[12] die 1960/61 in den „Palace of the Culture of the Nationalities“ (Beijing) verbracht wurden,[13] sich heute aber wieder in Tibet – im Tibet Museum in Lhasa – befinden, enthält – abgesehen von 36 Folios,[14] die bereits zur Zeit der photographischen Aufnahme durch Sankrityayan fehlten – den ganzen Text der Pañjikā, dessen Kolophone Ratnamati als Verfasser ausweisen: *cāndravyākaraṇe ratnamatikr̥tāyāṃ pañjikāyāṃ prathamasyādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ* (Xc 14/69_03_B2). Diese Angabe wiederholt sich in allen Kolophonen des Texten bis auf den des allerletzten Pāda. Dort wird Pūrṇacandra als Autor der Pañjikā genannt: *cāndravyākaraṇasya sphuṭārthāyāṃ pūrṇṇacandraviracitāyām pañjikāyāṃ ṣaṣṭho dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ* (Xc 14/69_26_B). SANKRITYAYANs vermutete deshalb, daß „Ratnamati did not write his commentary on the fourth Pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, so in the present Ms. Pūrṇacandra s Pañjikā on that Pāda was added” (1937: 43 Fn. 2). Zu Pūrṇacandras Pañjikā siehe unten S. 154–155.

Zu den ersten drei Pādas des ersten Kapitels ist der Text der Pañjikā auch in der 55 Folios umfassenden Handschrift 5645.2 der Asiatic Society of Bengal vorhanden.[15] Während der Kolophon zu I 2 den Text schlicht Ṭīkā des Bhikṣu Ratnamati nennt (*cāndravyākaraṇe bhikṣurat-*

12 Die Original-Photographien lagern im Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Glücklicherweise besitzt die Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek Abzüge, die kürzlich im Rahmen eines von Dr. Helmut Rohlfing initiierten Projektes digitalisiert wurden.

13 In dem von HU-VON HINÜBER (2006: 297–334) veröffentlichten Katalog dieser Handschriften von Wang Sen ist die Handschrift mit Ratnamatis und Pūrṇacandras Kommentaren als Nr. 149 verzeichnet (*loc. cit.* 320).

14 Diese Zahl verdanke ich dem freundlichen Hinweis von Herrn Dr. Dimitrov. SANKRITYAYAN spricht von nur 18 fehlenden Folios (1937: 43 Fn. 2).

15 Siehe SHASTRI (1931: 116–117).

namatikr̥tāyāṃ ṭīkāyāṃ prathamasyādhyāyasya dvitīyaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ) – wie dies ja auch in der Handschrift NGMPP A 1286/14 geschieht (s.u.) –, heißt er in dem zu I 3 (*cāndravyākaraṇe ratnamatikr̥tāyāṃ pañjikāyāṃ prathamasya*[16] *tr̥tīyaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*) ebenfalls Pañjikā. Das Bild zeigt den Text des Kommentars zu C I 3,14 (*śri*[*bhuvo prādeḥ*]) bis I 3,22 (*nī*[*vārāḥ*]):[17]

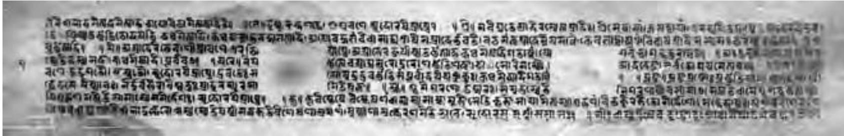


Bild 1: Calc. 5645.2

Auch in den vom NGMPP verfilmten Handschriften ist Text der Pañjikā auf uns gekommen. Bei diesen handelt es sich um folgende[18] –

	Text	Folios	Kolophon(e)
B 460/16	C V 1	39	*...karaṇe ratna<ma>tikr̥tāyām pañcamasyādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*
A 1286/14 = B 460/17	C V 3	26 (Blatt-Nr. 1–19, 27–34)	*cāndravyākaraṇe ratnamatikr̥tāyāṃ ṭīkāyām pañcamasyādhyāyasya tr̥tīyapādaḥ samāptaḥ*
C 2/9	C V 1, V 3,3–82, V 3,120–198, VI 1,1–101	79	*cāndravyākaraṇe ratna<ma>tikr̥tāyām pañjikāyāṃ pañcamasyādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*

Der Text der Pañjikā liegt auch in tibetischer Übersetzung vor. Diese ist – soweit bekannt – lediglich in einer einzigen Handschrift erhalten, deren von Sankrityayan gemachte Photographie Teil der *Tibetica* der Bihar Research Society, Patna, ist (s. OBERLIES 1992: 167).

16 Am Ende der Zeile hat der Schreiber versehentlich *adhyāyasya* ausgelassen.

17 Wie der Kommentar selbst zeigt, ist *nī* einfacher Schreibfehler statt richtigem *ni*.

18 Die Handschrift NGMPP A 54/7 enthält – anders als dies früher (OBERLIES 1992: 164 und 166 mit Fn. 21) behauptet wurde – *nicht* den Text der Pañjikā, sondern lediglich den der Cāndravr̥tti.

Zu Ratnamatis Pañjikā hat Sāriputta eine auch unter dem Namen Pañjikālaṃkāra laufende Ṭīkā verfaßt (hierzu s. MALALASEKERA 1928: 190 und PECENKO 1997: 170–172), die uns mit dem Candrālaṃkāra, von dem derzeit 57 Blätter bekannt sind, tatsächlich erhalten ist (siehe oben, Fn 2).

2. Pūrṇacandras Ṭīkā

Auf 75 Folios ist der Text von Pūr̥nacandras Ṭīkā auch in der NGMPP-Handschrift A 53/15 auf uns gekommen, deren einziger Kolophon diesen Kommentar *Pañjikā* nennt (*paramopāsakacandragomipraṇītaśabdalakṣaṇavivaraṇapaṃjikāyām ācāryapūrṇṇacandrakr̥tāyām prathamo dhyāye dvitīyaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*). Diese enthält den Text der Pañjikā zu Teilen der Pratyāhārasūtras, zum Ende des zweiten Pāda des ersten Adhyāya, zu Teilen des dritten Pāda desselben Adhyāya und – auf nur einem Folio – zum vierten Pāda dieses Adhyāya.[19] Zudem wäre uns der Text zu Candra VI 4 erhalten, wenn denn SANKRITYAYANs Vermutung, daß der Kommentar zu Candra VI 4 in der Handschrift Xc 14/69 der Sammlung Rahul Sankrityayan von Pūrṇacandra stammt (s. S. 152), das Richtige trifft. Daß der Verfasser dieser Ṭīkā derselbe Pūrṇacandra sein wird, aus dessen Feder das Dhātupārāyaṇa, eine Art Kommentar zum Cāndra-Dhātupāṭha stammt,[20] wurde bereits ausgesprochen (s. OBERLIES 1992: 167 mit Fn. 24 und 28).[21]

19 Ich verdanke diese Informationen der freundlichen Mitteilung von Herrn Dr. Oliver Hahn, für die ich mich auch an dieser Stelle ganz herzlich bedanken möchte.

20 EHLERS (1995: 168) verzeichnet eine Handschrift der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (Cod. Ms. Sanscr. Madh. 148 SuUB Göttingen), die einen Dhātupāṭha mit Kommentar enthält, der „laut Verkaufsliste zum Cāndravyākaraṇa“ gehört.

21 Dr. Lata Deokar war so freundlich, mir die Pūrṇacandra-Zitate in Subhūticandras Kāmadhenu zugänglich zu machen. Auch sie (hierzu s. OBERLIES 1992: 167 Fn. 28) stammen deutlich aus zwei verschiedenen Texten, einmal einem Dhātupāṭha-Text, sodann aus einem Kommentar zum Cāndrasūtra resp. zur Cāndravr̥tti.

3. Ānandadattas Paddhati

Ānandadattas Paddhati ist nurmehr bruchstückhaft erhalten. Handschriften dieses Kommentars zum Cāndrasūtra, dessen Regeln stets *pratīka* zitiert werden, finden sich in der Bendall-Sammlung der Cambridge University Library:

Die drei Blätter von Cambridge Add 1657.2 enthalten – anders als von BENDALL (1883: 158) angegeben – nicht „the beginning and the end of Adhyāya II, pāda i", sondern den Text des Kommentars zu C II 1,95, 96 und 98.[22]

Überdies lautet der Kolophon – anders als bei BENDALL, *loc. cit.*, angegeben[23] – [*cāndravyāka*]*raṇe mahopādhyāya-śrī-ānandadatta-viracitāyāṃ rannamati-paddhatau dvitīyādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*.[24] Fraglos dürfte sein, daß *rannamati*° zu *ratnamati*° zu verbessern ist. Wie aber *ānandadatta-viracitāyāṃ ratnamati-paddhatau* zu verstehen ist, ist mehr als unklar. Da Ratnamati als der ältere der beiden Grammatiker von Ā nandadatta namentlich zitiert wird, scheint mir die Auffassung, daß dieser Kolophon explizit feststelle, die Paddhati sei ein Kommentar zur Pañjikā – zu übersetzen wäre „in der Paddhati zu[m Kommentar des] Ratnamati, verfaßt von Ā nandadatta" – wenig wahrscheinlich. Erst eine genaue Untersuchung sowohl von Ānandadattas als auch von Ratnamatis Kommentar wird das Verhältnis des erst- zum zweitgenannten klären und damit – vielleicht – auch das Rätsel dieses Kolophons lösen. Das Bild zeigt diesen sowie die Paddhati zu C II 1,95 bis 98, dessen Pratīka (*āśi*) in der letzten Zeile zu sehen ist:

22 Interessanterweise schließt sich dieser, zumindest was C II 1,95 anlangt, enger an die Kāśikā (*ad* Pāṇ 2.3.57) als an die Cāndravr̥tti an.

23 Die Auslassung von *rannamati* dürfte derjenige, der Bendalls handgeschriebenes Manuskript gesetzt hat, verschuldet haben und nicht Bendall selbst.

24 Die Bindestriche haben kein Gegenstück im Originalmanuskript.

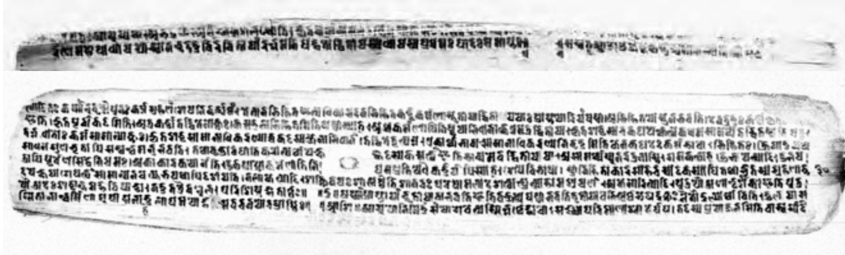


Bild 2: Cambr. 1657.2

Die 14 Blätter umfassende Handschrift Cambridge Add. 1691.VI[25] enthält den Kommentar zu Candra I 3. Bis auf den unmittelbaren Beginn, der die Sūtras I 3,1–3 kommentiert, ist der ganze Text vorhanden, wie der Kolophon auf dem letzten Blatt zeigt: *prajñāmallamahopādhyāyaśrī-ānandadatta-viricitāyāṃ* (sic) *paddhatau prathamādhyāyasya tr̥tīyaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ* (s. BENDALL 1883: 181).[26] Im Kommentar zu I 3,6 werden von Ānandadatta die Grammatiker Vimalamati[27] und Ratnaśrīpada zitiert.

Die. Handschrift Cambridge Add. 1705[28] bietet auf ihren 35 Blättern die Paddhati zu Candra II 1. Bis auf das Ende des Kommentars zu C II 1,98 (*āśi*) ist der ganze Text – von seinem unmittelbaren Beginn an (*namo buddhāya // svau // svādisamudayaḥ prathamāntaṃ padaṃ /*) – erhalten. Da der Text des (Beginns des) Kommentars zu C II 1,98, der in der letzten Zeile des letzten Blattes anhebt, exakt derselbe ist wie der auf Add. 1657.2,[29] steht fest, daß auch diese Handschrift eine der Paddhati des Ānandadatta ist.

25 Zu dieser Handschrift siehe BENDALL (1883: 181) und EGGELING (1887: 196).

26 Von dieser Handschrift besitzt die Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen eine von Franz Kielhorn angefertigte Abschrift (Signatur: SUB Göttingen Sanscr. 208 a + b), die mir Herr Dr. Helmut Rohlfing dankenswerter Weise zugänglich gemacht hat. Eine Abschrift von dieser Handschrift sowie von der Bendall-Handschrift 1705 findet sich in der Library of the India Office.

27 Ob dieser Vimalamati derselbe ist, dem die – nicht mehr erhaltene – Bhāgavr̥tti zugeschrieben wird (hierzu s. DWIVEDI 1987: 194–202), könnte vielleicht der Vergleich des Zitats mit den von YUDHISTHIRA MIMAMSAKA gesammelten zeigen (bibliographisch sind diese Sammlungen erfaßt von CARDONA 1976: 134–135).

28 Zu dieser Handschrift siehe BENDALL (1883: 198–199) und EGGELING (1887: 196).

29 Gleiches gilt für den Kommentar zu C II 1,95, der sich deutlich an die Kāśikā anschließt (s. Fn. 22).

Unklar ist derzeit noch,[30] ob auch die 55 Blätter umfassende Handschrift Cambridge Add. 1657.1 der Bendall-Sammlung (s. BENDALL 1883: 158–159 und EGGELING 1887: 194), die einen Kommentar zu Candra II 2 enthält, zu Ānandadattas Paddhati gehört.

Gleiches gilt für die Handschrift der Asiatic Society 9996 B. Einen Beweis dafür, daß der darin enthaltene Kommentar ebenfalls der des Ānandadatta ist, wie dies SHASTRI (1931: li) behauptet hat, haben wir zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt freilich nicht. Klarheit hierüber wird erst ein genauer Vergleich mit dem Text der Cambridge-Manuskripte – so steht zu hoffen – bringen können. Die sechs Folios bieten den Text der Erklärung von Candra I 1,12 bis I 1,23. Untenstehende Abbildung zeigt den zu C I 1,18. Dieser umfaßt in Dharmadāsas Cāndravr̥tti in der LIEBICHschen Ausgabe gerade einmal zweieinhalb Zeilen, während er sich hier über deren neun erstreckt.



Bild 3: Calc. 9996 B

Auch die drei Blätter umfassende[31] Handschrift 9996 C soll – so SHASTRI (1931: li) – Text der Paddhati des Ānandadatta enthalten, worüber auch hier erst eine genauere Untersuchung Klarheit wird schaffen können. Der Text des ersten Blattes stammt von einem Sub-Kommentar zu C II 4,84 (und Umgebung), der des zweiten von einem zu C IV 2,37 (und Umgebung) und der des letzten von einem zu C II 2,5 (und Umgebung).

Rätsel gibt auch der Text auf einer dem Seminar für Indologie und Tibetologie der Universität Göttingen von Étienne Lamotte übereigneten Photographie von Handschriften-Blättern auf, die aus dem Nachlaß von de la Vallée-Poussin stammt, dem sie wiederum von Cecil Bendall zur Bearbeitung überlassen worden waren. Drei dieser Blätter bieten einen Kommentar zum Cāndrasūtra, der zwar auf weite Strecken mit der

30 So bereits LIEBICH (1895: 39).

31 Dem Katalog von SHASTRI (1931: 116) zufolge sind es nur zwei Blätter. Die mir vorliegenden Photos zeigen jedoch drei Blätter, wobei zwei, das erste und das letzte, nur auf einer Seite beschrieben sind.

Cāndravṛtti wörtlich übereinstimmt, der aber – soweit dies derzeit beurteilt werden kann – deutlich ein anderer Text ist. Der Zitierung der Sūtras geht – siehe untenstehende Abbildung – ein *iti* (/ *ityādi*) *vigṛhya* voraus, vor dem ein Wort steht, das nach dem betreffenden Sūtra gebildet ist. Besonders verwirrend ist auch die Abfolge der Sūtras. So folgt auf Candra III 2,1 (*śeṣe* [Ende von Zeile 2]) und III 2,4 (*grāmād* [Ende von Zeile 3]) die Regel III 2,24 (*ādaijāyacaś chaḥ* [Zeile 4]), an die sich unmittelbar III 2,7 (*dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasas tyak*) anschließt. C III 2,24 wird dann in Zeile 5 noch einmal (samt Dharmadāsas Vṛtti) zitiert.



Bild 4: Lamotte Blatt 2

4. Sumatipañjikā

Die Sumatipañjikā ist in zwei vom NGMPP verfilmten Handschriften erhalten. Von diesen enthält B 35/31 lediglich den Text des ersten Pāda des ersten Kapitels, der 101 Folios einnimmt, deren letztes den Kolophon (*sumatipañjikāyāṃ prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ*) trägt. Daß der Text in der Tat ein „umfangreicher Kommentar“ (*vipulavṛtti*) ist, kündigt der Autor zu Beginn seines Werkes an. Dies bestätigt auch die Handschrift B 34/29, die 107 Folios umfaßt. Sie besteht in Wirklichkeit aus drei Teilen, die separat paginiert sind. Der erste (mit 90 Folios) enthält den Kommentar zu Candra I 1, der zweite (mit 13 Folios) den zum An-

fang und zum Ende von Candra I 4. Ob auch der dritte Teil dieser Handschrift zur Sumatipañjikā gehört, bleibt zu klären.[32]

Neben diesen Kommentaren zum Cāndrasūtra resp. zur Cāndravṛtti sind uns weitere zum Cāndravyākaraṇa gehörende Texte in Handschriften erhalten. Solche wurden bereits in einem früheren Aufsatz vorgestellt (s. OBERLIES 1992: 171–182). Zu dem dort Gesagten ist nachzutragen, daß das Sanskrit-Original der Saṃbandhasiddhi[33] nicht nur in der NGMPP-Handschrift B 460/18 (mit 57 Folios),[34] sondern auch in der mit der Reel-No. A 586/1 (mit 44 Folios) erhalten ist und daß mit dem *Vārarucasaṃgraha* ein Text als Nummer 237 der *Kashi Sanskrit Series*, herausgegeben von A. N. PANDEY, seit 1986 veröffentlicht vorliegt, dessen Strophen zum Teil wörtlich mit denen der Saṃbandhasiddhi übereinstimmen.

Außer den in genanntem Aufsatz vorgestellten Texten[35] sind zwei in ihren Sanskrit-Originalen erhalten, die ebenfalls noch der Herausgabe harren.

5. Ratnamatis Candrakārikā

In den Handschriftenbeständen der Asiatic Society of Bengal findet sich auch ein Manuskript der Candrakārikā des Simhalācārya Ratnaśrījñāna (s. SHASTRI 1931: 430–431). Der Beschreibung SHASTRIs im Vorwort (p. cccxxv) und den Textauszügen (SHASTRI, *loc. cit.*)[36] zufolge handelt

32 Auch diese Informationen verdanke ich der freundlichen Mitteilung von Dr. Oliver Hahn.

33 Teile des Textes liegen in tibetischer Übersetzung vor (s. VERHAGEN 1994).

34 In genanntem Aufsatz wurde versehentlich eine falsche Reel-No. angegeben (1992: 172).

35 Im NGMPP-Katalog finden sich nun eine ganze Reihe von Handschriften verzeichnet, die Text der (oder aber: einer) Śabdarūpāvalī enthalten. Meine früheren Ausführungen (1992: 176–179) lassen sich nun also zweifelsohne ergänzen und vervollständigen.

36 Die dort S. 431 abgedruckte Strophe (*śabdārtharūpāvagamāc ca* [...] *phalam aihikaṃ tat*) wird im singhalesischen Pañcikāpradīpaya unter Nennung des Namens ihres Verfassers, Ratnaśrījñānācārya, wörtlich zitiert (zu diesem Zitat siehe OBERLIES 1992: 183).

es sich um ein sprach-philosophisches Traktat, so daß die im *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (s.v. Candrakārikā) ausgesprochene Vermutung, dieser Text sei wohl derselbe wie die Śabdārthacintā, als deren Verfasser ebenfalls Ratnamati gilt (hierzu s. MALALASEKERA 1928: 168), ihre Richtigkeit haben mag, zumal in dem von SHASTRI abgedruckten Text wiederholt der Ausdruck *śabdārtha°* fällt und einmal auch von *śabdārthacintā°* die Rede ist.[37]

6. Haribhadras Vibhaktikārikā

In Ergänzung der detaillierten Angaben von LIEBICH (1895: 289–291 [= 18–20]) und von VERHAGEN (1994: 57–59) zu der tibetischen Übersetzung der Vibhaktikārikā, einer Darstellung der Deklination nach Maßgabe der Cāndra-Schule, machte WEZLER (2001) darauf aufmerksam, daß uns das Sanskrit-Original in der 14 Blätter umfassenden NGMPP-Handschrift E 2472/34 erhalten ist.[38] Dessen Verfasser ist, wie die allererste Zeile dieser Handschrift ausweist (*haribhadreṇa kr̥tāṃ vibhaktikārikāṃ*), Haribhadra. Ob dieser Haribhadra derselbe Grammatiker ist, den der Candrālaṃkāra zitiert,[39] bleibt zu untersuchen.

7. Candraliṅgavr̥tti

Zuletzt sei noch auf eine NGMPP-Handschrift (Reel-No. A 1032/17) aufmerksam gemacht, die mit Vararucis Liṅgavr̥tti einen Text enthält, der mit der Candraliṅgavr̥tti, die von Sarvānanda in seinem Ṭīkāsarvasva zitiert wird (s. OBERLIES 1992: 182), verwandt sein könnte.[40] Anlaß zu

37 Hierzu siehe auch DIMITROV (2010: 43 Fn. 86–87).

38 Eine Edition dieses *codex unicus* ist in Aussicht gestellt.

39 Siehe HANISCH (2007: 134).

40 An dieser Stelle sei auf ein Zitat aufmerksam gemacht, das offenbar aus einem Cāndra-Liṅgānuśāsana stammt. Es findet sich in Jñānavimalagaṇis Kommentar zu

dieser Vermutung ist die große Ähnlichkeit, die zwischen dem Vāraruca-saṃgraha und der Saṃbandhasiddhi besteht (s. S 158–159).

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HIDEYO OGAWA

Patañjali's View of a Sentence Meaning and Its Acceptance by Bhartṛhari*

Introduction

In his Bhāṣya on A 1.2.45, Patañjali advances his view of a sentence meaning as follows:

> MBh on A 1.2.45 (I.218.10) *eteṣāṃ padānāṃ sāmānye vartamānānāṃ yadviśeṣe 'vasthānaṃ sa vākyārthaḥ.*
> A particular meaning (*viśeṣa*), as a conveyer of which these words conveying a general meaning (*sāmānya*) are established, is a sentence meaning.[1]

In this Bhāṣya Patañjali intends to say that a sentence meaning is a qualifier-qualificand relation (*viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva*) among the meanings of words in a sentence. Here Patañjali assumes that a sentence is a composite of independently meaningful words and that a sentence is an independent unit which has a sentential meaning separate from word meanings. This is natural, considering that grammarians operate with words as constituents of sentences. Studies of Bhartṛhari's philosophy of language, however, reveal that Bhartṛhari maintains that an impartite sentence is the real unit of actual communication and that he still accepts that through analysis one can and should abstract words and word meanings. It is interesting in this regard to consider how Bhartṛhari deals with Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning in the Bhāṣya. The Bhāṣya is quoted and discussed in the Vṛtti on VP 2.15, 246, 441 and in Helārāja's commentary on VP 3.1.74.

* My special thanks are due to Prof. Ashok Aklujkar for permission to use his unpublished edition of the Vṛtti and Prof. Brendan S. Gillon for helpful suggestions.

1 See OGAWA (2004–5). In short, according to this Bhāṣya, the meaning of a sentence is the particular meaning which the words of the sentence, denoting general meanings, convey.

1. VP 2.15

The Vṛtti on VP 2.15 affords the key to understanding how Bhartṛhari accepts the above-mentioned view of a sentence meaning advanced by Patañjali. VP 2.15 runs as follows:

> VP 2.15 *sāmānyārthas tirobhūto na viśeṣe 'vatiṣṭhate, upāttasya kutas tyāgo nivṛttaḥ kvāvatiṣṭhatām.*
> A word which signifies a general meaning, once it disappears (*tirobhūta*), is not established as a conveyer of a specific meaning. How can the general meaning which has already been obtained (*upātta*) be abandoned (*tyāga*)? As a conveyer of what could such a word, having ceased to function (*nivṛtta*), be established?[2]

There are two points to be noted. First, in his Prakāśa on VP 3.1.74 Helārāja, quoting the Vṛtti on VP 2.15, interprets VP 2.15 in accordance with the interpretation given by the Vṛtti. Secondly, in his Ṭīkā Puṇyarāja, without basing himself on the Vṛtti, perverts Bhartṛhari's remarks in the *kārikā*.

1.1 Puṇyarāja on VP 2.15

Puṇyarāja interprets VP 2.15 as meant for refuting a Mīmāṃsaka's (to be precise, a Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka's) view regarding a sentence and its meaning. Puṇyarāja introduces VP 2.15 by saying the following:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.15 (a) *yat punar mīmāṃsakair ucyate yathā padasaṅghāta evākāṅkṣāyogyatāsannidhivaśāt parasparasamanvito vākyaṃ saṃsargaś ca vākyārtha iti tad dūṣayitum āha –*
> (a) However, Mīmāṃsakas say how a sentence is a composite of words whose meanings enter into relations with each other by dint of semantic competency (*yogyatā*), syntactical expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*), and contiguity (*sannidhi*), and how a sen-

2 IYER (1977: 7): "The general meaning, having disappeared, cannot lead to the particular. How can what has already been conveyed be abandoned and where can what is already gone rest?" I think that it is useful to present Subramania Iyer's felicitous translation to understand what the text intends. I have tried to make a literal translation. In the following, too, I will put his translation whenever I have to consider what a *kārikā* says.

> tence meaning is the inter-connection (*saṃsarga*) among the meanings of individual words. In order to argue against their view, Bhartṛhari states – [VP 2.15].

This introduction is an inevitable corollary of taking the term *sāmānya* in the *kārikā* to mean a "universal," referred to by the terms *ākṛti* ("form") and *jāti* also in the Mīmāṃsā system. As is well known, Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas argue that a sentence is nothing more than a group of words, each of which conveys its own meaning, not something separate from these words, and that a sentence meaning is simply the meanings of individual words brought into relation with each other by virtue of syntactic expectancy, semantic competency, and contiguity.[3]

1.1.1 Śabara on a sentence meaning

It is interesting to note in this connection that in his Bhāṣya on JS 3.1.6.12 Ś abara expounds his view about a sentence meaning by employing an expression strongly reminiscent of Patañjali's statement.

> ŚBh on JS 3.1.6.12 *sarvatra tu bādhite*[4] *padārthe vākyārtha upapadyate, nānyathā. sāmānyavṛtti hi padaṃ, viśeṣavṛtti vākyam. sāmānyenābhipravṛttānāṃ padārthānāṃ yadviśeṣe 'vasthānaṃ sa vākyārthaḥ. tad etad uktaṃ tadbhūtānāṃ kriyārthena samāmnāyo 'rthasya tannimittatvāt iti. tatra pratyakṣataḥ padārtho, vākyārthaḥ punar ānumānikaḥ.*
> In every case, however, it is reasonable to consider that the meaning of a sentence is understood once the meanings of the words have been set aside, not otherwise. For a word denotes a universal, while a sentence denotes a particular [*viśeṣa*]. The meanings of the words that constitute a sentence, which occur (to a hearer's mind) [*abhipravṛtta*] as universals, are settled in a particular; this particular is a sentence meaning. This is what has been stated in JS 1.1.7.25: *tadbhūtānāṃ kriyārthena samāmnāyo 'rthasya tannimittatvāt.*[5] Now, the meaning of a word is directly understood from the word [*pratyakṣatas*], while the meaning of a sentence is understood on the basis of inference [*ānumānika*] (since a specific locus of the universal de-

3 Cardona 1983: 148.

4 This is a variant reading of *bodhite* given in the text.

5 What this *sūtra* says is as follows: The constituent words in a sentence (*tadbhūta*) are uttered together (*samāmnāya*) with the word denoting an action (*kriyārtha*) because a sentence meaning (*artha*) is understood on the basis of the constituent words (*tannimitta*).

> noted by the word is to be understood for the purpose of understanding of the sentence meaning).[6]

What Śabara states under JS 1.1.7.25 is as follows:

> ŚBh on JS 1.1.7.25 *viśiṣṭārthasampratyayaś ca vākyārthaḥ*.
> A specific meaning (*viśiṣṭārtha*) that is understood (on the basis of the meanings of the component words) is the meaning of a sentence.

Note the statement *sāmānyenābhipravr̥ttānāṃ padārthān āṃ yadviś eṣe 'vasthānaṃ sa vākyārthaḥ*. A word conveys a universal (*sāmānyavr̥tti*), while a sentence conveys a particular (*viśeṣavr̥tti*). How a sentence which consists of the words that convey universals comes to convey a particular is lucidly explained by Pārthasārathi in his Śāstradīpikā.

In the sentence *gām ānaya* "Bring the cow," the verb *nī* preceded by the preverb *ā* (*āṅ*) denotes (*abhidhāya*) the general property of being the action of bringing (*ānayanasāmānya*) and the nominal base *go* followed by the second triplet ending *-am* denotes the general property of being a cow. Now, in the given sentence, on the basis of *lakṣaṇā*, or the relation of what is denoted by a word to what is to be understood from the word, both words secondarily convey an individual act of bringing (*vyakti*) and an individual cow, respectively.[7] Śabara describes this situation as the one in which a word meaning has been set aside (*bādhite padārthe*). Of these two meanings, a speaker intends to convey (*vivakṣita*) one as a qualificand (*viśeṣya*) and the other as its qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). In the given sentence, the individual act of bringing is a qualificand. The second triplet ending *-am* that occurs after the nominal base *go* indicates that the individual act of bringing is related to the individual cow through a relation such that the latter functions as object (*karman*) with respect to the former. Therefore, the nominal base *go* secondarily conveys the individual act of bringing which is secondarily conveyed by the verb *nī* preceded by the preverb *ā*, as related to the individual cow which is

6 According to Kumārila, this relation is an inseparable relation (*avinābhāva*) between what is directly denoted by a word and what is understood through this relation. TV on JS 1.4.12.23: *abhidheyāvinābhūte pravr̥ttir lakṣaṇā*. The word *go* directly denotes the universal cowness and what is inseparably connected with this universal is an individual cow.

7 ŚBh on JS 1.1.7.24 *na ca padārthā eva vākyārthaḥ. sāmānye hi padaṃ pravartate viśeṣe vākyam. anyac ca sāmānyam anyo viśeṣaḥ.*

secondarily conveyed by the very same nominal base. Thus, as a result, a hearer arrives at the sentence meaning: an individual act of bringing qualified by an individual cow, which is no more than a particular meaning (*viśeṣa*).[8]

1.1.2 Puṇyarāja's interpretation

In commenting on VP 2.15, undoubtedly, Puṇyarāja bears in mind Śabara's view of a sentence meaning. He says the following:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.15 (b) *iha devadatta gām abhyāja śuklāṃ daṇḍena iti devadattādīny eva padāni vākyam. tatra devadattapadaṃ tāvad yadi sāmānyamātre prathamaṃ vartate, tat tasya gavādipadakāle vācaḥ kramavartitvāt tirodhānād asattvam eveti kutaḥ padāntaraśravaṇakāle tadarthapratītiḥ.* (c) *asattvād eva ca na padāntarasannidhāne tasya viśeṣe 'vasthānam.*
> (b) In this view of the Mīmāṃsakas', in the utterance *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklāṃ daṇḍena* "Devadatta, bring the white cow using a stick," a sentence is nothing more than (a group of) words such as *devadatta*. Of those words, to begin with, if the word *devadatta* first occurs to convey a mere universal [*sāmānyamātra*], it does not exist at all when (other) words such as *go* "cow" come into existence, since it has disappeared at that time because speech units (*vāc*) are uttered in a sequence (*kramavartin*); so, how could a hearer understand the meaning of the word *devadatta*, when the hearer is hearing a different word?
> (c) Moreover, it is impossible that the word *devadatta* is established as a conveyer of a specific meaning [*tasya viśeṣe 'vasthānam*] when in contiguity with a different word, because the word does not exist at all (in the presence of the other words).

8 ŚD 1.1.7.24-26 *tasmāt padābhihitaiḥ padārthair lakṣaṇayā vākyārthaḥ pratipādyate. tatra gām ā nayety ā nayatir ānayanasāmā nyam abhidhāya tadvyaktiṃ lakṣayati gopadam api svārthadvāreṇānayanam eva gokarmakatvākāreṇa tatsambandhisvarūpeṇa lakṣaṇayā pratipādayati, evaṃ yatra yatra vākye yo yo 'rtho viśeṣyatvena vivakṣitas tam eva svapadena sāmānyavācinā lakṣitaṃ santam itarāṇi padāni svārthābhidhānadvāreṇa tatsambandhirūpeṇa lakṣayanti. yatrāpy anvitasyaiva punar anvayāntaraṃ tatrāpi lakṣitalakṣaṇāparaṃparayā tasya sarvasya siddhir ity eṣā dik.* See CARDONA (1983: 149). The Mānameyodaya of Nārāyaṇa, a philosophical manual of the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā system, without introducing the concept of a one-directional qualifier-qualificand relation, states that from the sentence *gām ānaya* one understands that this cow functions as object with respect only to the action of bringing (*gaur iyam ānīyamānaiva*) and that the action of bringing is related only to the cow (*ānayanaṃ ca gosaṃbaddham eva*). MMU, *śabda*, 5: *tataś ca gaur iyam ānīyamā naiva ānayanaṃ ca gosaṃbaddham eva iti parasparānvayalābhād gavānayanarūpavākyārthasiddhiḥ.*

By (b) and (c) Puṇyarāja intends to explain the first line of the *kārikā*: *sāmānyārthas tirobhūto na viśeṣe ’vatiṣṭhate*. Note that words such as *devadatta* which constitute the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklāṃ daṇḍena* are said to convey primarily a mere universal (*sāmānyamātra*).[9]

The point Puṇyarāja makes in (b) is that the meanings of the individual words cannot be brought into relation with each other since the words are uttered in a sequence, so that the difficulty arises that the word *devadatta* does not exist at the time when the word *gām* is uttered and hence when the meaning of the nominal base *go* is understood, the meaning of the nominal base *devadatta* is not understood because of its absence (*tirobhūta*). This implies that a sentence which consists in a group of words cannot convey a specific meaning [(c)].

Puṇyarāja goes on to explain pāda c: *upāttasya kutas tyāgaḥ*:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.15 (d) *abhyupagamyāpi smaryamāṇatayā padāntarasannidhāne vidyamānatvaṃ padasya na viśeṣe ’vasthānaṃ yujyata ity āha – upāttasya iti*. (e) *sāmānyalakṣaṇasya sakalapadārthasādhāraṇasyārthasya pūrvam upāttasya vācyatvena parigr̥hītasyedānīṃ padāntarasannidhāne tyāgaḥ kuto yujyate*, *śabdārthasaṃbandhasyānityatāpatteḥ. na ca tathā mīmāṃsakasyābhyupagama iti* [.]
>
> (d) Even if it is accepted that a word (which first occurs) exists as what is called to mind [*smaryamāṇa*] when in contiguity with another word, it is not proper to say that the first word is established as a conveyer of a specific meaning. In order to state this, Bhartr̥hari says *upāttasya*.
>
> (e) Suppose that the meaning which is characterized by a universal [*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*] and which is common to all individual entities that have it [*sakalapadārthasādhāraṇa*] has previously been obtained from a word and has already been grasped as the significand of the word. Now this word is in contiguity with another word. In this case, how could it be proper to abandon this meaning? For, if so, it would follow that linguistic units, their meanings, and the relations between the two are not eternal. But this is not acceptable to a Mīmāṃsaka.

Note (e). It is said that an entity characterized by *sāmānya*, which is denoted by a word used in isolation from other words, is common to all individual entities that have it. It is clear from this that Puṇyarāja takes the term *sāmānya* to mean a universal as opposed to an individual.

The point made by Puṇyarāja in (d) and (e) is that even on the assumption that, when another word is uttered, a word is treated as existent by virtue of being recollected, once a hearer understands a universal

9 There is no need to go into details about the question of how a universal can be posited as the significand of a proper name such as *devadatta*.

from the word, the hearer, abandoning the universal as its meaning, cannot understand an individual bearing the universal when another word is uttered; otherwise, the Mīmāṃsakas' doctrine that a linguistic unit, its meaning, and the relation between the two are eternal would be repudiated.

Finally, an exposition is made of pāda d: *nivr̥ttaḥ kvāvatiṣṭhatām.*

> (f) *tad apy abhyupagamyocyate – nivr̥ttaḥ iti. svārthān nivr̥tto 'sau padāntarasannidhāne śabdaḥ kvedānīm avatiṣṭhatām. śabdāntarabodhye 'rthe tasya vācakabhāvavirahāt sthitiḥ kathaṃ yujyate.*
>
> (f) In addition, accepting that (the universal which has already been understood is abandoned), Bhartr̥hari continues to say *nivr̥ttaḥ*. As a conveyer of what could the word be now established which loses its own meaning when in contiguity with another word? How could it be proper to say that such a word is established as a conveyer of the meaning which is to be understood with the help of another word? For the word in question is devoid of the property of being a signifier [*vācakabhāva*].

Let us suppose that the meaning universal which has been understood from a word is abandoned at the time when another word is uttered in contiguity with the word. In this case, according to Puṇyarāja, the word whose primary meaning is abandoned is defined as the one which is deprived of (*nivr̥tta*) its own meaning (*svārtha*). This word, in addition, cannot be the one which primarily signifies (*vācaka*) what is understood when another word is used in contiguity with that word. Thus it follows that because of the loss of its significand, the word cannot claim to be a signifier when it constitutes a sentence.

In this way, Puṇyarāja takes VP 2.15 as meant for arguing against Mīmāṃsakas who uphold the primacy of constituent words of a sentence.

1.2 Vr̥tti's introduction of VP 2.15

Now let us consider how the Vr̥tti introduces VP 2.15. In introducing this *kārikā* Bhartr̥hari refers to Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning.

> Vṛtti on VP 2.15 (a) *devadattādīnāṃ ca bhāgābhimatānām arthayogābhyupagame sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ padānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam ity etasmin* <u>*saty ekāntena*</u>[10] *parigṛhyamāṇe*.
> On the assumption that words such as *devadatta* which are treated as the components (of the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja* 'Devadatta, bring the cow') are connected with meanings [*arthayoga*], if the view that (in a sentence) words which are established as a conveyer of a general meaning are established as a conveyer of a specific meaning (*sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ padānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam*) is accepted as absolutely correct [*ekāntena*], (the following difficulties come up).

We immediately notice that the Vṛtti approaches VP 2.15 in a manner that differs from Puṇyarāja's. We have to note here the following two points. First, on the assumption that items which are treated as the components of a sentence are independently meaningful, Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning is accepted; secondly, this view is not accepted as absolutely correct (*ekāntena*), for, if it were, what is stated in VP 2.15 would result as an undesirable consequence. The second point is highly important in that it implies that Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning is simply accepted provisionally under certain conditions.

2. VP 2.14

In order to understand under what conditions the view of a sentence meaning in question can be accepted, it is necessary to consider what is stated in the preceding *kārikā*. VP 2.14 says:

> VP 2.14 *brāhmaṇārtho yathā nāsti kaścid brāhmaṇakambale*, *devadattādayo vākye tathaiva syur anarthakāḥ*.
> Just as, in the compound *brāhmaṇakambala* 'a Brāhmaṇa-blanket,' there is no separate independent word signifying the meaning 'Brāhmaṇa,' so, in a sentence, words such as *devadatta* should be meaningless.[11]

10 Aklujkar: *satyatāṃśena*. The phrase *etasmin saty ekāntena parigṛhyamāṇe* can be paraphrased as *etasmin satyataḥ parigṛhyamāṇe*. See § 4.2 [*Prakāśa* on VP 3.1.74 (d)]. As shall be shown, if Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning is accepted as "partially valid" (*satyatāṃśena*), this view cannot create the difficulties pointed out in VP 2.15.

The compound *brāhmaṇakambala* functions as a single unit with a single complex meaning in signifying a blanket that pertains to a Brāhmaṇa. Accordingly, this term does not have components with status of their own. The same is true of a sentence. The sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja* functions as a single unit in conveying a single complex meaning: Devadatta's action of bringing the cow and does not have component words with status of their own.[12] This is precisely the view of a sentence and its meaning Bhartṛhari holds.

2.1 Ṭīkā on VP 2.14

Before turning to a closer examination of the Vṛtti on VP 2.14, a few remarks should be made concerning the interpretation of this *kārikā* by Puṇyarāja. He cites the *kārikā* with the following introductory statement:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.14 (a) *yuktaṃ caitad yad vākye padārthabhedo nāstīti dṛṣṭāntapradarśanapūrvakam āha –*
> (a) It is proper to say that in a sentence there is no division into words and that in a sentence meaning there is no division into word meanings. Bhartṛhari describes this with illustration.

On the *kārikā* he makes the following comments:

> Ṭīkā on VP 2.14 (b) *yathā brāhmaṇakambalaśabde brāhmaṇaśabdasya na kaścid artho vidyate, tathaiva devadatta gām abhyāja ityādau vākye devadattādīnāṃ pṛthagartho nāstīty anarthakāny eva padāni. ataś ca sthitam etad yad akhaṇḍaṃ nirākāṅkṣam ekaṃ padavyatiriktaṃ vākyaṃ padārthavyatirikto vākyārthaś ca tathaiveti.*
> (b) In the word *brāhmaṇakambala* "a Brāhmaṇa's blanket" the word *brāhmaṇa* has no (independent) meaning. In the very same manner, in a sentence such as *devadatta gām abhyāja* "Devadatta, bring the cow" words such as *devadatta* have no independent meanings of their own. Therefore, words (in a sentence) are utterly meaningless. Thus it is established that a sentence, which is distinct from words, is indivisible, complete [*nirākāṅkṣa*], single and that a sentence meaning, which is distinct from word meanings, is also of the very same nature.

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11 IYER (1977: 6): "Just as, in the compound, *brāhmaṇakambala*, the term *brāhmaṇa* has no meaning, in the same way, in a sentence, words like Devadatta are without a meaning."

12 See CARDONA 1983: 139–140.

We may say that Puṇyarāja here echos appropriately Bhartr̥hari's view of a sentence and its meaning, though without discussing the point in detail. Clearly he understands that here in VP 2.14 Bhartr̥hari sets forth his view that a sentence and its meaning are indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*) and, in the following *kārikā*, VP 2.15, disputes a Mīmāṃsaka's view that they are divisible.

It is to be noted in passing that the point at issue is not whether a sentence and its meaning are separate from components words and their meanings, respectively. Ś abara accepts that a sentence is a group of words and that a sentence meaning is distinct from the meanings of its component words for the reason that a word meaning, a universal, is different from a sentence meaning, a particular.[13]

2.2 Vr̥tti on VP 2.14

Unlike Puṇyarāja's Ṭīkā, the Vr̥tti absorbs insightful thinking. First of all, the introduction to the *kārikā* goes as follows:

> Vr̥tti on VP 2.14 (a) *kathaṃ punaḥ śrūyamāṇarūpā eva devadattādayaḥ pratīyamānābhidheyā* <u>*anarthakāḥ syur ity etad*</u>[14] *vicārayiṣyāmaḥ. api tu.*
> (a) We will later consider how words such as *devadatta* (in a sentence like *devadatta gām abhyāja*), whose forms are indeed heard [*śrūyamāṇarūpa*] and whose significands are understood [*pratīyamānābhidheya*], be meaningless.[15] But (we need mention here only the following poin)].

It is because in VP 2.13 Bhartr̥hari says the following that the question of how words such as *devadatta* which are assumed to constitute the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja* are meaningless is brought up here.

> VP 2.13 *śabdasya na vibhāgo 'sti kuto 'rthasya bhaviṣyati, vibhāgaiḥ prakriyābhedam avidvān pratipadyate.*
> A linguistic unit [*śabda*] has no division [*vibhāga*]. How will it be possible that its meaning has division? A person who does not know (the unity of speech) accepts

13 See note 7.
14 Aklujkar: *anarthakāḥ syuḥ. pratīyamānābhidheyā ity etad.*
15 VP 2.89–94, 414.

the division (of an impartite speech unit into parts) [*bheda*] which is made through positing divisions [*vibhāgaiḥ*] for grammatical procedures [*prakriyā*].[16]

Here Bhartr̥hari means by the term *śabda* the linguistic unit which he calls *anvākhyeyaśabda* "linguistic unit that is to be explained" and whose meaning he defines as *sthitalakṣaṇārtha* "meaning whose character is fixed." Elements into which such a linguistic unit and its meaning are divided are posited on the basis of abstraction (*apoddhāra*). Such divisions are fictitious. Bhartr̥hari calls an abstracted linguistic unit and an abstracted meaning *pratipādakaśabda* "linguistic unit that serves to explain *anvākhyeyaśabda*" and *apoddhārapadārtha* "meaning that is gotten through abstraction," respectively.[17]

Through studying grammar, a student who does not know the unity of speech accepts the division of an impartite speech unit into parts (*bheda*). For grammatical procedures, this division is made by grammarians by means of positing divisions. The method for positing divisions is the reasoning from *anvaya* and *vyatireka*.[18] Consequently, such a student sees, through the influence of grammar, an impartite speech unit as if it consisted of parts (*bhedadarśana*).[19] The student erroneously establishes that the linguistic unit characterized as *anvākhyeyaśabda* has independently meaningful component elements. But in reality such a linguistic unit has no division.

Thus it is clear that in the introduction to VP 2.14 the Vr̥tti intends to imply that the *apoddhāra* theory underlies the arguments about issues pertaining to words and their meanings.

On VP 2.14 the Vr̥tti comments as follows:

16 IYER (1977: 6): "The word has no division, how can the meaning have any? But the ignorant person sees division through artificial splitting."

17 VP 1.24 *apoddhārapadārthā ye ye cārthāḥ sthitalakṣaṇāḥ*, *anvākhyeyāś ca ye śabdā ye cāpi pratipādakāḥ*.

18 In VP 2.12 it is stated that the abstraction of constituent items and their meanings is made by means of reasoning from anvaya and vyatireka (*bhāgair anarthakair yuktā vr̥ṣabhodakayāvakāḥ*, *anvayavyatirekau tu vyavahāranibandhanam*). On reasoning from *anvaya* and *vyatireka*, see CARDONA *PWT* 4.1.1.

19 The term *bhedadarśana* refers to the experience of difference in a single, unitary, entity. Vr̥ṣabha comments on the phrase *kālabhedadarśanābhyāsa* in the Vr̥tti on VP 1.1 as follows: *tasya (= kālabhedasya) darśanam anubhavaḥ, tasyābhyāsaḥ punaḥ punar utpattiḥ.*

Vṛtti on VP 2.14 (b) *yathā hi vicchedenoccāryamāṇe brāhmaṇakambala iti brāhmaṇaśabda upalabhyamānasvarūpo 'pi, vicchedagrāhibhiḥ samāptim anapekṣamāṇaiḥ pratipattṛbhiḥ pratīyamānārtho 'py anarthaka eveti prasiddhaḥ*. (c) *evaṃ saty api rūpavicchedagrahaṇe sampratyaye cānarthakā eva vākyarūpāpannā devadattādisarūpā atyantam asantaḥ parikalpitātmāno vibhāgāḥ*[20].
(b) The following is well established: When the compound *brāmaṇakambala* "a Brāhmaṇa's blanket" is uttered in such a way that its (posited) components, *brāhmaṇa* and *kambala*, are separately [*vicchedena*] uttered, the word *brāhmaṇa* has its own form perceived [*upalabhyamānasvarūpa*]; but, although this word has the meaning which is understood by hearers who grasp the meanings of the (posited) components separately and who do not expect the completion (of the full term), it is indeed not independently meaningful.[21]
(c) The same may be said of the divisions [*vibhāga*] of a sentence. A sentence has the forms of its components separately grasped and (distinct) meanings are understood from the components. But even so, the components are totally meaningless: they are obtained from what is actually an indivisible sentence [*vākyarūpāpanna*]; they have the same forms as components such as *devadatta* which are assumed to occur in different sentences [*devadattādisarūpa*];[22] they are absolutely unreal [*atyantam asat*]; they are essentially assumed entities [*parikalpitātman*].

In (b) it is shown, by taking as an example the compound *brāhmaṇakambala*, that the experience of dividing an indivisible speech unit into independently meaningful components (*bhedadarśana*) is erroneous. What is stated in (c) is precisely how the *apoddhāra* theory views the abstracted constituent elements in a sentence being analyzed.

3. Vṛtti on VP 2.15

Now let us turn to the Vṛtti on VP 2.15. Even if a sentence is impartite, grammarians operate with words as constituents of a sentence, for the purpose of carrying out grammatical operations which account for such a whole unit. To be sure, it is only provisionally accepted that a sentence

20 Iyer: *vibhāgābhimatāḥ*.
21 See CARDONA 1983: 139–140.
22 According to the Vṛtti on VP 1.24, this assumption is called *rūpasamanugamakalpanā*. Because of similarity in form different utterances are assumed to contain the same component.

has divisions with their own meanings. But this does not mean that grammarians cannot talk about the meaning of a sentence which is assumed to have independently meaningful divisions. Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning can be accepted within the framework of the *apoddhāra* theory. Thus it is clear that by the expression *ekāntena parigr̥hyamāne* the Vr̥tti intends to imply that Patañjali's statement about a sentence meaning will become an ill-considered one unless he accepts the *apoddhāra* theory. Let us consider how the Vr̥tti interprets VP 2.15.

> Vr̥tti on VP 2.15 (b) *iha sāmānyavr̥ttir uccarito devadattaśabdaḥ sāmānyārthasambaddha eva tirobhavati.* (c) *tatra yena* <u>*śabdenāvirbhāvakāla eva*</u>[23] *viśiṣṭo 'rtho na pratilabdhaḥ sa śabda ḥ sāmānyārthas tirobhūto viśeṣe 'vasthātuṃ na punar utsahate.* (d) *na ca sāmānyaviśeṣayor vivakṣā yugapat sambhavati. viśeṣavivakṣāyāṃ hi sarvasyāṃ niyamena*[24] *sāmānyād avacchedo vijñāyate.* (e) *tatropāttasya nitye śabdārthasambandhe kutas tyāgaḥ.* (f) *yuktinirūpaṇeṣu cārthātmasv abhidhānakriyāyogābhāve vinivr̥tto 'navadhāryamāṇātmā śabda ḥ śabdopakramasyārtha - syābhāvād aviṣayaḥ kvāvasthāpyatām.*
>
> (b) In this case [*iha*], (in the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja*) the word *devadatta* which signifies a general meaning (*sāmānyavr̥tti*) no sooner is uttered than it disappears precisely as what is related to the general meaning [*sāmānyārthasambaddha*].
>
> (c) The word signifying a general meaning, which does not gain a specific meaning [*viśiṣṭo 'rthaḥ*] at the very time when it appears [*āvirbhāvakāla eva*], cannot be established as a conveyer of the specific meaning still less (at the time) when it has disappeared [*tirobhūtaḥ*].
>
> (d) Moreover, a speaker cannot intend to convey simultaneously both a general and a specific meaning. In all cases where a speaker intends to convey a specific meaning [*viśeṣavivakṣā*], indeed, (a hearer) understands the exclusion of a general meaning [*sāmānyād avacchedaḥ*] by restriction [*niyama*].
>
> (e) In that case, in the view that linguistic units, their meanings, and the relations between the two are eternal, how could one abandon [*tyāga*] (the general meaning) which has already been obtained [*upātta*]?
>
> (f) In addition, when (a word) is not connected with the act of denoting [*abhidhānakriyā*] the meanings whose essence is reasonably determined [*yuktinirūpaṇa*],[25] the word has ceased to function [*vinivr̥tta*] and hence its essence is not determined [*anavadhāryātman*]. The word which has ceased to function has no domain [*aviṣaya*] in which it occurs since (not only the general meaning to be signified by it but also the specific) meaning intended to be conveyed by using it in a sentence [*śabdopakramo 'rthaḥ*] is not found. As a conveyer of what could this word be established?

23 Aklujkar: *śabdenāvirbhāvakāle 'sau.*

24 IYER: *sarvasyāniyamena.*

25 Paddhati on VP 1.123 *etāvān hi sarvo 'rthaḥ sadaiva nirūpito vyavahārāṅgam.*

3.1 sāmānyavr̥tti

To begin with, let us note (b). The Vr̥tti says that a word like *devadatta* used in isolation signifies a general meaning (*sāmānyavr̥tti*). Such a word which signifies a general meaning is what Patañjali calls *sāmānya-śabda*.[26] It is to be noted that, according to Patañjali, the term characterized as *sāmānyaśabda* is the one which denotes its meaning in a general form but not something like a universal.

It is useful in this connection to consider VP 3.1.73–75, which Bhartr̥hari states in the context where he discusses Mīmāṃsakas' concept of *viniyogavidhi*, an applicatory injunction which indicates the connection of a subsidiary with the main action (*aṅgapradhānasambandha-bodhako vidhiḥ*).[27] With in mind a sentence such as *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklām* "Devadatta, bring the white cow," Bhartr̥hari says the following:

> VP 3.1.73 *kaścid eva guṇo dravye yathā sāmarthyalakṣaṇaḥ, ādhāro 'pi guṇasyaivaṃ prāptaḥ sāmarthyalakṣaṇaḥ.*
> With reference to a substance [*dravya*], a quality [*guṇa*], which is made known by implication [*sāmarthyalakṣaṇa*], is understood [*prāpta*] as unspecified [*kaścit*].[28] Similarly, with reference to a quality also, its locus [i.e., a substance], which is made known by implication, is understood as unspecified.[29]

There are six modes of evidence (*pramāṇa*) which accompany the applicatory injunction: direct statement (*śruti*), word meaning (*liṅga*), syntactical connection (*vākya*), context (*prakaraṇa*), position (*sthāna*), and name (*samākhyā*). Now given the string *śuklā gauḥ* "a white cow," which Mīmāṃsakas consider to be "syntactical connection" which consists in the connected utterance (*samabhivyāhāra*)[30] of the items *gauḥ*

26 MBh on A 1.2.45 (I.220.5–6); A 1.3.1 (I.255.25–26); A 2.1.1 (I.363.21–22): *sāmānyaśabdāś ca nāntareṇa viśeṣaṃ prakaraṇaṃ vā viśeṣeṣv avatiṣṭhante.*

27 See MNP §§ 66–195.

28 I have rendered the term *sāmarthya* as "implication" on the basis of Helārāja's gloss: *nirguṇasya dravyasyāsambhavaḥ* "the impossibility of a substance without a quality"; *nirādhāraguṇāsambhavaḥ* "the impossibility of a quality without a locus."

29 Iyer (1971: 48): "Because of their mutual indispensability a particular quality is associated with a substance. Similarly, a substratum is also invariably associated with a quality."

30 MNP 105: *samabhivyāhāro vākyam. samabhivyāhāro nāma sādhyatvādivācaka-dvitīyādyabhāve vastutaḥ śeṣaśeṣiṇoḥ sahoccāraṇam.*

(nom. sg. f.; *go*-***su***) and *śuklā* (nom. sg. f.; *śukla*-***ṭāp***-***su***). The bases *go* "cow" and *śukla* "white" are coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) with each other.[31]

According to VP 3.1.73, when the word *gauḥ* is used in isolation, the base *go* implies any, unspecified, quality that can be possessed by a cow and when the word *śuklā* is used in isolation, the base *śukla* implies any, unspecified, substance in which the quality white can reside. To put it in another way, the items *go* and *śukla* denote respectively a cow and the quality white in an undifferentiated manner. This is just what the Vr̥tti intends to say by the expression *sāmānyavr̥tti*. Helārāja glosses the term *kaścit* used in the *kārikā* with the term *aparāmr̥ṣṭajātibheda* "that whose different species are not identified." The expression *kaścid guṇaḥ* is equivalent to the expression *guṇamātra* "a quality in general."

3.2 viśiṣṭo 'rthaḥ

Let us next note (c) to consider what the Vr̥tti means by the phrase *viśiṣṭo 'rthaḥ*. In this connection, it is useful to consider what Bhartr̥hari says in VP 3.1.74–75.

> VP 3.1.74 *tayos tu pr̥thag arthitve saṃbandho yaḥ pratīyate, na tasminn upaghāto 'sti kalpyam anyan na cāśrutam*.
> But, when they [i.e. the quality and the locus] expect (a locus in general and a quality in general) respectively, a relation between the two is understood (from the string in which the terms conveying them are uttered together). The relation cannot be set aside, nor need something else (than the two that are directly mentioned), which is not directly mentioned [*aśruta*], be assumed.[32]

> VP 3.1.75 *kriyayā yo 'bhisaṃbandhaḥ sa śrutiprāpitas tayoḥ, āśrayāśrayiṇor vākyān niyamas tv avatiṣṭhate*.
> The relation of these two [i.e., the substance and the quality] with an action is conveyed by a direct statement [*śruti*]. A restriction [*niyama*] concerning a locus [*ā-*

31 On the question of how Pāṇini's grammar accounts for case, number, and gender agreement in the given string, see Cardona *PWT* 2.3. There is no need to go into details about Mīmāṃsakas' view of *vākya*. For details, see CARDONA (1983: 121–122).

32 IYER (1971: 48): "When, because of this mutual indispensability, a relation between the two is understood, it should not be abandoned nor something not actually mentioned be brought in."

śraya] and what resides in a locus [*āśrayin*], on the other hand, is established on the basis of the string [*vākya*].[33]

The point made in VP 3.1.74 is as follows: As said above, the substance cow which is denoted by the base *go* of the word *gauḥ* used in isolation expects a quality in general and the quality white which is denoted by the base *śukla* of the word *śuklā* used in isolation expects a substance in general. On this assumption, when these words are used together in the string *gauḥ śukl ā*, the relation between the cow in question and the quality white in question is understood. It is important to note what VP 3.1.74 says. When this relation obtains on the basis of the relation of a locus and that in which a quality resides, the quality of the cow is restricted only to the quality white and the locus of the quality white is restricted only to the substance cow. In this case the exclusion of other qualities (*anyanivṛtti*) and that of other *loci* take place.[34] A substance is a principal entity (*pradhāna*) in relation to a quality. Consequently, from the string in question one arrives at the understanding of the qualifier-qualificand relation (*viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva*) and hence that of the cow qualified by the quality white, even without the use of a sixth triplet ending (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to denote a relation (*sambandha*).

It is also important to note that in the given string there is no item which denotes the exclusion of other qualities and that of other *loci*. This is precisely what is meant by *pāda* d of VP 3.1.74: *kalpyam anyan na cāśrutam*. The qualifier-qualificand relation between the cow and the quality white, or the cow qualified by the quality white, is just the meaning of the sentence.[35]

VP 3.1.75 explains how one understands a meaning from the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklām*.[36] As the quality-substance relation

33 IYER (1971: 49): "The relation of these two with the action is expressed by means of a verbal element (case-ending). The close relation between the substratum and that which exists in it is understood from the sentence."

34 Prakāśa on VP 3.1.75 *niyamo dravyaguṇayor ādheyāntarād ādhārāntarāc ca vyavacchedaḥ sati parasparasambandhe*.

35 Prakāśa on VP 3.1.75 *na cānyanivṛtteḥ śabdā ntaram asti vācakam ity ekavākyākhyaśabdopādānāsau na śrautīti vākyīyāvatiṣṭhate.*

36 This sentence is derived from the following posited string: *devadatta-**su** go-am abhi-aj-**loṭ** śukla -**ṭāp**-am*. *devadatta* (voc. sg. m.); *gām* (acc. sg. f.); *abhyāja* (2nd sg. imper.); *śuklām* (acc. sg. f.). It is not necessary for the purpose of this paper to enter into a detailed discussion of the derivation of the sentence in question.

regulates the qualifier-qualificand relation, so does the *kriyā-kāraka* relation.[37] In the item *gām* the second triplet *-am* that occurs after the base *go* denotes a relation between an action and an object (*karman*). As said above, the base *śukla* is coreferential with that base, so that the same second triplet occurs after the feminine base *śuklā*. The verbal form *abhyāja* contains ***loṭ***, which is coreferential with the base *devadatta* in the item *devadatta* (*devadatta-**su***). The affix ***loṭ*** denotes an agent (*kartr̥*). Accordingly, in the given sentence, Devadatta who functions as agent expects an action in general; the cow that functions as object expects an action in general; and, the action of bringing expects an agent in general and an object in general. An action is a principal entity with respect to a *kāraka*. From the sentence, thus, one understands the action of bringing qualified by Devadatta as an agent and the white cow as an object.[38]

It is highly important to note that unlike Mīmāṃsakas the Vr̥tti does not bring in the concepts of a universal and an individual in interpreting Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning.

4. Helārāja on VP 3.1.74

Interestingly, it is in his Prakāśa on VP 3.1.74 that Helārāja cites, with slight modifications, the Vr̥tti on VP 2.15.

37 The term *kriyā* refers to an action and the term *kāraka* what brings an action to accomplishment.

38 Helārāja cites JS 3.16.12 *arthaikatve dravyaguṇayor aikakarmyān niyamaḥ syāt*, saying that what is stated in the *sūtra* accords with Pāṇinīyas' view. Prakāśa on VP 3.1.75 *yatrārthaikatvaṃ śrūyate vākye tatra dravyaguṇayor niyamo bhavati parasparasambandhātmakaḥ. kutaḥ. aikakarmyāt. ekaṃ hi karma vākyārthabhūtaṃ kriyālakṣaṇam. pradhānam uddiśya dravyaguṇau śeṣabhūtau vidhīyeta iti tayoḥ parasparākāṅkṣatvād ekavākyatāyāṃ sāmānādhikaraṇyānyathānupapattyā asaty api sambandhavācakaṣaṣṭhīlakṣaṇavibhaktiśravaṇe viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvasambandhāvasāya iti sūtrārtho 'smannayānuguṇaḥ.*

4.1 apoddhārapadārtha: sāmānyātman and viśeṣaniṣṭha

To begin with, let us note that Helārāja says the following:

> Prakāśa on VP 3.1.74 (a) *apoddhārabuddhyāśrayaṇe caitad ucyate. niraṃśe hi vākye pūrvam eva viśeṣavivakṣā. tathā hi – niravayavena vākyena viśiṣṭa evārthaḥ pratipāditaḥ.* (b) *tatra pratipattyartham aṃśāṃśikatayā apoddhārapadārthaḥ parikalpyate sāmānyātmā. sa eva viśeṣo bhavati viśeṣasaṃbandhe satīti pratipādanopāyakramaḥ.* (c) *tathā ca viśeṣasaṃbandhe 'pi sāmānyātmā padārtho na svarūpāt pracyavate, api tu tadviśeṣaniṣṭha evāvatiṣṭhate.*
> (a) And, when abstracting cognition [*apoddhārabuddhi*] is resorted to, this (point that the qualifier-qualificand relation is understood from the string in which the terms conveying a quality and a substance are uttered together) is stated. For in an impartite sentence one intends to convey a specific meaning [*viśeṣavivakṣā*] just before uttering it. To explain: It is precisely a specific meaning [*viśiṣṭa evārthaḥ*] that is conveyed by an impartite sentence.
> (b) In order to understand the specific meaning in terms of the part-whole relation [*aṃśāṃśikatā*], however, a hearer assumes an abstracted meaning [*apoddhārapadārtha*] which is essentially something general [*sāmānyātmā*]. Then the very abstracted meaning becomes something specific when it is connected with a specific meaning [*viśeṣasambandhe sati*]. This is how a means [*upāya*, which is an abstracted meaning,] is taken to explain (the sentence meaning) [*pratipādanopāyakrama*].
> (c) Such being the case, the abstracted meaning that is in essence something general does not lose its own essence [*svarūpa*] even if it is connected with a specific meaning; on the contrary, it is established precisely as something relating to that specific meaning [*tadviśeṣaniṣṭha*].

Note (a). According to Helārāja, VP 3.1.74, which argues that the qualifier-qualificand relation is understood from the string in which the terms conveying a quality and a substance are uttered together, is stated within the framework of the *apoddhāra* theory. By using a sentence which is in reality impartite, a speaker intends to convey a specific meaning (*viśeṣa*), so that from such a sentence a hearer understands a qualified, or specific, meaning (*viśiṣṭa evārthaḥ*).

Note (b). From Pāṇinīyas' point of view, a sentence meaning is an action qualified by a *kāraka*, which is a unitary, undifferentiated, and indivisible whole and which is subject to division into putative parts, so that one can conceptually posit an action as a qualificand and a *kāraka* as its qualifier. The putative meaning divisions, which are abstracted meanings, are something general since they are separated from each other by dint of abstraction. In the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja*, if

the action of bringing is separated from Devadatta as an agent, this action can be the action of bringing with respect to any agent. Abstraction of a meaning leads to the generalization of the meaning. In this regard it is crucially important that Helārāja characterizes an abstracted meaning as having a general character.

According to him, moreover, such an abstracted meaning becomes specific when it is connected with a specific meaning such as the quality white which is also an abstracted meaning. The abstracted meaning, which, in isolation, has a general character, does not lose its essential nature of being abstracted, that is, the essential nature of being conceptually posited, even when it is connected with a specific meaning, so that it is established as attaining a status as something specific (*tadviśeṣaniṣṭha*). The action of bringing qualified by Devadatta as an agent can be said to be a specific abstracted meaning.

4.2 Helārāja on VP 2.15

It is thus clear that Helārāja holds that Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning presupposes the *apoddhāra* theory. Therefore, Helārāja goes on to say that in reality (*satyataḥ*), that is, unless the *apoddhāra* theory is accepted, Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning cannot be accepted [(c)], citing the Vr̥tti on VP 2.15.

> Prakāśa on VP 3.1.74 (d) *na tu satyataḥ sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ padānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam upapadyate.* (e) *sāmānyavr̥ttīnām uccaritānāṃ tathābhūtānām eva tirobhāvād uttarakālaṃ ko 'sau viśeṣe 'vatiṣṭhatām.* (f) *na ca sāmānyaviśeṣayor yugapadvivakṣā saṃbhavati. viśeṣavivakṣāyāṃ hi sarvasyāṃ niyamena sāmānyād avacchedo vijñāyata ity upāttasya sāmānyasya tyāgaprasaṅgaḥ. sa ca nitye śabdārthasaṃbandhe na yuktaḥ.* (g) *tirobhūtaś ca nivr̥tto 'navadhāryamāṇātmā śabdo 'nyasyāpi padasya sāmānyaniṣṭhatvāt kenacid apy apratipādite viśeṣe nirviṣayaḥ kvāvatiṣṭhatām.*
>
> (d) But in reality it is not proper to say that words established as a conveyer of a general meaning are established as a conveyer of a specific meaning [*sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam*].
>
> (e) Words which denote a general meaning [*sāmānyavr̥tti*] are no sooner uttered than they disappear precisely as such; accordingly, what (word denoting a general meaning) could be established later as a conveyer of a specific meaning?
>
> (f) And a speaker cannot intend to convey simultaneously both a general and a specific meaning. In all cases where a speaker intends to convey a specific meaning,

indeed, (a hearer) understands the exclusion of a general meaning by restriction, so that it follows that the general meaning which has already been obtained is abandoned. But this is not acceptable in the view that linguistic units, their meanings, and the relations between the two are eternal.
(g) In addition, a word (denoting the general meaning), when having disappeared, has ceased to function (as a signifier) [*nivṛtta*] and hence its essence is not determined. When a specific meaning is not conveyed by any word since another word also relates to a general meaning, the word which has ceased to function has no domain in which it occurs [*nirviṣaya*]. As a conveyer of what could this word be established?

[1] *Prakāśa* (abbreviated as P) (e) corresponds to Vṛtti (abbreviated as V) (b)–(c); [2] P (f) to V (d)–(e); [3] P (g) to V (f). Let us suppose that the sentence *devadatta gām abhyāja* is used and that component words such as *devadatta* are uttered in a sequence, in consequence of which the first word disappears when the second word is uttered.

In [1] the first line of the *kārikā*: *sāmānyārthas tirobhūto na viśeṣe 'vatiṣṭhate* is explained. Any of the component words of a sentence denotes its own general meaning. These component words disappear, as soon as they are uttered, as those which denote general meanings. No component word denoting a general meaning continues to exist so that it may be established as a conveyer of a specific meaning. In V (c) it is also stated that a word, which conveys a general meaning, does not gain a specific meaning even when it appears, much less when it has disappeared.

In [2] *pāda* c: *upāttasya kutas tyāgaḥ* is explained. In a sentence a speaker cannot intend to convey simultaneously both a general and a specific meaning but to convey a specific meaning alone. This implies that from a sentence a hearer understands the exclusion of a general meaning (*sāmānyād avacchedaḥ*) by restriction, from which it follows that the *śabdārthasambandhanityatva* doctrine is disproved since the general meaning is set aside by the exclusion.

In [3] *pāda* d: *nivṛttaḥ kvāvatiṣṭhatām* is explained. It is important to note what the Vṛtti and Helārāja mean by the terms *nivṛtta* (V (f): *vinivṛtta*) and *nirviṣaya* (V (f): *aviṣaya*). First, as V (f) implies, two factors are necessary for an entity to be a word: A word must perform the act of denoting (*abhidhānakriyā*) and have a domain (*viṣaya*) in which it occurs. This domain is the meaning which is discernible (*yuktinirūpaṇa*) and which is to be conveyed by the word. Now, when the word *deva-*

datta has disappeared, the word's function of denoting has also disappeared. Furthermore, in this situation not only a general meaning but also a specific meaning is absent. The word *abhyāja* also denotes a general meaning. Thus, because of lack of the two factors, the word *devadatta* cannot claim to be a word, a conveyer of a meaning. In the given situation, this word does not have the function of denoting, nor does it have the meaning which could possibly be related to it.[39]

All these are difficulties that come up when one argues that a sentence consists of independently meaningful words, without accepting the *apoddhāra* theory. This is precisely what Bhartr̥hari means to say in VP 2.15.

5. Vr̥tti on VP 2.246 and 441

In the Vr̥tti on VP 2.246 and 441 also Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning is dealt with.[40] The treatment of the view there supports that the Vr̥tti considers the view to have validity within the framework of the *apoddhāra* theory.

5.1 Vr̥tti on VP 2.246

In VP 2.246 Bhartr̥hari illustrates the point made in VP 2.239 that there is a case in which the meaning understood at the stage where a sentence has not been completed is differently understood when the sentence is completed.[41]

39 It is to be noted that Puṇyarāja says: *svārthān nivr̥ttaḥ*. See § 1.1.2 [Ṭīkā on VP 2.15 (f)].

40 I will not consider the Ṭīkā on these two *kārikā*s, in which Puṇyarāja explains the point made by Bhartr̥hari there only summarily and in which he does not refer to the view of a sentence meaning accepted by Patañjali.

41 VP 2.239 *anyathā pratipadyārthaṃ padagrahaṇapūrvakam, punar vākye tam evārtham anyathā pratipadyate*. Vr̥tti on VP 2.239 *ihāsya vastuna upanyāsamātram. uttaratrodāharaṇābhidhānam. tatra kriyāpadaiḥ sādhanapadaiś ca pr̥thak pr̥thag* <u>*upādīyamānair vākyaikadeśaiś ca*</u> *śrūya māṇaiḥ padanibandhanaṃ vākyaikadeśa-*

VP 2.246 *viruddhaṃ cābhisambandham udahāryādibhiḥ kṛtam, vākye samāpte vākyārtham anyathā pratipadyate.*
When a (full) sentence is completed, one understands differently a sentence meaning which is the relation [*abhisambandha*] established by (a group of words such as) *udahāri* "(a girl) who carries water,"[42] since the sentence meaning is contradicted [by the sentence meaning understood when the sentence is completed].[43]

The Vṛtti comments as follows:

Vṛtti on VP 2.246 (a) *yadi padamātraśrutau pratipattiprasiddhanimittopādānam arthavyavasthānaṃ tathā sati yathāyatham arthaṃ pratipadyate tathā tenārthenārthavattā prāpnoti.* (b) *tatrānaḍvāhaṃ hara[si] śirasā*[44] *yā tvaṃ bhagini sācīnam*[45] *abhidhāvantaṃ kumbham adrākṣīr ity arthāntareṇa yuktānāṃ vākyasamāptau arthāntaropādānam arthāntaratyāgaś ca dṛśyate.* (c) *atha tu naivāsau pūrvo 'rtha upātto mithyāpratipattimātraṃ tu tat sampūrṇasyānavadhāraṇād vivakṣitasyārthasya tatrāpi pratipattir*[46] *iti* (d) *tathā sati nāsti sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam iti.*
(a) Suppose that when a mere word in isolation is heard [*padamātraśruti*], its meaning is determined on the basis of both the understanding [*pratipatti*] (of its own

nibandhanaṃ cānyathābhūtam arthaṃ pratipadyante. parisamāpte vākye punas teṣv evānyathā pratipattir utpadyate. nityatvāc ca śabdā rthasambandhasya yad upāttaṃ śabdena tasya punar aśakyaḥ parityāgaḥ kartum iti (Iyer: *upādīyamānaiḥ vākyaikadeśeṣu vā*; *vānyathābhūtam*; Iyer lacks *parisamāpte* […] *utpadyate*). Ṭīkā on VP 2.239 *idānīṃ punar api padapadārthanirākaraṇaṃ pratipādayitum āha* – […] (VP 2.239) […] *yadi ca satyabhūtāḥ padārthāḥ syus tadā padārthapratipattyavasare sarvam anyathā pratipadyate. vākyārthāvasare tatparityāgenānyathaiva pratipattir dṛśyamānā nopapadyate. etac cāgre stutinindā ityādinā vyaktīkariṣyati.*

42 Within the framework of the *apoddhāra* theory, a relation among word meanings is a sentence meaning. See §5.2.

43 Iyer (1977: 107): "In the sentence *udahāri* etc. one understands a contradictory relation between the words. But once the whole sentence is finished, a quite different meaning is understood." Ṭīkā on VP 2.246: *atha anyathā pratipadyārtham ity etad vyākhyātum āha* | […] (VP 2.246) […]. *udahāryādibhiḥ padair viruddhapadārthapratibhāsāvasare 'bhisambandham avagacchati. yathā – udahāri bhāgini yā tvaṃ śirasy anaḍvāhaṃ vahasi sā tvaṃ prācīnaṃ kumbham abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ ity atrottarakālaṃ vākyārthapratipattyavasare 'nyathaivārthapratipattir iti na padārthaḥ kaścid upapannaḥ.*

44 Iyer: *haraśirasā.*

45 Iyer: *prācīnam.*

46 Aklujkar: *vivakṣitasyārthasya tatra vipratipattir.*

form) and a well-established cause for using it [*prasiddhanimitta*][47] and that, this being the case [*tathā sati*], (from a word used in a sentence) one understands a meaning in a manner that fits (the determined meaning) [*yathāyatham*]. In such a case [*tathā*], it follows that (a string which is part of a full sentence) is meaningful through the (determined) meaning (of a word of the string) [*tenārthenārthavattā*].
(b) In that case, in the sentence *anaḍvāhaṃ hara*[*si*] *śirasā yā tvaṃ bhagini sācīnam abhidhāvantaṃ kumbham adrākṣīḥ* "O water-bringing sister, you who carry a pitcher on your head, did you see a bull coming to you at a zigzag trot?,"[48] when the sentence is completed [*vākyasamāptau*], it is seen, (a group of words) which are linked with a meaning take another meaning [*arthāntaropādāna*] and abandons the very meaning [*arthāntaratyāga*].[49]
(c) In reality, however [*atha tu*], it is not the case that a meaning has previously been obtained (from the group of words) in that way. On the contrary, it is merely an erroneous belief [*mithyāpratipattimātra*] (that when the sentence is completed, one meaning is taken and another meaning is abandoned). For, that whose specification has already been fulfilled [*sampūrṇa*] is not subject to restriction [*anavadhāraṇa*]. Even in that case [i.e., in the case where it is assumed that component words are not independently meaningful], (a specific meaning) which a speaker intends to convey is understood (from an impartite sentence).
(d) In such a case, (it is not proper to say that) words established as a conveyer of a general meaning are established as a conveyer of a specific meaning [*sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ viśeṣe 'vasthānam*].

In the present *kārikā* Bhartṛhari refers to the Bhāṣya on A 1.1.58.[50] Patañjali gives the following two sentences. Sentence A is the one as it is really recited (*pāṭhakrama*). In this sentence words are put in no particular order (*anānupūrvyeṇa*). The words are connected together ac-

47 VP 2.265 *śuddhasyoccāraṇe svārthaḥ prasiddho yasya gamyate, sa mukhya iti vijñeyo rūpamātranibandhanaḥ*. Vṛtti on VP 2.106 *sarvatra prasiddhir evārthavyavasthākāraṇam*.

48 The translation of this sentence is by S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen. See JOSHI & ROODBERGEN 1996: 62.

49 VP 2.246 discusses the case in which a group of words that constitute a part of a sentence convey a meaning contradicted when the sentence is completed. Such a meaning is characterized as *vākyaikadeśanibandhana* "(a meaning) which is understood from part of a sentence" by the Vṛtti on VP 2.239. See note 41.

50 MBh on A 1.1.58 vt. 1 (I.152.26–153.3) *anānupūrvyeṇāpi saṃniviṣṭānāṃ yatheṣṭam abhisambandho bhavati. tadyathā anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvaṃ harasi śirasā kumbhaṃ bhagini sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīr iti. tasya yatheṣṭam abhisambandho bhavati. udahāri bhagini yā tvaṃ kumbhaṃ harasi śirasānaḍvāhaṃ sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīr iti*.

cording to what is desired (*yatheṣṭam*) to have sentence B, in which they occur in the order according to meaning (*arthakrama*).

> A: *anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvaṃ harasi śirasā kumbhaṃ bhagini sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ.*
> B: *udahāri bhagini yā tvaṃ kumbhaṃ harasi śirasā anaḍvāhaṃ sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ.*

When one hears sentence A, one understands from the string *anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvaṃ harasi* a specific meaning: an action of carrying qualified by a bull as an object. The action of carrying is denoted by the term *harasi* (*hr̥*: 2nd sg. pres.) and the bull by the term *anaḍvāham* (*anaḍuh*: acc. sg. m.). But once the sentence is completed, one understands a different specific meaning as in sentence B: an act of seeing qualified by a sister as an agent (*anaḍvāhaṃ* […] *adrākṣīḥ*). The action of seeing is denoted by the term *adrākṣīḥ* (*dr̥ś*: 2nd sg. aor.). The former meaning, understood from sentence A, is abandoned and the latter, understood from sentence B, is obtained.

According to the Vr̥tti on VP 2.239, however, this is not appropriate from the viewpoint of the *śabdārthasambandhanityatva* doctrine.[51] It is important to note (b). What Helārāja says in his *Prakāśa* on VP 3.1.74 (a) helps understand (b).[52] In Pāṇinīyas' view, a sentence is impartite, so that it is impossible that a certain meaning is understood from part of a sentence. Moreover, a speaker intends to convey a specific meaning using such an impartite sentence (*viśeṣavivakṣā*). In this sense a sentence meaning is said to be that whose specification has already been fulfilled because there is no room for restriction.

Note (d), which refers to Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning. What is implied by (d) is clear: In reality, that is, unless one accepts the *apoddhāra* theory, one cannot accept the view. The reason why the view is not accepted beyond the framework of this theory must be what VP 2.15 states.

It is to be noted in passing that the point made in (a) is what Nāgeśa says in his Uddyota on MBh to A 1.1.58.[53] As said above, from the string

51 See note 41.

52 See §4.1.

53 Uddyota on MBh to A 1.1.58 vt. 1 (I.454) *ārthakramo nāma rājapurapraveśanyāyena svasyākāṅkṣitārthānvayakramaḥ. evaṃ ca kalpitāsannavākyād bodhaviṣaye*

anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvaṃ harasi a specific meaning, an action of carrying qualified by a bull as an object, is assumed to be understood. This is, according to Nāgeśa, explained as follows: When a word is uttered, its meaning is called to mind (*padārthopasthiti*) by one who has learned a relation between the word and the meaning (*vyutpatti*); the meaning expects another meaning that is also to be called to mind when heard (*ākāṅkṣā*), in consequence of which the connection (*anvaya*) between the two meanings is understood. In (a) it is stated that, when a word is heard, both its own form and the well-established cause for using it are understood. The well-established cause for using the word is the meaning to convey which the word is used and which is called to mind by a hearer.

5.2 Vr̥tti on VP 2.441

VP 2.441 talks about the relation (*abhisambandha*) which Pāṇinīyas assume to be a sentence meaning.[54] As said, this relation is none other than the qualifier-qualificand relation. The *kārikā* runs as follows:

> VP 2.441 *vākyārtho yo 'bhisambandho na tasyātmā kvacit sthitaḥ, vyavahāre padārthānāṃ tam ātmānaṃ pracakṣate*.[55]
> A sentence meaning is a relation. The relation, qua relation [*tasyātmā*], is not verbalizable as 'It rests on something.' (But) when they speak of it (by using a nominal term such as *abhisambandha*) [*vyavahāre*], they say that word meanings have the relation for their essence.[56]

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tātparyaṃ niyāmakam iti bhāvaḥ. bhāṣyāt tu āsattyabhāve 'pi padārthopasthitau ākāṅkṣāvaśād vyutpattyanusāreṇānvayabodha iti labhyate. sācīnam ity asya tiryaggacchantam ity arthaḥ.

54 Kātyāyana and Patañjali hold that a sentence meaning is a relation (*abhisambandha*) among word meanings. Vt. 4 on A 1.2.45 *padārthād anyasyānupalabdhir iti cet padārthābhisambandhasyopalabdhiḥ*. Bhāṣya thereon: *padārthābhisambandhasyopalabdhir bhavati vākye.*

55 Iyer (with Ṭīkā): *vākyārthe yo 'bhisambandho*; Iyer (with Vr̥tti): *vākyārtho 'tho 'bhidambaddho*.

56 Iyer (1977: 187–88): "The essence of the sentence-meaning which is in the nature of inter-connection does not rest anywhere. In communication (*vyavahāre*) it is the soul of the word-meanings." Ṭīkā on VP 2.441: *idānīṃ vākyārthas tu satyabhūta iti pratipādayitum āha* – […VP 2.441…] *parasparābhisambandhasvarūpaḥ pānaka-*

Under this *kārikā* the Vṛtti says the following:

Vṛtti on VP 2.441 (a) *sāmānye 'vasthitānāṃ padānāṃ yo 'sau viśeṣāvasthānahetur asambaddhānāṃ sambandhas* [.] *tatra bhedadarśanam āśritya kaiścid ucyate pratipadārthaṃ tasyātmā vyavasthita iti.*
(b) *kecid āhuḥ. nityaṃ*[57] *paropakārarūpatvād iha vyavasthita iti vyavahāra evāyaṃ tatra nāsti. na hy asau śaktimadrūpeṇa*[58] *kadācid avatiṣṭhate. śaktirūpa evāsau kāryaprasavasūcita iti.*
(c) *vyavahāre tu padārthānāṃ sa evātmā. na hi pravibhaktānāṃ tenānugṛhītānāṃ padārthānāṃ loke rūpaṃ vyavahāram*[59] *avatarati.*
(d) *tasya rūpam anākhyeyam. tasmād anyena padena padārtharūpaṃ nirdhāryate. sa tadbhāvenaiva pariṇata ākhyāyate.*
(a) (In a sentence,) words which are established as a conveyer of a general meaning are established as a conveyer of a specific meaning; the cause of the establishment of the words as a conveyer of a specific meaning [*viśeṣāvasthānahetu*] is the relation among unrelated word meanings [*asambaddhānāṃ sambandhaḥ*]. In regard to this relation, some say, on the basis of the experience of the division of speech into components [*bhedadarśana*], that the essence of the relation is established as residing in each word meaning[, namely that the meanings of words in a sentence are related to one another].
(b) (Similarly, on the basis of such experience,) others say the following. Of the relation, one does not have the very verbal expression "(The relation) is established as residing here" [*iha vyavasthitaḥ*], since (a relation) is what always renders service to others [*paropakārarūpa*]. Indeed, such a relation is never established as a power-holder [*śaktimat*]. The relation, which is essentially a power [*śakti*], is indicated by the arising of an effect.
(c) But it is when one speaks of a relation (using a particular nominal term such as *abhisambandha*) that (one says that) word meanings have for their essence the very relation. For, in the everyday world, (this relation), which is the essence [*rūpa*] of separated word meanings to which service is rendered by the relation [*tenānugṛhīta*], does not enter into speech.
(d) The essence of the relation cannot be designated [*anākhyeya*] (as this or that). Therefore, (the relation as) a meaning of a nominal term [*padārtha*] is determined by means of a term that does not refer to a relation qua relation [*anyena padena*].

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rasādivad anirvibhāgo 'naṃśa eva yo vākyārthas tasya kvacit pṛthagrūpatayātmā sthito 'vadhārayituṃ na śakyata iti yāvat. padārthānāṃ punar ayaḥśalākākalpānāṃ vyavahārāvasare tam ātmānaṃ jīvitam iva pracakṣate, tadvaśāt tatpratipāditapadārthoddeśena sarvasya kasyacit pravṛttinivṛttisāphalyāt. sa caikasmin padārthe samudāya eva vā parisamāpto boddhavyaḥ.

57 Iyer: *nitye*.

58 Iyer: *śaktipakṣeṇa*.

59 Iyer: *rūpavyavahāram*.

The relation, transformed precisely into the meaning of a nominal term, is designated.

Let us note (a). In Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning, in a sentence component words that convey general meanings are established as conveying a specific meaning. According to (a), the cause of this establishment is the relation of unrelated word meanings. What is important is that the Vṛtti says that one speaks of a relation as a sentential meaning on the basis of the experience of dividing an impartite sentence into component elements (*bhedadarśana*). This implies that Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning is accepted within the framework of the *apoddhāra* theory. As VP 2.13 says, this experience is rooted in the abstraction of constituent items in a sentence. Beyond such experience, no room is left for assuming that a sentence meaning is the relation among distinct word meanings. The relation which is assumed to be a sentence meaning is merely an conceptual construct. It is absurd to say that a single impartite meaning of a sentence has a relation among partial meanings.

The present *kārikā* deals with the question of how one can treat a relation among word meanings in the *bhedadarśana* view. In (b)–(d) Bhartṛhari's view of a relation is stated. In the view, a relation, which is something rendering service to others (*paropakārarūpa*) and hence a power (*śakti*), is absolutely dependent (*atyantaparatantra*), so that one can never refer to it separately as a relation by means of a term other than a genitive ending.[60] Even if one cannot speak of a relation qua relation, one can speak of a substantialized relation, a relation as a substance, which can be designated as this or that. In this case, according to the Vṛtti, it is possible to say that the relation as a sentential meaning rests on each word meaning (*pratipadārthaṃ tasyātmā vyavasthitaḥ*).[61]

60 VP 3.3.3–5 *asyāyaṃ vācako vācya iti ṣaṣṭhyā pratīyate*, *yogaḥ śabdārthayos tattvam apy ato vyapadiśyate*; *nābhidhānaṃ svadharmeṇa saṃbandhasyāsti vācakam*, *atyantaparatantratvād rūpaṃ nāsyāpadiśyate*. *upakārāt sa yatrāsti dharmas tatrānugamyate*, *śaktīnām api sā śaktir guṇānām apy asau guṇaḥ*. On the question of how a relation is to be viewed, I shall waste no words here. See HOUBEN 1995: 170–176; CARDONA 1999: §5.2; OGAWA 2009: §4.1.

61 It is to be noted that Puṇyarāja interprets VP 2.441 differently from the Vṛtti. A sentence meaning is indivisible (*anirvibhāga*) and impartite (*anaṃśa*). Such a sentence meaning is essentially the mutual relation among word meanings (*parasparābhisambandhasvarūpa*). Therefore, one cannot determine the mutual relation to rest on something separately from the word meanings (*pṛthagrūpatayā*). In everyday

6. Conclusion

There is no doubt that, by the statement *eteṣāṃ padānāṃ sāmānye vartamānānāṃ yadviśeṣe 'vasthānaṃ sa vākyārthaḥ*, Patañjali formulates a sentence meaning which he holds to be accepted in Pāṇini's derivational system. Puṇyarāja takes VP 2.15 as meant for refuting Mīmāṃsakas' view of a sentence and its meaning. However, the Vṛtti and Helārāja clearly understand VP 2.15 to suggest that only the *apoddhāra* theory, which underlies Pāṇini's derivational system, can explain a sentence meaning posited on the basis of *bhedadarśana*. The important point is that abstraction of a meaning results in generalizing the meaning. This is the reason that a word to be used in a sentence, which is in reality abstracted from an impartite sentence, is said to be established as signifying a general meaning. Kātyāyana and Patañjali adopted the *apoddhāra* theory in order to account for the extraction of bases, affixes, and so on from words. The *apoddhāra* theory necessarily led Patañjali to hold the view that a word, in no relation to other words in a sentence, signifies a general meaning and, in relation to them, signifies a specific meaning. To be a *sāmānyaśabda* is to be an abstracted word (*apoddhārapada*). It is a matter of course that Bhartṛhari, who is the author of the Vṛtti, must incorporate Patañjali's view of a sentence meaning into his philosophy of language.

References and Abbreviations

A = Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.
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interaction (*vyavahāra*), a sentence meaning gives life to word meanings in which people get interest. The sentence meaning is complete with respect to a single word meaning or to the collection of word meanings. In this way he understands the present *kārikā*. See note 55. It is likely that Puṇyarāja had not read the Vṛtti.

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JS = Jaiminisūtra. In *Jaiminipraṇītaṃ Mīmāṃsādarśanam*, Pune (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 97), 1976 (Vol. 1), 1970–1974 (Vols 2–7).

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MBh = Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

MMU = Mānameyodaya of Nārāyaṇa. See KUNHAN RAJA 1975.

MNP = Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa of Āpadeva. See EDGERTON 1986.

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Paddhati = Vṛṣabhadeva's Paddhati. See SUBRAMANIA IYER 1966.

PWT = See CARDONA 1997.

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ŚBh = Śābarabhāṣya. See JS.
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Ṭīkā = Ṭīkā of Puṇyarāja. See SUBRAMANIA IYER 1983.
TV = Tantravārttika of Kumārila. See JS.
Uddyota = Uddyota of Nāgeśa. See VEDAVRATA 1962–1963 (references of the text of the Uddyota are to volumes and pages of VEDAVRATA *op. cit.*).
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VP = Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya. See RAU, SUBRAMANIA IYER (*kārikā* numbers are given according to the edition of RAU).
Vṛtti = Vṛtti of Vākyapadīya. See SUBRAMANIA IYER 1966, 1983.

Philosophy

ASHOK AKLUJKAR

Authorship of the Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa*

§1.1 Most researchers who have concerned themselves with the Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa (= SK)[1] so far have spoken of Jaimini as its author. Some have done so by presupposing that the ascription is traditional, that is, without feeling a need to verify the validity of the ascription; some by following earlier researchers, that is, mainly on the basis of secondary literature; and some after investigating the matter to the extent the then known evidence enabled them.[2] The following collection of remarks should bear out this summation of the research scene:

> BELVALKAR (1927: 166): "[…] the tradition which credits Jaimini with the authorship of four more *adhyāya*s of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana known as the SK, which deals with the *devatā*s and kindred topics […]"
>
> RAMASWAMI SASTRI (1933: 293): "The SK, as a *prakīrṇaka* of the Mīmāṃsā-śāstra, was composed by Jaimini, the author of the Dvādaśa-lakṣaṇī [= what we usually refer to as the Pūrvamīmāṃsā-

* For my use of hyphenation and italic typeface, see the introductory footnote in AKLUJKAR 'a.' The abbreviations employed are explained in the "References and Abbreviations" section below. I have used them also in the passages I quote from other scholars, just as I have made the transliteration in the quoted passages consistent with mine.

1 In almost all of my sentences "Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa (= SK)" stands for the text found in SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI's edition and in an indirect, secondary way in the edition of Bhāskara-rāya's complementation of Khaṇḍa-deva's Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā. There are passages in Viśiṣṭādvaita literature in which the SK is understood as a text primarily or entirely devoted to the discussion of deities. It is also spoken of as a completely or almost completely lost text. Signs of ambiguity and absence of first-hand knowledge also exist. This description is inapplicable to the SK I have in mind in almost all of the present essay. For an explanation of why I think so, see AKLUJKAR 'b.'

2 What this evidence was can be inferred from the following discussion, which also points out the inconclusive nature or inaccuracy of the evidence as the case may be.

sūtra or Mīmāṃsā-sūtra (PMS/MS), consisting of twelve *adhyāyas*]."

RAMASWAMI SASTRI (1936, Intro. p. 12 and p. 13, n. 2): "Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtras contain sixteen chapters, the last four of which are generally known as the SK."

CHINTAMANI (1937: 1): "[…] Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini, extending over sixteen *adhyāyas*."

A. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI[3] (1961, Intro. pp. ii–iii): "Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Sūtras contain 16 chapters beginning with *athāto dharma-jijñāsā* and ending with *vidyate vānya-kālatvād yathā yājyā-sampraiṣo yathā yajyā-sampraiṣa iti* [= the last *sūtra* of the SK in which the ending phrase is repeated to indicate the work's conclusion]."

A. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI (1961, Bhūmikā pp. 5–6): "*evaṃ dvādaśa-la*[*kṣa*]*ṇīṃ praṇīya, kvacid veda-vākyeṣu prāg avicāritair* [→ *prāg-vi*°?] *nyāyair anirṇeyārthatām ālakṣya , tan-nirṇayo-payogino nyāyān nirurūpayiṣus tat-pradarśanāya punas tac.cheṣa-bhūtaṃ catur-lakṣaṇī-rūpaṃ saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍaṃ vyarīracat tatra-bhavāñ jaimini-muniḥ*."

SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI [= SSS] (1965, Intro. p. 1): "The SK, containing four chapters with four *pāda*s in each chapter, forms the latter part of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā. The former part, otherwise called Tantra Kāṇḍa, consists of twelve chapters. The author of the entire Śāstra was sage Jaimini."[4]

SARMA (see note 3) (1963, Intro. p. vii): "The SK in four chapters is a basic work of Mīmāṃsā by Jaimini, which, together with his better known and widely studied Tantra Kāṇḍa or Dvādaśa-lakṣaṇī, makes up the complete Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-śāstra." (*ibid.* p. xiv): "Authorities, both late and ancient, have, when context required them to speak on the authorship of the SK, mentioned Jaimini as its author."[5]

3 To distinguish this SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI from S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, the editor of the SK, I will cite him without dropping his first initial. I will adopt a similar procedure to disambiguate the references to K. V. SARMA from the references to THANGASWAMI SARMA. The latter will be mentioned with his full name.

4 SSS even titles his ed. "Saṅkarṣa Kāṇḍa of Sage Jaimini…"

5 In mentioning the authorities, Sarma refers to V-D's Tattva-ṭīkā as Tattva-vārtika [→ °*vārttika*]. I have not found this title used elsewhere for the text. An anonymous text called Śrī-bhāṣya-vārtika [→ °*vārttika*] has been edited by Ratna-gopāla-bhaṭṭa

LARIVIERE (1981: 184–186): "His [= SARMA's] enumeration of the 'authorities' seems to bear him out – Rāmānuja, Parāśara-bhaṭṭa in the Tattva-ratnākara, Vedānta-deśika,[6] Appayya-dīkṣita, Ś ambhu-bhaṭṭa, the Prapañca-hṛdaya and the Prasthāna-bheda. This is the opinion of a number of scholars as well [n. 30 at this point mentions D.V. Garge, S.K. Aiyangar, K.C. Chatterjee and Ḍhuṇḍhirāja Śāstrī. Then, after taking into account the two verses from the Tattva-ṭīkā and Seśvara-mīmāṃsā that I quote later in this section, Lariviere writes:] In spite of these verses, and in spite of the fact that Kāśakṛtsna is recognized by Patañjali as a great Mīmāṃsaka,[7] it seems unlikely[8] that Kāśakṛtsna should be considered the author of

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for the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1906–1907. It simply summarizes the Śrī-bhāṣya in verses; it does not touch upon historical issues such as that of authorship or cite any passages that may have implications for historical issues.

6 (a) It is an error to include Parāśara-bhaṭṭa and V-D in this list as is pointed out later in this section and in §1.4–8. SARMA (1963: xiv), whose discussion Lariviere is summarizing here, also should not have occasionally given the impression that V-D is among those who support Jaimini's authorship.
(b) Lariviere does not seem to have realized that V-D and Vedāntācārya, to whom he refers in the immediately following paragraph of his article, are the same person. The Viśiṣṭādvaita literature, both primary and secondary, confuses the newcomers to its study frequently (such was also the case with me initially) by mentioning V-D under different names such as Vedāntācārya, Deśikottama, Veṅkaṭa-nātha and Veṅkaṭārya. Except for the last two, the names are really honorary designations. The birth name must have been only *Veṅkaṭa-nātha*, shortened to *Veṅkaṭa*. For the sake of convenience I will continue to use the most commonly employed 'V-D.'

7 Actually, the form Patañjali uses is Kāśakṛtsni. I will reserve the discussion of whether the person with an *i*-ending name is the same as the person with an *a*-ending name to another occasion. Secondly, there is no word corresponding to "great" in Patañjali's statement. If one wishes to infer greatness as intended by Patañjali, one can do so only on the basis of the fact that even a woman is spoken of as studying Kāśakṛtsni's work. Given the present preconceptions about ancient India, some would not expect a woman to be studying Mīmāṃsā, much less a particular (possibly less known, obscure or appendage-like) text in Mīmāṃsā. If a woman is indeed spoken of as studying it, it must be – the reasoning would go – something special, a truly or exceptionally great text.

8 Using expressions like "it seems unlikely" or "I am not convinced" without specifying the reason for their use is a bane of historical research writing. Unfortunately this practice, which can mislead a reader into thinking that a counter-argument has been made when in fact no argument has been made, is not rare in Indology. The ultimate import of expressions of the specified kind is usually "I, the researcher, am

the SK[9]...it seems reasonable to proceed on the assumption that Jaimini was indeed the author of the SK."

THANGASWAMI SARMA (1996: 210): "*jaimini-kr̥ta-sūtrāṇāṃ dvādaśādhyāyī, tantram iti, tantra-kāṇḍam iti, paścāttanāni catur-adhyāyī-sūtrāṇi saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍam iti saṅkarṣa iti vyavahāraḥ* […] *tantra-kāṇḍasya saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍasya ca racayitā jaimi-nir eveti nirṇayaḥ.*"[10]

However, as I will demonstrate below, a strong case for the authorship of Kāśakr̥tsna (= KK) can be made. Especially relevant in this regard are the following explicit pieces of evidence:

(a) From Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's Tattva-ratnākara: *karma-devatā-brahma-gocarā sā tridhodbabhau sūtrakārataḥ* | *jaiminer muneḥ kāśa-kr̥tsnato bādarāyaṇād ity-ataḥ kramāt* || "That (Mīmāṃsā) pertaining to rites, deities and brahman, appeared in three ways from the

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not willing to change my view, even if your argument is sound" or "I, the researcher, am not going to be so adventurous as to differ from the majority or mainstream view, even when the erroneous nature of that view has been exposed."

9 (a) The construction of this sentence seems odd. I take it that Lariviere here wishes to say either "it seems wrong [/ unjustifiable] that KK should be considered the author of the SK" or "it seems unlikely that KK is the author of the SK."
(b) After this, Lariviere makes two incisive observations about the relative weight of the pieces of evidence collected by Sarma. I mention and finesse them in §2.1–2 below.

10 (a) THANGASWAMI SARMA's book has unfortunately been published with too many printing errors. I have silently corrected the obvious errors in the citation above.
(b) The preceding remarks are arranged chronologically. The SK text was published with D-S's ancient commentary in 1965. Prior to that year, the remarks were mostly based on the information available in Bhāskara-rāya's commentary (concluding sentences), the anonymous Prapañca-hr̥daya (= PH) and Khaṇḍa-deva's Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā (introductory sentences). Ramaswami Sastri definitely had access to some manuscripts of D-S's commentary as early as the 1930s. The same was the case with Chintamani, who was working in Madras, where most manuscripts of the commentary are available (some in the form of transcripts; cf. SARMA 1963: xviii n. 22, xxii). Unexpectedly, SSS, the editor of the SK and D-S's *bhāṣya*, refers to Sarma's work published about two years earlier, only obliquely in a footnote on p. iii of his Prastāvanā. He gives no publication particulars, and his reader must infer the intended scholar or work on the basis of the view attributed and as general a title as *saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa-sūtrāṇi.*

sūtra composers in this sequence: from sage Jaimini, from KK and Bādarāyaṇa."

(b) From V-D's Seśvara-mīmāṃsā: *sa jayati jaiminir ā dau jayati punaḥ kāśakṛtsno 'pi | nārāyaṇāvatāro jayati paraṃ bādarāyaṇaḥ śrīmān* || "First excels that (well-known) Jaimini! Then excels KK as well! At a further point, excels the glorious Bādarāyaṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu!"[11]

11 (a) Vīra-rāghavācārya in his Sūkṣmārtha-ṭīkā (p. 2) glosses the verse as follows: ***ādau*** *karma-kāṇḍa-mīmāṃsana-viṣaye.* ***punaḥ*** *madhyamāṃśe.* ***param*** *antimāṃśe. yad vā* ***punaḥ****-śabdaḥ tu-paryāyo jaiminy-apekṣayā vailakṣaṇya-paraḥ. tena jaiminivat mīmāṃsā-śāstrāntar-gata-bhāga-kartṛtvābhāve 'pi viśiṣya kāśakṛtsnasya pravartakatvam akṣatam iti jñāpyate.* ***api****-śabdena jaimini-samuccayaḥ. yad vā* ***punaḥ****-śabdaḥ bhūyaḥ-paraḥ. jaimininā pūrvaṃ saṅkarṣe kṛte, bhūyaḥ kāśakṛtsnenāpi saṅkarṣāntaraṃ kṛtam. tasyāpi praśasta-muni-kṛtatayopajīvyatvāt so 'py anusaṃdhīyata iti bhāvaḥ.*

In this, the suggestion that we should read *ādau, punaḥ* and *param* as standing for "in the beginning," "in the middle" and "in the end" is good. Given that *ādau, punaḥ* and *param* occur in a specific sequence and given the presence of a parallel sequence in Parāśāra-bhaṭṭa's verse quoted by V-D, Vīra-rāghavācārya's interpretational move is justified. (If the meter had allowed V-D to use *tat-paraṃ* or *tatah paraṃ* the intent would have been even clearer.) However, Vīra-rāghavācārya's attempt to read *punaḥ* as implying either that KK was being honored as a founder *ācārya* despite his not authoring any part of the MS-SK-BS series or that KK composed another SK after Jaimini composed his must be rejected. There are no other words in the verse that would justify our reading such a specific suggestion in the very general word *punaḥ* "again."

Contrast with Vīra-rāghavācārya's attempt to retain KK without giving him authorship responsibilities the following statement from V-D's son Varada-guru in his commentary Paritrāṇa on the Mīmāṃsā-pādukā (p. 244 of VĪRA-RĀGHAVĀCĀRYA's edn): *sāmācārya-kāśakṛtsna-bādarāyaṇa-rūpa-kartṛ-traya-praṇītaṃ sūtram eva śāstram* (in which *sāmācārya* stands for Jaimini). See also note 27a below.

(b) SARMA (1963: xvi) first cites V-D's prose text that follows the Seśvara-mīmāṃsā verse text in a shortened form: *viṃśati-lakṣaṇam mīmāṃsākhyam ekaṃ śāstram.* […] *saṅkarṣārambhaḥ* […] "*saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇeneti śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ*" *iti vṛtti-granthaś ca* […]. Then he comments, "V-D's quoting with approbation a statement as above clearly indicates his view that he considered only Jaimini as the author of 'all' the sixteen chapters [= adhyāyas] of the Mīmāṃsā-śāstra; and the natural deduction is that though he revered KK as a great Mīmāṃsaka, he did not consider him as the author of any part of the 16-chapter Mīmāṃsā-śāstra."

Contrary to what Sarma says, there are no words in V-D's sentences suggestive of (i) approbation of a particular authorship view or (ii) reverence for KK despite his

Additionally, we should note Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 4.1.14 *vārttika* 5 and on Pāṇini 4.1.93 *vārttika* 9: *kāśakr̥tsninā proktā mīmāṃsā kāśakr̥tsnī. kāśakr̥tsnīm adhīte, kāśakr̥tsnā brāhmaṇī.* This passage is not so straightforwardly usable as the preceding two, because it does not use the word *saṅkarṣa* or refer to the Pūrva- or Uttara-Mīmāṃsā authors, and because of its use of the *i*-ending stem *kāśakr̥tsni* instead of the *a*-ending stem *kāśakr̥tsna*. As a consequence, it is not an equally strong piece of evidence. However, it does point to an early association of KK with a distinct composition in the Mīmāṃsā tradition and is, to that extent, more favorable to the thesis of KK's authorship than to any other plausible thesis.

§1.2 The first scholar to show explicit awareness of the authorship problem was not a modern researcher but a 13th–14th century *paṇḍita* (of extraordinary stature). As we shall see, he reacted to the problem in a way that befits a historian more than the ways followed by some of our modern scholars. V-D was an amazingly versatile proponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita. He lived between 1268–1369 AD. In the 15th verse of his Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali, he says:

> *vr̥tti-granthe tu jaiminy-uparacitatayā ṣoḍaśādhyāyy upāttā saṅkarṣaḥ kāśakr̥tsna-prabhava iti kathaṃ tattva-ratnākaroktiḥ* | *atra brūmaḥ sad-uktau na vayam iha mudhā bādhituṃ kiṃcid arhā, nirvāhas tūpacārāt kvacid iti ghaṭate hy eka-tātparya-yogaḥ* ||

non-participation as an author of one of the three relevant texts. If V-D did not have the authorship aspect in mind, why would he mention KK in the middle, exactly as his predecessor Parāśara-bhaṭṭa did and as the pattern of mutual references in the MS, SK and BS indicates (cf. AKLUJKAR 'b': §1.3–5)? As I suggest in §1.5–8 and note 33, it is questionable whether one should proceed on the assumption that V-D was pronouncing a particular verdict on the authorship issue.

(c) The truncated sentences quoted by Sarma appear on pp. 1–2 of the edn used by him. He does not specify which edn this is. In Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn available to me, they appear on pp. 3–4.

The first verse half means:

> "In the Vṛtti text, the sixteen-adhyāya composition (= the text consisting of the twelve adhyāyas of the MS and the four adhyāyas of the SK) has been accepted as Jaimini's work. How is there (then) this statement of the Tattva-ratnākara that the SK came from KK (i.e., how do we account for the statement in the Tattva-ratnākara when we confront the Vṛtti statement, how do we reconcile the two statements)?"

By *vṛtti-grantha,* V-D refers to the line cited by Rāmānuja in the beginning section of Śrī-bhāṣya 1.1.1:

> *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa -lakṣaṇeneti śāstraikatva -siddhiḥ*
> This (thought-complex or BS text dealing with the embodied one) is joined with the (thought-complex or text) of Jaimini marked by sixteen topics or *adhyāya*s. Thus, the unity of the (PM)-śāstra and the (UM)-śāstra is established.[12]

The reference of *tattva-ratnākaroktiḥ* is to verse (a) in §1.1 above. The Tattva-ratnākara itself has so far not been discovered, but V-D himself cites the alluded-to *ukti* in two other works of his: the Tattva-ṭīkā, a commentary on the Śrī-bhāṣya, and Nyāya-pariśuddhi, a self-standing composition. In both, the verse is associated with the Vṛttikāra statement quoted by Rāmānuja, and, as we will notice in §1.5, essentially the same problematizing as in the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali finds expression in both. We thus have no reason to doubt as to what V-D had in mind when he used the word *tattva-ratnākaroktiḥ.*

§1.3 How has the second half of the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse been understood? We find the following deductions in secondary literature:

12 (a) From AKLUJKAR (2009, n. 3b), the point about the redundancy of *aikaśāstryam* with *śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ* should be removed. It is based on a faulty consultation of the Śrī-bhāṣya edns that were available to me then.
(b) If Rāmānuja's quotation of the Vṛttikāra extends all the way up to *śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ* as V-D's Nyāya-pariśuddhi (p. 286 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn) taught me, my suggestion that *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa -lakṣaṇena* was meant as a part of an *āryā* verse is not undermined. The Vṛttikāra could have written *iti śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ* where the hypothesized verse ended.

A. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI (1961: iii, see note 3): "This [= Tattva-ratnākara's attribution of SK authorship to KK] is not appreciated by V-D."

A. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI (1961, Bhūmikā or Sanskrit introduction p. 6): *evaṃ saty api keṣāṃcana mīmāṃsakānām upāsanā-kāṇḍasya kāśakṛtsna-praṇītatvaṃ saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍam iti ca vyavahāraḥ*[13] *kim-mūla iti sampradhārayituṃ vayaṃ neśmahe. tatra-bhavato veṅkaṭa-nāthācāryasya 'vṛtti-granthe* [...] *iti padyaṃ teṣāṃ mate kathaṃ ghaṭeta*
"Although the situation is thus (= although Bhāskara-rāya has informed us thus), some Mīmāṃsakas speak of the Upāsanā-kāṇḍa as a work of KK and as a work bearing (the title) *SK*. We are (= I am) not able to determine on what ground (they so speak). How would they account for the verse of Veṅkaṭa-nāthācārya (= V-D) beginning with *vṛtti-granthe* under this view of theirs?"

THANGASWAMI SARMA (1996: 210): *tattva-ratnākara-kartuḥ parā-śara-bhaṭṭasya vacanāt devatā-kāṇḍasya kartā na jaiminiḥ paraṃtu kāśakṛtsna iti jñāyate. vṛttikāra-bodhāyanas tu jaiminir ity āha "vṛtti-granthe tu jaiminy-uparacitatayā ṣoḍaśā dhyāyy upāttā saṅ-karṣaḥ kāśakṛtsna-prabhava iti kathaṃ tattva-ratnākaroktiḥ" iti*

13 (a) In *keṣāṃcana* [...] *vyavahāraḥ*, A. Subrahmanya Sastri has Bhāskara-rāya in mind, as he cites Bhāskara-rāya's concluding verse in the preceding lines. But this verse does not make any statement about the SK author; it only mentions inclusion of the SK in Dharma-mīmāṃsā or the nearness of the SK, in terms of content, to the MS, consisting of twelve *adhyāya*s or *lakṣaṇa*s ("rules" or "theoretical topics"). The question of its conflict with the verse by V-D, therefore, does not arise.
(b) At the end of the passage I am citing here A. Subrahmanya Sastri says: *tad uk-taṃ saṅkarṣe ity-ādi-rūpoddhāraḥ* [→ °*rūpa uddhā*°?] *prāmāṇika-nibandheṣu dha-rma-vicārātmaka-jaiminy-upajña-saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa-para eva vilokyate.* "The citations of the type *tad uktaṃ saṅkarṣe* ('So it has been said in the Saṅkarṣa') that exist in reliable compositions are seen to pertain only to the SK authored by Jaimini and consisting of an analytical consideration of dharma." Here, A. Subrahmanya Sastri almost certainly has in mind the references made to the SK in the *bhāṣya*s of Śabara and Śaṅkara (see §2.4–5 for references made by the former; see SARMA (1963: xii) and SSS (1965: 258–260) for references made by the latter). However, it should be noted that Śabara and Śaṅkara do not specify that the SK is Jaimini's work. Their references only indicate that the SK they have in mind is a work sharing the overall concern of Jaimini's work and is identical or very similar to our published SK.

adhikaraṇa-sārāvalyām api jaimini-kṛtatvam eva saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍasya svī-kṛtam.
"We come to know from a statement of Parāśara-bhaṭṭa, author of the Tattva-ratnākara, that not Jaimini but KK is the author of the Devatā-kāṇḍa (= SK). On the other hand, Vṛttikāra Bodhāyana[14] states that (the author of the SK) is Jaimini. Even in the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali, Jaimini's authorship of the SK has been accepted as (we learn) from the statement *vṛtti-granthe tu jaimi-ny-uparacitatayā ṣoḍaśādhyāyy upāttā saṅkarṣaḥ kāśakṛtsna-prabhava iti kathaṃ tattva-ratnākaroktiḥ.*"

§1.4 When I came across the interpretations of A. Subrahmanya Sastri and Thangaswami Sarma, I was surprised. To me, the verse plainly communicated a different message. Even then, to be sure of myself, I wrote down a translation of it. That of the first two quarters is given in §1.2. For the remainder, I had:

> Here (on this issue – when asked thus), we say: we should not baselessly (or uselessly) find fault with anything in this declaration of the good (that is, we should not consider either the statement of the Vṛttikāra cited by Rāmānuja or the statement of Parāśara-bhaṭṭa as faulty in some respect, for we do not have the qualifications needed to engage in that sort of action).[15] But there is (such a thing as) carrying to the intended end through a secondary sense somewhere (that is, understanding this or that expression used by either authority in a nonliteral way, so that we can get over the predicament we face). In this manner, a joining of purports indeed comes

14 That the Vṛttikāra meant here (by Rāmānuja) could not have been Bodhāyana has been pointed out in AKLUJKAR 2009: §1.1–3. This article of mine was inaccurate is suggesting that modern traditional commentators of the Śrī-bhāṣya had taken Bodhāyana to be the referent of *vṛttikāra* in Śrī-bhāṣya 1.1.1 *under the influence of researchers in Indology*. Actually, the identification (I consider erroneous) goes back at least to the time of V-D. Modern traditional scholars like Vīra-rāghavācārya and Rāma-bhadrācārya have not taken the 'Vṛttikāra = Bodhāyana' proposition from the Indologists of their time.

15 In the *vṛtti-granthe tu…* verse, *vayam* is authorial "we," meaning in effect "I." If *mudhā* is taken in the sense "uselessly, in vain," V-D's suggestion could be that the effort made to declare either of the statements as faulty is bound to fail; neither the Vṛtti author, nor Parāśara-bhaṭṭa is likely to commit an error (nor is Rāmānuja likely to make a wrong citation). *sad-uktau* can also be understood as "in a valid statement (coming from either the Vṛttikāra or Parāśara-bhaṭṭa)."

about (i.e., a reconciliation of the statements found in our two sources can certainly take place).[16]

Since A. Subrahmanya Sastri does not provide a translation of the verse, it is difficult to figure out why he interprets the verse as showing V-D's non-appreciation, that is, non-sharing or non-acceptance, of Tattva-ratnākara's attribution of SK authorship to KK, that is, as acceptance of attribution of SK authorship to Jaimini.

Essentially, the same observation applies to Thangaswami Sarma's more assertive statement to the effect that Jaimini's authorship of the SK has been accepted in V-D's verse. As Thangaswami Sarma writes in Sanskrit, one cannot speak of translating the V-D verse in his case. However, he could have explained through some Sanskrit sentences of his own how he derives the meaning *jaimini-kr̥tatvam eva saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍasya svī-kr̥tam* from the words employed by V-D. His not citing the latter half of V-D's verse – the only half from which the substance of his assertion can be derived – makes one wonder if he paid adequate attention to the verse and interpreted it in its entirety.

§1.5 Faced with the absence of explanation from A. Subrahmanya Sastri and Thangaswami Sarma and not wanting to be unfair to these scholars, I decided to ascertain how the contexts of the two statements to which the verse refers were explained by traditional scholars, I had already gathered from secondary literature that the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse had a connection with V-D's Tattva-ṭīkā. But it was not until much later that I came to know that it had a connection also with V-D's Nyāya-pariśud-

16 (a) If V-D was aware that Parāśara-bhaṭṭa, the author of the Tattva-ratnākara, was a contemporary of Rāmānuja the question in the first two quarters would have a stronger tone of demanding a reconciliation of two different attributions found in two equally old and respectable sources. Like us, V-D, too, could have held that, generally, in historical matters, an older source is more reliable than a later one, and, with that consideration in mind, refused to choose between what he learned from Rāmānuja's citation and what he learned from Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's verse regarding SK authorship.
(b) V-D was probably aware of the contemporaneity of Parāśara-bhaṭṭa and Rāmānuja. In the history transmitted in V-D's sect, Parāśara-bhaṭṭa is included in Rāmānuja's immediate disciples and is spoken of as the first successor to Rāmānuja's seat at Śrīraṅgam; cf. NAYAR (1994: 1), OBERHAMMER (1979: 15).

dhi. How the Tattva-ṭīkā and Nyāya-pariśuddhi continue after citing the Vṛtti sentence and the Tattva-ratnākara verse is instructive:

(a) Tattva-ṭīkā (p. 39 of VĪRA-RĀGHAVĀCĀRYA's edn; p. 79 of DHARAṆĪDHARA ŚĀSTRĪ's edn) *atra*[17] "*karma-devatā-brahma-gocarā sā tridhodbabhau sūtrakārataḥ | jaiminer muneḥ kāśakṛtsnato bādarāyaṇad ity-ataḥ kramād ||*" *iti tattva-ratnākarokteś ca vṛtteś ca kvacid upacāreṇāvirodho grāhyaḥ.*[18]
"Under this interpretation (or in this matter), how the statement in the Tattva-ratnākara [cited and translated in §1.1] does not conflict with the Vṛtti (statement explained just now) should be determined by taking a secondary sense of some expression."

(b) Nyāya-pariśuddhi 3.2 (p. 286 of VĪRA-RĀGHAVĀCĀRYA's edn): *tatra ca* "*saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇeneti śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ*" *iti bhāṣyopātto vṛtti-granthaḥ. tattva-ratnāka-*

17 Dharaṇīdhara Śāstrī 's edn reads *tatra* "under that interpretation, in that matter," which makes no significant difference in the present context. The reference would still be to what precedes.

18 The lines preceding the ones cited here are textually unsettled, but their general import can be made out. In the edns accessible to me, they read as follows (the variants from Dharaṇīdhara Śāstrī 's edn are given in brackets): *iyaṃ ca vṛttiḥ śāstra-bheda-bhrama-hetūṃs tat-parihārāṃś ca sūcayati. sarva-śarīri-gocaratvaṃ* [/ °*rīra-go*°] *darśayatā* ***śārīraka****-śabdena viṣaya-bheda-jñāpanāt,* ***etad*** *iti prayojanādhikāri-bhedayor artha-virodha-sphuraṇasya* [/*artha-bheda-sphu*°] *cāṅgulyaiva nirdeśāt,* ***jaiminīyene****ti* [Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn adds *kartṛ-bheda-nirdeśāc ca* in parentheses at this point] *bheda-śaṅkā-dyotanam. parihāras tu* ***ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇene****ti dvādaśādhyāyī-catur-adhyāyī-rūpa-kāṇḍa-dvayena.*
The import is this: "This Vṛtti (statement *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena* cited by Rāmānuja) indicates why someone may wrongly think that the *śāstra*s (of PM and UM) are distinct and how one may remove that wrong thinking. The three words *śārīraka, etad* and *jaiminīya* suggest the doubt (or *prima facie* view) that the *śāstra*s are distinct; *śārīraka*, which stands for (*brahman*'s) presence (or accessibility) in all individual selves, conveys that the subject matters of the two *śāstra*s are different. With the word *etad,* which is like pointing out with a finger, the difference of purpose and the difference of eligibility, as well as the flashing forth (= occurrence in the mind?) of content incompatibility are conveyed. The word *jaiminīya* indicates a difference of authors. The removal of the objection or suspicion that the two *śāstra*s are distinct is made with the word *ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena* (meaning) (*saṃhita* = joined) with two books, one consisting of twelve *adhyāya*s and the other of four *adhyāya*s."

re tv evam uktam, "*karma-devatā-brahma-gocarā sā tridhodbabhau sūtrakārataḥ* | *jaiminer muneḥ kāśakṛtsnato bādarāyaṇād ity-ataḥ* (*adaḥ*) *kramāt* ||" *iti. anayor devatā-kāṇḍasya jaiminīyatva-kāśa-kṛtsnīyatvoktī tādadhīnyādi-vivakṣayā samānārthe gamayitavye.* "With respect to that (Mīmāṃsā consisting of twenty *adhyāya*s), the following Vṛtti text has been cited in (Rāmānuja's) *bhāṣya*: *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇeneti śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ.* – "This (thought-complex or BS text) dealing with the embodied (soul) is joined with the sixteen-*adhyāya* (thought-complex or text) of Jaimini. In this way, the *śāstra* (covered in both works) is proved to be a single *śāstra*" – but in the Tattva-ratnākara the following has been said [= what I have cited and translated in §1.1 above]. In these two statements, the mention of the Devatā-kāṇḍa as "something authored by Jaimini" and as "something authored by KK" are to be understood as having a shared meaning (as not conflicting with each other) through (attributing to the statements' authors) the intentions such as 'one is dependent on the other.'

In the above two passages, V-D uses *kvacid upacāreṇāvirodho grāhyaḥ* (meaning virtually the same thing as *nirvāhas tūpacārāt kvacid iti ghaṭate hy eka-tātparya-yogaḥ* of the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse under discussion) and *tādadhīnyādi-vivakṣayā samānārthe gamayitavye.* This fact should leave no doubt that he did not mean to make an unqualified statement about Jaimini's authorship of the SK or reject KK's authorship of the same absolutely. He leaves open the possibility that KK could have composed the SK and even suggests a way (*tādadhīnyādi*) in which KK's authorship would not conflict with Jaimini's.[19]

19 In Vīra-rāghavācārya's Nyāya-tattva-prakāśikā commentary on the Nyāya-pariśuddhi (p. 286), we find the following gloss and comment: ***ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena*** *ṣoḍaś-ādhyāyy-ātmaka-prathama-bhāgena. vṛtti-bhāṣyayoḥ pūrva-bhāgasya jaimini-mātra-kartṛkatvaṃ sva-rasa-pratītam* "(The expression) *ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena* (in the cited Vṛtti sentence) means 'with the first part consisting of sixteen *adhyāya*s.' In (Bodhāyana's or Upavarṣa's) Vṛtti and (Rāmānuja's) *bhāṣya*, it is naturally understood that the earlier part was authored by Jaimini alone." Here, the second sentence is not as unambiguous as it should be because *purva-bhāga* can be synonymous with *prathama-bhāga*. The author seems to mean *pūrva-bhāga* of the *prathama-bhāga*. Accordingly, "earlier part" in the translation should be understood as standing for the first twelve *adhyāya*s.

Thus it becomes all the more evident that if A. Subrahmanya Sastri and Thangaswami Sarma had grappled with the issue of understanding V-D's verse precisely, they would not have taken the position that somehow the attribution of the SK to KK conflicts with what V-D says.[20] They would have realized that V-D does not reject the alternative of regarding KK as the author and does not himself accept (or attribute to Rāmānuja) the view that Jaimini alone is the author of the SK.[21]

§1.6 V-D's own son Varada-guru[22] in his Adhikaraṇa-cintāmaṇi commentary on the Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali spells out how one can assign a compatible secondary sense as suggested in the crucial second half of the verse. He writes (p. 35 of VĪRA-RĀGHAVĀCĀRYA's edn):

> *dvayor api grantha-kartror viśvasanīyatvāt ekasyāpi vākye* ***na vayam*** *aprāmāṇyaṃ* ***brūmaḥ*** (/ *brūmahe*). *api tu* ***tātparya****-bhedenobhayatrāpi prāmāṇyam. tathā hi. tat tva-ratnākara-vākyasya mukhyatvena saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍasya kāśakṛtsna-prabhavatve siddhe vṛttikāra-vākyaṃ jaiminer dvādaśa-lakṣaṇī-kartṛtvāt prācuryād aupacāri kam. vṛttikāra-vākyānusāreṇa jaimineḥ ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇī-kartṛtve prāmāṇike tattva-*

20 This indicates that the issue of SK authorship, like the issues discussed in AKLUJKAR 2011 and 2009, has suffered from less than adequate attention to certain crucial passages, from not taking the trouble to translate the relevant passages literally and forthrightly (i.e., accompanied by a specification of what the scholar concerned could not understand or could understand only vaguely or imperfectly) and from following one's predecessors uncritically.

21 Perhaps they could have also admired V-D, as I do, for showing an ideal historical attitude. Faced with two conflicting pieces of evidence in his sources and having no means at his disposal to discount or play down one piece, V-D remains non-committal. He does not deny that *jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena,* making both the MS and the SK *jaiminīya*, "an entity associated with Jaimini," can be taken as conveying that Jaimini authored the SK. Nor does he take liberties with what Parāśara-bhaṭṭa had written. He refuses to find fault with either source and leaves open the possibility that the contradiction can be resolved by assigning slightly different meanings to the sentences. His own suggestion for such a slightly different meaning is conveyed through *tādadhīnyādi-vivakṣayā.*

22 This Varada-guru, who commented on V-D's work, should not be confused with the Varada-guru, author of the Tattva-nirṇaya, whom V-D mentions in some of his works. The former speaks of himself as Vaiśvāmitra (which is in keeping with V-D's mention of himself as a person of Viśvāmitra *gotra* in the sixth introductory verse of the Tattva-ṭīkā). The latter styles himself as Vātsya. Probably V-D named his son after a teacher and/or scholar he admired.

ratnākara-vākyaṃ kāśakr̥tsnasya devatā-kāṇḍe viśeṣeṇa pravartakatva-param iti si ddhe eva samādhir iti.[23]

Vīra-rāghavācārya, commenting on V-D's original text as well as Varada-guru's explanation of it quoted above (Sārārtha-ratna-prabhā p. 35), clarifies the intent further (adopting V-D's persona):

na vayaṃ saṅkarṣasya sākṣāt draṣṭāraḥ. "madhyaḥ kāṇḍaś ca lupta-sthitiḥ" iti mīmāṃsā-pādukāyām avocāma. tattva-ratnākaroktir api satām uktir iti nirvivādam […] ***iha*** *prakr̥ta-viṣaye saṅkarṣasyādr̥ṣṭatayā* ***mudhā*** *nairarthakyāspada-rītau* ***kiṃcid bādhitum*** *ekatara-grahaṇenānyatarasya sarvathā bādhaṃ kartum, ekasya vacanasyāpramāṇatvaṃ vaktum iti yāvat.* ***na vayam arhāḥ*** […] [in the commentator's persona:] *nanv artha-bhede spaṣṭe katham ekaṃ tātparyam ity āha* nirvāha *ity-ādi. yatra-kvacit aupacārikārthāśrayaṇād ubhayor nirvāhaḥ iti* ***tātparya****ikya-sampattir ity arthaḥ. tattva-ratnākarasya mukhyārthāśrayaṇe vr̥ttau jaiminīya-padaṃ kāśakr̥tsnopalakṣakam. jaimini-kr̥tasyaivādhikatvāt* […] *vr̥tter mukhyatvādaraṇe tu tattva-ratnākara-granthaḥ "jaiminīyasya kāśakr̥tsnena pravacanaṃ kr̥tam" iti tadīyatvābhiprāyaḥ syāt.*

Another twentieth-century traditional commentary probably written by N. S. Rāma-bhadrācārya (see under "Rāmānuja" in "References and Abbreviations"), reads the same sense in V-D's Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse as I did. Rāma-bhadrācārya glosses the crucial latter half, thus:

atra *ity ākṣ epe prāpte,* ***brūmaḥ*** *vacanayor avirodhaṃ vadāmaḥ,* ***sad-uktau iha*** *abhiyukta-vākyayor anayor madhye,* ***kiṃcit*** *anyatarat.* ***mudhā*** *nirṇāyaka-prabala-pramāṇaṃ vinā,* ***bādhitum*** *apramāṇam iti nirṇetum,* ***vayaṃ na arhāḥ*** *tat-tad-*

23 Varada-guru's last sentence *siddhe eva samādhiḥ* could mean "resolution (of the perceived problem) in what is already there, what is present (in the sentences as they are)." The implication then would be that we, as interpreters, do not have to make any adventitious or *ad hoc* assumptions to see that the Vr̥ttikāra statement and the Tattva-ratnākara statement do not conflict.
Since another common sense of *siddha* is "established, proved," a meaning like "re solution (of the specified problem) only when (X) is established [i.e., has come to be accepted as valid]" is also possible. Here "X" would sequentially stand for "KK's authorship" and "Jaimini's authorship." Attaching greater weight to Tattva-ratnākara's statement and assuming that KK's authorship of the SK is proved, we take *jaiminīya* in the Vr̥ttikāra statement in the sense "something attached to Jaimini's more extensive work" (*prācuryāt*). Conversely, assuming that Jaimini has been proved to be the author of the first sixteen *adhyāya*s as the Vr̥ttikāra says, we understand *kāśakr̥tsna-prabhava* in the Tattva-ratnākara statement as conveying that KK was a special motivator in the case of the SK (*viśeṣeṇa pravartakatva*).

> *granthakṛtor asamakālāḥ, asmādṛśāḥ na samarthāḥ.* ***nirvāhas tu*** *dvayor api vacanayoḥ prāmāṇya-sthāpanaṃ tu,* ***kvacit*** *anyatarasmin vākye,*[24] ***upacārāt*** *iti gauṇārthakatva-cintanāt iti,* ***eka-tātparya-yogaḥ*** *aviruddhābhiprāyakatvam,* ***ghaṭate hi*** *yujyate khalu.*

What the three commentators have given us in the passages cited just now as the thrust of the second half of Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali 15 is the only sense that smoothly arises when all the words of that half are taken into account. One may disagree, as I do, with how they characterize the *aupacārika artha* and where they locate it (what they take to be its springboard), but as long as a reasonable secondary meaning can be put forward, V-D's Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse cannot and should not be interpreted as speaking of an irresolvable conflict between the Rāmānuja-cited Vṛtti statement and Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's statement or as declaring Jaimini to be the author of the SK.

§1.7 At this point, just to demonstrate that an interpretation like the one given by A. Subrahmanya Sastri and Thangaswami Sarma, which may have been implicitly accepted by some other researchers, can be set aside even without the help of traditional commentators, I will add the following.

In Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's verse statement, there is no scope for reading a nonliteral meaning that would remove the statement's conflict with the Vṛttikāra's statement quoted by Rāmānuja. On the other side, in *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena* (with or without *śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ;* see note 12),[25] the only word having the potential to remove the perceived conflict would be *jaiminīya;* the contextual meanings of *saṃhitam* and *śārīraka* cannot be anything other than "joined" and "(something) concerned with the embodied one." The difference of opinion can at the most be about whether the latter should be taken as

24 Rāma-bhadrācārya's understanding of *kiñcit* and *kvacit* is closer to the one found in Varada-guru's annotation.

25 If taken as a part of the same sentence, *śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ* contextually applies only to the MS (or MS + SK) and BS or the thought-complexes covered by these texts. As no question has been raised in the preceding sentences about the MS and SK forming a unity, their unity as a meaning element can come only from some external source. Nor can the issue of their forming a unity be raised until SK, as a title, is confined to a particular thought-complex or text. In short, inclusion or exclusion of *śāstraikatva-siddhiḥ* would have no bearing on how the needed *aupacārika artha* is determined.

standing for a text (the BS) or a thought-complex ('hermeneutic of the Jñāna-kāṇḍa/Vedānta texts/Upaniṣads').

Like *śārīraka*, the word *jaiminīya* is originally an adjective. Used by itself, it would not have "text" as an inevitable part of its meaning. It could also stand for a thought-complex or discussion domain (related to Karma-kāṇḍa that is) associated with Jaimini. Its co-occurrence with *ṣo-ḍaśa-lakṣaṇena,* the implied exclusion of the four *adhyāya*s of the BS (AKLUJKAR 2009: §3.1) and the fact of its occurrence in a commentary strengthen the probability of its being a reference to a text, but whether it is taken as a reference to a text or as a reference to a thought-complex or discussion domain, it would retain its capability to include the SK and thus offer us the basis we are seeking for a secondary meaning – a meaning that goes beyond Jaimini's (unquestionable) association with the twelve *adhyāya*s forming the MS.

The preceding proposal has support in the early sources bearing on the history of Mīmāṃsā. Sureśvara in his Naiṣkarmya-siddhi (before verse 1.91) speaks of Jaimini as the composer of the Śārīraka, i.e., the BS, although he (Sureśvara), like his teacher Śaṅkara, must have known that the author of the BS was Bādarāyaṇa (AKLUJKAR 2011: n. 55).[26] Sureśvara's remark, minimally, indicates that there was a tradition of speaking of Jaimini as the 'author' of the books beyond the MS and the SK, which surmise, in turn, would support the understanding of *jaiminīya* in the Vṛtti statement in an extended sense – as not implying that Jaimini must be the author of the MS and SK *in exactly the same sense.* This possibility, indicated also by Varada-guru's distinction of a *viśeṣeṇa pravartaka* ("especially or specifically initiating") author and an author who is not such a *viśeṣeṇa pravartaka*, in turn, agrees with what we gather from the pieces of evidence suggesting that Jaimini gave the MS and BS editorial touches (AKLUJKAR 2011: §5.3–12) and that the SK, being in the middle of the MS and BS (see note 29), must also have been an object of Jaimini's editing activity, thus becoming eligible to be thought of as authored by Jaimini in a general, extended sense of "author."

26 Cf. V-D, Seśvara-mīmāṃsā, p. 88 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn: *bādarāyaṇasya śārī-raka-śāstrakṛttvaṃ sarva-sammatam*.

The SK could have been called *jaiminīya* also because it was a natural extension of Jaimini's work in the area of Karma-kāṇḍa.[27] This way of explaining the use in the Vṛttikāra statement would be essentially in agreement with V-D's understanding of *upacāra* as *tādadhīnya,* "being dependent on that," in his Nyāya-pariśuddhi. To view the SK as thematically dependent on the MS is to explain how it could be viewed as *jaiminīya* without sacrificing its distinctness and without cutting off its umbilical chord with KK. More than one pre-modern scholar has thought of the SK as a continuation of the MS (see AKLUJKAR 'b': §1.3). Deva-svāmin's (= D-S's) introductory remarks and Appayya-dīkṣita's use of *pāriśeṣya* also indicate how the SK is dependent on the MS.[28]

§1.8 It is important to note that, as far as the acceptance of Jaimini as author is concerned, V-D only reports his understanding of the Vṛttikāra statement cited by Rāmānuja and thinks of the Vṛttikāra as attributing the SK to Jaimini; he does not express his own view. On the KK side, his statement in the introductory verse of the Seśvara-mīmāṃsā does not have the form 'X authored Y.' There he can be viewed as connecting KK

27 (a) The idea of extension or continuation becomes rather specific when the word "appendix" is used to describe the SK (as, for example, in A. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI (1961: Preface, p. ii)). I do not find the word entirely appropriate. Appendices are generally not recognized as separate works, whereas we do have evidence of such recognition in the case of the SK (which fact gives us a triad of authors 'Jaimini : KK : Bādarāyaṇa' that nicely matches a triad of mutually linked texts). In any case, thinking of the SK as an appendix would not come in the way of explaining how Jaimini came to be viewed as its author.
(b) The closeness of the SK to the MS in terms of content than to any theistic, devotional or *upāsanā* work becomes obvious when one looks into SSS's edn. Moreover, even when the SK has been identified with a/the Devatā-kāṇḍa, it has been viewed as a remainder of the MS; cf. V-D, Śata-dūṣaṇī, p. 14 in Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn: *devatā-kāṇḍaṃ ca karma-kāṇḍa-śeṣatayā bhāṣyakāraiḥ parigṛhītam.*

28 Varada-guru and Vīra-rāghavācārya take *tādadhīnya* respectively in the sense of *prācurya* "being more numerous, being more extensive" and *adhikatva* "being additional, being over and above." While not being exactly the same as my interpretation of dependence, their paraphrases do not conflict with my interpretation. Being smaller than Jaimini's work does not rule out the element of being a part of Jaimini's editing activity or the element of being dependent on that part of which Jaimini was the author.

with the SK as author only in a *strongly implicit* way.[29] He definitely knew the title *Saṅkarṣa* or SK and he evidently had received *some* information about it (from the writings of such predecessors as Parāśara-bhaṭṭa or the oral tradition of his religio-philosophical school). Yet the work was not accessible to him. In Mīmāṃsā-pādukā verse 37 he speaks of the Madhya-kāṇḍa, obviously meaning the text between the MS and BS, as *lupta-sthiti* "one which had lost its existence."[30] Even if that Madhya-kāṇḍa is understood to be a/the Devatā-kāṇḍa in his perception, its contents do not come across as known to him beyond three *sūtra*s. These *sūtra*s could have come to him from a Vaiṣṇava source that was not Viśiṣṭādvaita.[31] Furthermore, the passage citing the *sūtra*s has been suspected

29 I say "strongly implicit" because V-D uses the term *saṅkarṣa* elsewhere (e.g. Seśvara-mīmāṃsā, p. 7 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's ed.) in contexts where it must stand for a text that is connected with the MS and BS. KK's name also appears between the names of the authors of the MS and BS as can be gathered from §1.1.

30 This reality of V-D's part of India is expressed also by his son Varada-guru in the commentary Paritrāṇa on the Mīmāṃsā-pādukā (p. 299 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn): *devatā-kāṇḍaś ca nāma-mātra-śeṣaḥ.*

31 (a) Cf. Tattva-ṭīkā, p. 44 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn: *evaṃ tarkite karmaṇi, saṅkarṣaṇa-kāṇḍe catur-lakṣaṇyā tat-tat-karmārādhya-devataiva sva-rūpa-bheda-guṇa-prakarṣaiḥ nirākṛṣyata. tat-samāptau ca "ante harau tad-darśanāt," "sa viṣṇur āha hi," "taṃ brahmety ācakṣate, taṃ brahmety ācakṣate" iti vicārayiṣyamāṇam upacikṣipe* (*upakṣipyata*) *iti tattva-vṛddhāḥ* [*tattvavidaḥ*; see (b) below]. *tato 'ntime kāṇḍe sadvārakam advārakaṃ ca yathārhaṃ dvādaśa-lakṣaṇy-ukta-sarva-dharma-samārādhyam anantara-catur-lakṣaṇy-avadhārita-sarva-daivata-śarīrakaṃ paraṃ daivataṃ parīcikṣitam.*

In its crucial part, the preceding is paralleled by Śata-dūṣaṇī, *vāda* 3 (p. 15 of Vīra-rāghavācārya's edn): *tasya ca kāṇḍasyopasaṃhāre* [= *saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍasyopasaṃhāre* / *devatā-kāṇḍasyopasaṃhāre*] "*ante harau tad-darśanāt*" *iti devatā-kāṣṭhāṃ pradarśya,* "*sa viṣṇur āha hi*" *iti sarva-devatārādhanānaṃ tat-paryavasānāya tasya sarvāntar-ātmatvena vyāptiṃ pratipādya,* "*taṃ brahmety ācakṣate, taṃ brahmety ācakṣate*" *iti tasyaiva vedānta-vedya-para-brahmatvopakṣepeṇopasaṃhārāt, sāmānyato 'pi viśeṣataś ceśvaraḥ prastuta iti tattvavidāṃ saṃpradāyaḥ.*

(b) Although in the first passage Vīra-rāghavācārya's edited V-D text reads *iti tattva-vṛddhāḥ*, he presupposes *tattvavidaḥ* as the reading in his notes. This latter reading agrees with *tattvavidāṃ* in the parallel passage from the Śata-dūṣaṇī. In accordance with that passage, we should also move *iti tattvavidaḥ* to the end of the passage. As V-D wrote the Tattva-ṭīkā after the Śata-dūṣaṇī (cf. introductory verse 5 of the Tattva-ṭīkā), it is possible that the addition of *iti tattvavidaḥ* was suggested in the margin at the time of finalizing the autograph of the Tattva-ṭīkā to make its text agree with the similar-content text in the Śata-dūṣaṇī and, when the autograph

to be a later interpolation as we learn from KANAZAWA (1989: 35).[32] Our earliest source for Jaimini's authorship is thus roundabout and uncertain on the author side and explicit and definite about the loss of what was authored.[33]

§1.9 Having thus determined that, contrary to what A. Subrahmanya Sastri and Thangaswami Sarma felt, V-D's Adhikaraṇa-sārāvali verse does not come in the way of KK's authorship, I would like to ask the following question: on the basis of what has been said in §1.7 about the SK content, one can easily account for the SK's grouping with the MS and for Jaimini's association with the resultant pair, but can one account for KK's association in an equally plausible way? In other words, a basis exists to hypothesize that an earlier statement conveying 'Jaimini-associ-

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was copied the insertion suggested by the marginal note was made at the wrong place, because both *upacikṣipe* and *parīcikṣitam* have the syllables *cikṣi* (the insertion sign in the exemplar could very well have been near these syllables in *parīcikṣitam*). Consequently, I see no need for Vīra-rāghavācārya's emendation of *upacikṣipe* with *upakṣipyate*.

(c) A citation of the *sūtra* '*taṃ brahmety ācakṣate*' in Jaya-tīrtha's Nyāya-sudhā (a commentary on Madhva's Anuvyākhyāna) is reported. According to the information taken over from Suzanne SIAUVE's 1957 book *La voie vers la connaissance de Dieu...* in LARIVIERE (1981: 183 n. 20), Jaya-tīrtha cites the sūtra as coming from a work of Bādarāyaṇa that began with *athāto daivī* [*jijñāsā?*]. This raises the possibility that the three *sūtra*s quoted in the Śata-dūṣaṇī and the Tattva-ṭīkā came from a work that existed or was believed to exist in the Mādhva tradition of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta.

32 I understand from Prof. Yoshimizu that no reasons were given by Kanazawa's source, that is, in ITŌ's article in Japanese, for considering the Tattva-ṭīkā passage an interpolation or for V-D's inclusion of the three sūtras.

33 Given that V-D has addressed the issue of SK's authorship in more than one work, the chronology of his works becomes relevant in our determination of whether his views changed over time and whether he can be thought of as holding a later or final view. The study by Satyavrata SINGH (1958: 97–105) unfortunately does not result in giving us a definite chronology of all the texts that matter for our present investigation. However, the sequence 'Śata-dūṣaṇī → Tattva-ṭīkā → Nyāya-pariśuddhi → Seśvara-mīmāṃsā,' that is, the relative chronology of the works in which V-D considers the possibility of KK's authorship, is certain. It may then be significant that, while V-D speaks of KK's involvement in a qualified way in the first two, he speaks of the involvement without any reservation in the last and that his son Varada-guru, whom we would expect to know his father's later views, does not indicate any doubt about KK's authorship.

ated sixteen *adhyāya*s' was later inadvertently taken in the specific sense 'Jaimini-authored sixteen *adhyāya*s' or an earlier statement conveying 'Jaimini-authored sixteen *adhyāya*s' was taken in the narrow sense of "author" as distinct from "author + general editor," but no basis exists to account for the emergence of SK's attribution to KK. We have to accept that the attribution was made in our sources because it was already there in sources not available to us.

Moreover, Jaimini was well-known. KK was far less known, especially in later antiquity. It is not easy to explain why he would come to be thought of as the author of four *adhyāya*s containing a study similar to Jaimini's. The historical reality must have been that he, in fact, was the author of the *adhyāya*s, primary or original author if not the only author of the form of the text that has come down to us.

It is not probable that KK emerged as the SK author because of some accident in transmission of information. It would be too much of a coincidence for an accident to result in the authorship of the only person regarding whom Bādarāyaṇa gives the same signs of relationship as he does regarding Jaimini and who stands in the same relationship with Aśmarathya and Auḍulomi in the SK as in the BS. Bādarāyaṇa evinces a special regard for Jaimini. He comes across as interested in ensuring that Jaimini's dissent will not go unrecorded and will be left uncontroverted. A similar disposition of Jaimini toward Bādarāyaṇa has been recorded at least from the time of Śabara (cf. AKLUJKAR 2011: §5.5b). As for KK *vis-à-vis* Bādarāyaṇa, we get the following observation from KANE (1960: 138): "KK is an *ācārya* referred to in B-S 1.4.22 on a Vedānta point and his view is the *siddhānta* in that *adhikaraṇa* according to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja." See also (AKLUJKAR 'b': §1.6). From the other direction, the SK author's disposition in mentioning Bādarāyaṇa is similar as can be seen from SK 2.1.52 (where there is no basis for SSS's characterizing of the *sūtra* as a *pūrva-pakṣa sūtra*), 2.3.21 and 3.2.38. This feature allows us to surmise that KK was involved in the hermeneutic *sūtra* project the same way Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were, namely as an author with a specific responsibility for a sub-area. To come to the second 'telling' feature of the internal evidence I mentioned above, the dynamic of agreement and disagreement between Aśmarathya and Auḍulomi on the one side and KK on the other that we witness in BS 1.4.20–22 can be said to be present also in SK 2.4.42, 4.2.2 and 3.1.2.

§2.1 Some of the objections that are likely to be raised against the position I have advocated have been anticipated and answered in §1.2–8 and in notes 11, 13, 25 and 33. Now I would like to take up for consideration a few other objections which are independent of the explicit statements specifying KK as the author and for which the necessary background has been created by the details furnished so far.

SARMA (1963: xiv) says, "authorities, both late and ancient, have […] mentioned Jaimini as [SK's] author." From the discussion just concluded it should be evident that such is not the case and that the authorities mentioning KK as SK author are in fact more ancient.

LARIVIERE (1981: 86) has rightly pointed out that, from Sarma's list,

> it should be obvious that there are more 'late' than 'ancient' authorities who have made this assertion. It should be equally obvious that the testimony of such late authorities is not conclusive when those authorities are speaking of the authorship of a text which is centuries earlier than them, and which may not have been directly available to them.

Further, the fact that the sources speaking of Jaimini as the author generally span the same period as the one in which the SK text had become rare, namely the second millennium AD (AKLUJKAR 'b': §1.2), should make us cautious in using the sources, and we should entertain the possibility that the sources may have misunderstood or lost a part of the tradition. The misunderstanding, as suggested above, could have been in the form of not realizing the originally intended wider or less individualistic sense of *jaiminīya* in *saṃhitam etac.chārīrakaṃ jaiminīyena ṣoḍaśa-lakṣaṇena*. The loss could have been caused by non-access to sources mentioning KK's participation in a tripartite project. Except for the reference in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Kāśakr̥tsna (°kr̥tsni) is not found mentioned in the context of Mīmāṃsā until we come to Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's time. As misfortune would have it, the relevant work of Parāśara-bhaṭṭa seems to have been lost soon after V-D's time (see the sources from which OBERHAMMER 1979 has collected the fragments of Parāśara-bhaṭṭa's Tattva-ratnākara). At about the same time, the SK comes across as a neglected child in its own Mīmāṃsā tradition (cf. AKLUJKAR 'b': §1.2). A scholar named Govinda probably wrote a commentary on it sometime before the thirteenth century AD (cf. SARMA 1963: xix). The later commentaries were not written until the flourits of Rāja-cūḍā-maṇi-

dīkṣita's (circa 1580–1650 AD) and Bhāskara-rāya (1700–1760 AD). What these commentators had before them was only a text full of gaps.

§2.2 It is worthwhile to analyze this state of affairs, in which the evidence of Jaimini's authorship comes from later authors, in greater detail. Explicit attribution of the SK to Jaimini, that is, attribution with words such as *jaimini-kṛta* and *jaimini-praṇīta*, is found in the PH, in Appayya-dīkṣita's Brahma-sūtra-kalpa-taru-parimala, in Madhu-sūdana-sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, in Khaṇḍa-deva's Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā, in Śamhu-bhaṭṭa's Prabhāvalī commentary on the Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā and in Bhāskara-rāya's continuation of the same Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā. I will first cite the attributing passages individually and follow them up with brief comments:

> PH (after 900 AD, later limit undecided; pp. 38–39 of GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRI's edn, pp. 26–27 of YUDHIṢṬHIRA MĪMĀṂSAKA's edn):[34] *tatra* [= *mīmāṃsā-śāstre*] *ṣoḍaśādhyāya-nibaddhaṃ pūrva-mīmāṃsā-śāstraṃ pūrva-kāṇḍasya dharma-vicāra-parāyaṇaṃ jaimini-kṛtam. tad-anyad adhyāya-catuṣkam uttara-mīmāṃsā-śāstram uttara-kāṇḍasya brahma-vicāra-parāyaṇaṃ vyāsa-kṛtam.*

In the same section of the PH we read:

> *punar dvi-kāṇḍe dharma-mīmāṃsā-śāstre pūrvasya tantra-kāṇḍasya ācārya-śabara-svāminātisaṅkṣepeṇa saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍaṃ dvitīyam upekṣya kṛtaṃ bhāṣyam. tathā devatā-kāṇḍasya saṅkarṣeṇa/saṅkarṣaṇena.*
> In turn, Ācārya Śabara-svāmin, prepared a highly abridged *bhāṣya* of the first Tantra part (= the first twelve *adhyāya*s only), playing down the existence of the second (part), namely the SK, from among the two-part Dharma-mīmāṃsā-śāstra. Likewise, Saṅkarṣa/Saṅkarṣaṇa authored (a *bhāṣya*) of the Devatā-kāṇḍa.

Here, the author's lack of first-hand knowledge is revealed in his jump from SK to Devatā-kāṇḍa without mentioning the Devatā-kāṇḍa in any

34 The author of the PH is not known. The time in which the text was written is yet to be carefully determined. The evidence recorded in SARMA 1963, LARIVIERE 1981 and KANAZAWA 1989 indicates that it could be later than Rāmānuja's time (although such a conclusion is not drawn in the specified publications). If the manner in which it connects the SK with Devatā-kāṇḍa and the information it gives about the *adhyāya*s of that *kāṇḍa* (n. 34a) are taken into account, it could even be later than the works of V-D. It shows a more advanced stage of loss of information about the SK and its substitution by (a so far unidentified) Devatā-kāṇḍa. At any rate, there is no reason at present why we should privilege its testimony over that of V-D.

of his earlier sentences and without telling us how the SK and Devatā-kāṇḍa are related. His outline of the Devatā-kāṇḍa given a little later hardly fits the SK and the *bhāṣya* thereon, the authenticity of which is borne out by several citations made by subsequent authors and which are now accessible to us. His taking *saṅkarṣa* as the name of a commentator also indicated non-access to the work (cf. LARIVIERE 1980: 190). Essentially, he is in the same situation as V-D. The only difference is that, while V-D was informed about three *sūtra*s that supposedly belonged to a/the Devatā-kāṇḍa, he was informed about the *adhyāya* contents.[35]

> Madhu-sūdana-sarasvatī (around 1570 AD p. 94 of YUDHIṢṬHIRA MĪMĀṂSAKA's edn), Prasthāna-bheda: *tatra dvādaśādhyāyī karma-mīmāṃsā*, "*athāto dharma-jijñāsā*" *ity-ādiḥ*, "*anvāharye ca darśanāt*" *ity-antā bhagavatā jaimininā praṇītā*. […] *tathā saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍam apy adhyāya-catuṣṭayātmakaṃ jaimini-praṇītam. tac ca devatā-kāṇḍa-saṃjñayā prasiddham apy upāsanākhya-karma-pratipādakatvāt karma-mīmāṃsāntar-gatam eva*.

This important defender of Kevalādvaita does not seem to have had direct access to either a text named SK or a text named Devatā-kāṇḍa. Nor does he come across as one who could reproduce accounts like the ones in the PH. He does not provide any details of contents in the case of the SK as he does in the case of the MS and the BS.

35 (a) PH (pp. 41–42 of GANAPATI SASTRI's edn, pp. 28–29 of YUDHIṢṬHIRA MĪMĀṂSAKA's edn): *tathā devatā-kāṇḍasya prathamādhyāye sarveṣāṃ mantra-viśeṣāṇāṃ devatā-tattva-pradarśane tātparyam iti pradarśitam. dvitīyādhyāye vidhy-artha-vāda-nāmadheyānāṃ mantra-devatā-viśeṣatvam. tṛtīyādhyāye devatā-tattvaṃ svecchā-vigrahatvādi-guṇa-gaṇālaṃkṛtam, caturthādhyāye devatā phala* [→ *devatā-tat* [*tva*]-*phalaṃ*] *sat-karmaṇām* [→ *sarva-karmaṇām*], *apavargādhikāriṇas tādātmya-lakṣaṇam apavarga-phalam iti*.
(b) In stark contrast with the preceding is the thematic structure gleaned from Bhāskara-rāya's commentary by RAMASWAMI SASTRI (1933: 291–292). I reproduce it here by changing the *adhyāya* numbers from 13–16 to 1–4 for conformity with my enumeration elsewhere and by adding in parentheses the differences noticed in Vīra-rāghavācārya's Mīmāṃsā-meya-saṅgraha p. 528: **1.1**: (Jyotiṣṭoma-pādaḥ). **1.2**: (Darśādi-pādaḥ). **1.3**: (Sākaṃprasthīyādi-pādaḥ). **1.4**: yūpa-pādaḥ (Vājinādi-pādaḥ). **2.1**: Iṣṭakā-pādaḥ. **2.2**: Avadāna-pādaḥ. **2.3**: Praiṣa-pādaḥ. **2.4**: Homa-pādaḥ. **3.1**: Kāla-pādaḥ. **3.2**: Agni-pādaḥ. **3.3**: Graha-pādaḥ. **3.4**: Ārṣeya -pādaḥ/Varaṇa-pādaḥ (Varaṇa-pādaḥ). **4.1**: Hautrakādhyāye Samādhi-pādaḥ (Sāmidhenī-pādaḥ). **4.2**: Nigada-pādaḥ. **4.3**: Vaṣaṭkāra-pādaḥ. **4.4**: Anārabhya-pādaḥ.

Appayya-dīkṣita (around 1585 AD; p. 50 of N. ANANTHA KRISHNA ŚĀSTRI's edn), Brahma-sūtra-kalpa-taru-parimala: *dharma-vicārārthaṃ dvādaśa-lakṣaṇīṃ kṛtvā, tatrāsūtritān kāṃścin nyāyān ālakṣ ya tat-saṅgrahārthaṃ dvādaśa-lakṣaṇī-śeṣaṃ saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍam api kṛtavato maharṣi-varasya bhagavato jaimineḥ* […]

Appayya-dīkṣita cites several *sūtra*s of the SK and at least one passage from D-S (SSS 1965: iii, 87, 259). There can, therefore, be no doubt that he had access to our SK and the *bhāṣya* thereto. On the other hand, he does not cite anything that can be said to be unquestionably from a *distinct* Mīmāṃsā or non-Mīmāṃsā text on *devatā*s, a text that would agree with what we learn from the doubtful passages of V-D (§1.8 above), from the PH or from the other sources such as the Sarva-mata-saṅgraha utilized in SARMA (1965: 18), LARIVIERE (1981: 181) and KANAZAWA (1989: 35). Yet Appayya, probably taking a cue from his commentandum author Amalānanda, strives to show how the SK could also be thought of as a Devatā-kāṇḍa. The difference between him and V-D is in respect of the identity of the inaccessible text and the degree to which a discussion of deities is to be read in the SK. Appayya had no access to a Devatā-kāṇḍa (in fact, he does not even entertain the thought that there could be a distinct text with that name), whereas V-D had no access to the SK or Madhya-kāṇḍa. For Appayya, the SK can be viewed as a book on *devatā*s because concern with *devatā*s frequently surfaces in it (*devatā-vicāra-bhūyastvāt*). V-D's statements give us the impression that, in his view, the SK or Madhya-kāṇḍa was entirely about *devatā*s.

Khaṇḍa-deva's Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā and Bhāṭṭa-kaustubha, Bhāskara-rāya's completion of the former and Śambhu-bhaṭṭa's commentary on the same fall in one group.

Khaṇḍa-deva (around 1640 AD; p. I.1 of A. MAHADEVA SASTRI's edn), Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā: […] *jaiminir ācāryaḥ sakala-vidyopakāri-dharma-mīmāṃsāṃ* "*athāto dharma-jijñāsā*" *ity ārabhya* "*vidyate vānya-kālatvāt yathā yājyā-samspreṣaḥ*" *ity-antaiḥ sūtraiḥ bahv-adhikaraṇa-garbhitāṃ ṣoḍaśa -lakṣaṇīm abhyarhitāṃ vidyāṃ prakaṭī-cakāra*.
Śambhu-bhaṭṭa, (around 1695 AD; p. 43b of the Nirnaya Sagar Press edn, 1921, according to SARMA 1963: xiv–xv), Prabhāvalī: "*athāto dharma-jijñāsā*" *ity-ādinā jaimini-praṇītā dvādaśādhyāyī saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍātmikā catur-adhyāyī ca karma-mīmāṃsā*.
Bhāskara-rāya (around 1710 AD; p. 126 of the Paṇḍita edn), Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā complementation: *tad evaṃ ṣoḍaśabhir adhyāyaiḥ ṣaṭ-saptatyā pādair bhagavatā jaimininā nirūpitau dharmādharmau*.

D-S's commentary, with the SK included in it to a significant extent, was available in some form to Bhāskara-rāya (cf. SARMA 1963: xix, SSS 1965: Prastāvanā p. vii), a resident of Vārāṇasī. Since Khaṇḍa-deva and Śambhu-bhaṭṭa also resided in Vārāṇasī and were not far removed from Bhāskara-rāya in time and since Śambhu-bhaṭṭa refers to the SK *sūtra*s by *adhikaraṇa* and number (SARMA 1963: xi), it would be justified to assume that D-S's *bhāṣya* was (in some form) available to them as well. All three must have had access also to at least one SK *sūtra-pāṭha* manuscript, in part if not in full (indirect confirmation in SSS 1965: vi). However, the way they write about, cite or comment on the SK does not indicate any awareness of it as a text primarily dealing with deities.

Thus, Lariviere was right in casting doubt on the strength of the sources pressed into service by Sarma to support the ascription of the SK to Jaimini, but he need not have done so only by pointing out the late dates of the sources. A consideration of what was actually available to the authors concerned and what could have possibly misled or confused them would have strengthened his doubt and might have led him to reject Sarma's conclusion or to accept it in a limited way.

§2.3 An objection that may be raised on the basis of another remark of LARIVIERE (1981: 186) would, however, be without any real foundation. He advises us that

> The strongest evidence for Jaimini's authorship are D-S's attribution in his commentary and the colophons at the end of the chapters of the unique [?; compare SSS (1965: vi)], incomplete manuscript of the SK.

As far as I could determine, D-S does not attribute the SK to Jaimini in his commentary.[36] Lariviere seems to have assumed that the title in

36 (a) D-S does not attribute the SK to KK either, but this could be so because he had already specified the authorship in his (as yet undiscovered) commentary on the MS. According to the PH, the tradition of commenting separately on the MS began after Śabara's time. However, even in the case of Śabara, the intention does not seem to have been to stop after commenting on the MS. See §2.4 below.
(b) D-S (p. 108) mentions KK in a verse. The verse could be a citation (from Upavarṣa?) or a *saṅgraha-śloka* composed by D-S himself. It does not in itself prove that D-S viewed KK as the author of the SK. However, it would favor KK's authorship of the SK more than anyone else's authorship, because KK appears in it as the proponent of the final view.

SSS's edn is an exact or nearly exact reproduction of what was found in the relevant manuscripts, that the title could not have come from the editor, a modern manuscript researcher or cataloger, or a relatively recent scribe, and that the wording of the title ultimately goes back to D-S. While one cannot rule out the possibilities expressed in the first two clauses of the preceding sentence, the third one, which is of crucial importance in the present context, can be set aside without hesitation. A title like *saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa-bhāṣyaṃ deva-svāmi-kr̥tam*, preceded by *jaimini-praṇīta-* or *śrī-jaimini-praṇīta-,* can *perhaps* be thought of as coming from D-S, but the title *atha śrī-jaimini-muni-praṇītaḥ saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍaḥ śrī-deva-svāmi-viracita-bhāṣya-sametaḥ* that is found in SSS's edn could not have been of D-S' making. It has the stamp of coinage by a modern editor. It is also highly improbable that D-S would use *śrī* before his own name.

Further, nowhere in the SK manuscript used by Sarma do we find an ascription to Jaimini. The colophons of the first four *pāda*s read *saṅkarṣe prathamasya prathamaḥ / dvitīyaḥ / tr̥tīyaḥ / caturthaḥ pādaḥ*, that is, they contain no author specification. Thereafter, the manuscript has only the first *sūtra* of the first *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*. As Sarma notes, the manuscript ends abruptly "in the middle of the obverse of folio 21." The surviving beginning is also abrupt. The first seven syllables of the first *sūtra* are missing. Sarma's note 1 cannot but indicate that the words *jaimini-maharṣi-praṇītaṃ saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍam* (and titles like *atha prathamādhyāye prathamaḥ pādaḥ*) are supplied by him as the editor.

As far as authorship attestation is concerned, the case of the paper manuscript given by V. Raghavan to SSS and used by the latter for his edn (cf. 1965: vi) does not seem to have been different.

§2.4 The next objection to accepting someone other than Jaimini as the author of the SK would have its origin in the following observation of CHATTERJEE (1932: 225–226):

> […] the fact that Śabara says: *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* (12.2.11) would lead one to suppose that according to Śabara the SK is also from the pen of the author of the MSs.

Echoing this, RAMASWAMI SASTRI (1936: Introduction p. 13 n. 2) writes: "Śabara-svāmin refers to the SK in his *bhāṣya* 12.2.11: *iti saṅkarṣe*

vakṣyati, which proves that the SK *sūtra*s are from the pen of Jaimini […]" SARMA (1963: xv), who reasons similarly, is more elaborate. Introducing another reference by Ś abara (under MS 10.4.32) into the discussion, he writes:

> Śabara's quoting these *sūtra*s with the words *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyate* and *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* […] in the same manner as he quotes in his *bhāṣya* any posterior *sūtra* in the Dvādaśa-lakṣaṇī without the mention of the author in the sense *iti (sūtrakāreṇa jaimininā) vakṣyate* and *iti (sūtrakāro jaiminiḥ) vakṣyati,* tends [→ leads?] to the natural deduction that here too he means only *iti saṅkarṣe (sūtrakāreṇa jaimininā) vakṣyate* and *iti saṅkarṣe (sūtrakāro jaiminiḥ) vakṣyati.*

Finally, R. THANGASWAMI SARMA (1996: 210), referring only to Śabara under MS 10.4.32, offers a nearly identical argument.

Under MS 10.4.32, Śabara writes:

> *tathā "agniṃ sviṣṭakṛtaṃ yajati" iti vidhau, nigame 'pi "prīhi* […] *yajiṣṭha" iti vidhi-nigama-bhedaḥ prakṛtau kṛtaḥ. sviṣṭakṛd-vikāraś ca vanaspatir iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyate.*[37] *tasmāt tatrāpi vidhi-nigama-bhedaḥ kartavyaḥ. ato yena kenacit vanaspaty-abhidhānena nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ.*

'Use of synonyms is permitted in the derived rite, since nonfixity is found in the base rite' is the point of Śabara's discussion. The corresponding SK discussion that Ś abara's remark expects us to read is found in SK 2.4.39, *sviṣṭakṛd-vikāre yājyāyāṃ devat ānigamāḥ syuḥ prakṛty-upabandhāt,* and D-S's explanation of it: ***sviṣṭakṛd-vikāre*** *vanaspatau* ***yājyāyāṃ devatā-nigamāḥ syuḥ*** *neti* [→ *na veti*] *vicāryate.*[38] Here, Śabara's first word is found in the *sūtra* (and as a cited word in D-S's commentary), but the distinctive detail *vanaspatau* is found only in D-S's commentary on which Śabara's commentary is based according to the PH and several parallels of details (cf. SARMA 1963: xix; SUBRAH-

37 I have deliberately not put quotation marks around *sviṣṭakṛd-vikāraś ca vanaspatiḥ.* The *ca* in this sentence is meant to join the sentence with Śabara's preceding sentence. It is unlikely to be a part of the quotation. Śabara should thus be understood as giving us a gist of the SK statement with two crucial words, not making a verbatim reference.

38 Sarma's SK *sūtra-pāṭha* is not separately available after the first *sūtra* of the second *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*. Therefore, the *sūtra* text here is what SSS extracted from D-S's commentary and what he found, presumably, in the manuscript of Bhāskararāya's commentary he received from V. Raghavan.

MANYA SASTRĪ 1965: viii). Therefore, it would be fair to assume that Śabara's reference was primarily directed at a commentary, quite probably his own planned or drafted commentary (that has unfortunately not come down to us).

The text of Śabara 12.2.11 goes thus:

> *nanu naiva paśor haviṣkrd asti.* ***auṣadhārthā avahananārthā vā yathā patnī tulyā śrūyate*** *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyati. prakr̥tau yadi sarvārthā ājyauṣadha -sānnāyyārthā ity-evaṃ kr̥tvā cintyate. kr̥tvā-cinteyam.*[39]

The expectation created by this is met by SK 1.1.30–37 generally and by SK 1.1.35–37 particularly. The corresponding SK passages can be shown as follows, following SSS:

> 35: *sarva-karmaṇāṃ daivī haviṣkr̥d ehīti aviśeṣeṇa śrūyate*. 36: *avahananārthaṃ vā yathā patnī tulyā śrūyate*. 37: *artha-vāda-mātraṃ vā vāco haviṣkr̥ttvaṃ*, *yathā-śvinor bāhubhyāṃ nirvapāmīti.*[40]

D-S's commentary on the three *sūtra*s, with words shared with the *sūtra*s in regular type, reads as follows:

> 35: ***daivī haviṣkr̥t aviśeṣeṇ****ājyauṣadhi-sānnāyyānām adr̥ṣṭa-****karma****-vyapadeśo bhavati*.
> 36: ***auṣadhārtha****iva daivy api haviṣkr̥t syāt,* ***yathā patnī****. tathā hi* ***tulya****vad āmnāyate*.
> 37: *na ca dr̥ṣṭe sambhavati adr̥ṣṭa-kalpanā nyāyyā. tasmāt* ***patny****-abhidhānam eva yuktam iti. paśu-puroḍāśe ca* ***haviṣkr̥t****ā vācaṃ visr̥jya paśuṃ viśāsti* [→ *viśasati*?] (*iti*) *ānāhvānam* [→ *anā*°?] *ājye darśayati. ājyārthaṃ ced āhvā nam abhaviṣyat tenaiva prasaṅgāt kārya-siddheḥ puroḍāśārthaṃ nāvakalpate* [→ °*kalpeta*?] *adr̥ṣṭaṃ caitat. tasmāt* ***auṣadhārthaiva haviṣkr̥****t* – '***patny*** *eva* ***haviṣkr̥t****' – iti. tathā ca kr̥-*

39 Only two editions are accessible to me for the relevant part of Śabara's *bhāṣya*. Above I have reproduced the readings in Maheshchandra Nyāya-ratna's edn. Ratna Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's readings differ only in minor respects: absence of *nanu, patnīvat* for *patnī,* and *tulyavac chrūyate* for *tulyā śrūyate*.

40 As I will suggest below, it would have been better if SSS had reconstructed no. 36 as *auṣadhārthā āhvānārthā* | *anāhvānārthā vā yathā patnī tulyā śrūyate,* but this difference would have no implication for the specific question we are trying to answer here: Which is the main referent of Ś abara's remark, the text of the SK *sūtra*s or the text of a commentary thereon? Further, the slight difference of reading may disappear when both the texts (D-S *bhāṣya* and Śabara's *bhāṣya*) are edited in a truly critical manner.

> *tvā-cintayā darśitam – haviṣkṛt savanīyeṣu na syāt prakṛtau yadi sarvārthā –* [PMS 12.2.11] *iti*.

Here, the first two sentences of the *bhāṣya*, the ones printed under 35 and 36, are not well-preserved as the lack of proper syntax between their words indicates. Secondly, instead of giving *avahananārtham* as a reading of the SK, SSS should have explored the alternative of emending the printed Śābara-bhāṣya text to *āhvānārthā/anāhvānārthā.* There is no reflection of *avahanana* in D-S's comment (instead we have *abhidhānam, vācaṃ visṛjya, anāhvānam* and *āhvānam*). It is also not clear how the sense of *avahanana* would fit the context (compare KEVALĀNANDA-SARASVATĪ 1953: II.1022–1025, where a related discussion reproduced from later works contains no *avahanana*). Further, it is unexpected that SSS did not think of including *auṣadhārthā* in the reconstructed *sūtra* when that word is present in Śabara's citation as well as D-S's explanation and the use of *vā* indicates the need for a grammatically resembling word.

Even with such problems of SSS's or his source's *sūtra* reading, it is evident that the 'load-bearing' words of what Śabara quotes as existing in the SK tally primarily with the *sūtra-pāṭha* than with the *bhāṣya-pāṭha*. As D-S glosses *yathā* […] *tulyā* with *tulyavat* and *śrūyate* with *āmnāyate*, we would be justified in taking *tulyā yathā srūyate* as the *sūtra* words he had before him. Since *patnī* occurs twice and in one of those occurrences it occurs after *yathā,* which, being a conjunctive particle, needs it to complete the simile or analogy structure, we should have no problem with accepting *yathā patnī tulyā śrūyate* as a valid clause of the *sūtra*. The use of *anāhvāna* and *āhvāna* in the *bhāṣya* suggests that D-S must have had *āhvānārtha* or *anāhvānārtha,* with *auṣadhārthā* as the first word, in his commentandum. Thus, *auṣadhārthā āhvānārthā / anāhvānārthā vā yathā patnī tulyā śrūyate* is thoroughly defensible as a SK *sūtra*. Its agreement with Śabara's citation from the SK is almost hundred per cent (see note 40). We can then conclude that Śabara's first reference is to a commentary on the SK (probably his own planned or drafted commentary) and his second reference is to the SK itself.

§2.5 The conclusion just drawn supports the reasoning of Chatterjee, Ramaswami Sastri and Sarma in part, that is, as far as the case of Śabara's SK reference under MS 12.2.11 is concerned. There Śabara can be said

to refer to the SK author as he refers to the MS author and hence to assume that the SK author is the same person as Jaimini. Such an argument, being based on a text and not on some modern reconstruction of Mīmāṃsā history, would be objective. Further, the following consideration would add to its weight: Ś abara uses *vakṣyate,* a future passive third person singular form of root *vac,* when he refers to a commentary author, and he uses *vakṣyati,* a future active third person singular form, when he refers to a commentandum author. I have been able to establish the existence of a convention in 'active : passive' usage in the case of Rāmānuja's Śrī-bhāṣya (see AKLUJKAR 2011: note 28) and I am reasonably confident that there are other commentaries in which it is attested.

Even so, would the argument be so strong that it would rule out KK's authorship? Upavarṣa was Ś abara's predecessor, probably much distant in time, earlier than even D-S (cf. PH, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka edn p. 27). If the line cited by Rāmānuja and attributable to Upavarṣa can be shown (as I have in §1.7) to have the potential to accommodate (without any linguistic acrobatics) an extended sense of *jaiminīya* that covered both the MS and SK, Śabara, too, can be thought of as ascribing the two texts to Jaimini without meaning to convey that Jaimini was their 'author' in one and the same sense. What the evidence from Śabara would then support will not be the proposition that the tradition of Jaimini's authorship, in the more common sense of "author," is older but the proposition that the extended sense of *jaiminīya* made probable by Sureśvara's statement is older than Sureśvara. The possibility that that sense reaches back in time to Ś abara cannot then be ruled out, and a researcher will be free to take the position that Śabara referred to the MS author and the SK author with the active form because he assumed Jaimini to be the author of the 'MS : SK' pair only in a general way, without rejecting Jaimini's primary authorship of the MS or KK's primary authorship of the SK. In other words, the argument of Chatterjee *et al* would become inconclusive as to the issue we wish to resolve here, the issue of primary or principal authorship.

Secondly, it is not definite yet if the convention of alluding to a commentandum author with an active form and to a commentary author with a passive form has for its basis historically different authors or awareness of only functionally different authors (i.e., *personae* as distinct from persons). What happens when an author writes a commentary on his own *mūla* text? Does he refer to what he will state in a later part

of his commentandum with an active future tense form and to what he will state in his explanation and elaboration of the commentandum (that is, in his *vr̥tti*-type commentary) with a passive form? From the *svopajña vr̥tti*s to which we have access this seems to be the case. In a few of these *vr̥tti*s, the authors even distance themselves from the commentandum author by calling him *ācārya* (AKLUJKAR 2008: nn. 55–56). The primary purpose of maintaining the 'active : passive' distinction, therefore, seems to have been to help the reader in locating the passage referred to – to save him or her the trouble of going through the commentandum text as well as the commentary text (an understandable need in the age of circulation of a text in manuscripts, in which pagination and text divisions could not remain the same) – not to indicate actual-world author differences. Thus, whoever authored the continuation of the MS can also come in the reference range of *vakṣyati* without the implication that he is the same real-life person as the MS author, and we have to part company with LARIVIERE (1981: 190) when he says the following:

> […] the words *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyate* (10.4.32) and *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* (12.2.2) should not be interpreted to mean *iti* (*mayā*) *saṅkarṣe* (*bhāṣye*) *vakṣyate*, but as SARMA suggested [1963: xiii–xiv] *iti saṅkarṣe* (*sūtrakāreṇa jaimininā*) *vakṣyate*.[41]

§2.6 There are two remarks concerning back-references or cross-references in the triad formed by the MS, SK and BS that may be seen as a ground for favoring Jaimini's authorship or rejecting KK's authorship. SARMA (1963: xv), noting that Bādarāyaṇa's *tad uktam* refers to Jaimini's work, proposes that BS 3.3.43 (*pradānavad eva tad uktam*), taken by older *bhāṣya* authors as referring to SK 2.2.35–36 (*teṣāṃ saha-pradānam avadānaikatvāt* and *nānā vā devatā-pr̥thaktvāt / devatā-pr̥thag-jñānāt)* should also be taken as referring to a work of Jaimini. Sarma does not specify which MS *sūtra* will serve as the appropriate target or locus.

41 There is a little imbalance or lack of (expected) symmetry in this remark of Lariviere. It can be removed easily by removing "and *iti saṅkarṣe vakṣyati* (12.2.2)" from his sentence. The other alternative would be to add "and *iti (ahaṃ) saṅkarṣe vakṣyāmi"* before the 'but' clause and "and *iti saṅkarṣe (sūtrakāro) vakṣyati"* at the end of the sentence. The first addition would presuppose that Śabara is in the habit of referring to himself in the third person. The second would be contextually uncalled for, since no party to the discussion has proposed that *vakṣyati* should have anyone other than *jaiminiḥ* as its subject. Others mean Jaimini as a historical person. I mean Jaimini as an author *persona*. That is the only difference.

Even if a corresponding *sūtra* were to be found, his argument would remain weak, because the assumption that the phrase *tad uktam* in all of its occurrences in the BS refers to the MS is not correct. For example, BS 1.3.21 and 2.1.31 have (justifiably) been taken to refer to BS 1.2.7 and 2.1.27 by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Vallabha. In BS 3.3.8, Śaṅkara and Vallabha understand the connection to be with BS 3.3.7, whereas Rāmānuja connects the *sūtra* with Chāndogya Upaniṣad 1 (see AKLUJKAR 2011: §2.15f. for a broader discussion of the *tad uktam sūtra*s). Clearly, *tad uktam* performs only the function the past tense element in it would lead us to expect: reference to something that has already been stated (with no restriction of the reference to a particular author or source). The employment of *uktam* in numerous other *śāstra* texts (e.g. Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya) is similar.

§2.7 The second remark comes from CHATTERJEE (1932: 225–226):

> […] the SK as published from Benares contains nothing like the view attributed to KK by Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahma-sūtras, and though the SK is fairly early, […] it is still difficult to hold that KK is its author.

That Chatterjee should suspect this sort of incongruity at the time he wrote his article is understandable. He had only Bhāskara-raya's extremely brief presentation of the SK to go by. Now that we have a fuller text accompanied by D-S's commentary and, as demonstrated in AKLUJKAR 'a,' scope for a comprehensive and more precise determination of the interrelationship of the MS, SK and BS, we can be certain that BS 1.4.22 (*avasthiter iti kāśakr̥tsnaḥ*) does not have to refer to any thought *specifically* in the SK. Just as Bādarāyaṇa refers to Jaimini's views beyond the pale of PM (and Jaimini to Bādarāyaṇa's views beyond the pale of UM), Bādarāyaṇa refers to the SK author's UM views (and the SK author refers to Bādarāyaṇa's Karma-mīmāṃsā views that are relevant in the non-Tantra part of Karma-mīmāṃsā; cf. SK 2.1.52, 2.3.21, 3.2.38). Absence of a SK *sūtra* meeting the expectation generated by a BS *sūtra*, thus, has no bearing on the authorship issue, unless we are explicitly advised in the reference that the *sūtra* concerned occurs in the SK or occurs in the SK written by such and such person. This is not the case with the BS-made reference specified by Chatterjee.

§2.8 I hope it will now be accepted that ascribing the SK to KK is more in keeping with the available evidence than ascribing it to Jaimini. I do not need to discuss the other SK authorship contenders such as Saṅkarṣa, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Śaṅkara and Vyāsa. The studies by Lariviere and Kanazawa establish that none of these could be the author of the genuine SK.

Another view I do not need to discuss is contained in the following remark of ITŌ (1984) that is accessible to me only through the translation in KANAZAWA (1989: 38):

> Although views have been current ascribing its authorship to Jaimini, Vyāsa or Kāśakr̥tsna, it is of course not at all possible to consider that any of these should have composed the SK. It was, after all, probably compiled by the Mīmāṃsā school at a time not all that long after the [compilation of the] Jaimini-sūtra.

This view stands by itself in that it denies individual authorship altogether. It can be adopted only if one is willing to take the position that no historical information is preserved in the tradition regarding authorship in the case of the SK. Such a position would be extreme. It would contradict a sizable body of evidence. It would also be self-defeating. If the SK has no individual author, nor will the MS or BS. Besides, as suggested at the end of AKLUJKAR 'a,' the hypothesis of schools periodically updating their founder's texts is at best a case of over-generalization on the basis of a few pieces of evidence. The evidence can be accounted for through the admission of changes that normally take place in transmitting texts orally or through manuscripts. What we know about life in ancient India in general and about intellectual life in particular indicates neither a need for editing bodies lasting over a long duration nor any features that could be accounted for only by assuming the existence of such bodies.

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BS = Brahma-sūtra, Uttara-mīmāṃsā-sūtra, Vedānta-sūtra.

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D-S = Deva-svāmin.

edn = edition

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Khaṇḍa-deva: see under Jaimini.

KK = Kāśakṛtsna.

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Madhu-sūdana-sarasvatī: see under *Prapañca-hṛdaya*.

MS = Mīmāṃsā-sūtra or Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra.

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Paritrāṇa: see Vedānta-deśika. Mīmāṃsā-pādukā.

PH: see *Prapañca-hṛdaya*.

PM = Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Karma-mīmāṃsā, Dharma-mīmāṃsā as a śāstra, system or school (= PMS); in certain contexts the same as the text Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra or MS.

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SSS = see S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

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UM = Uttara-mīmāṃsā.

V-D = Vedānta-deśika.

Vedānta-deśika: see Rāmānuja.

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Vīra-rāghavācārya, Uttamur T.: see Vīra-rāghavācārya, also Vedānta-deśika.

ELI FRANCO

Once Again on the Desires of the Buddha*

yady asti karuṇā, kathaṃ vītarāgo bhaviṣyāmi?
Kapālīka to Śākyabhikṣu in Matavilāsa, after vs. 12

The contradiction, or apparent contradiction, between feeling compassion and being without desires is a topic that repeatedly found its way into discussions about the Buddha. Indeed, while editing the Spitzer Manuscript, I stumbled again upon this debate in the form of an interesting but certainly not unique fragment, and yet again I realized that this topic must have been a persistent, nagging problem. This prompted a short paper, in which I examined this and a few other cases.[1]

Among these was a debate between the Theravādins(?) and the Uttarapāthakas preserved in the Kathāvatthu. The latter claim that the Buddha felt no compassion because he had no desires, and interestingly, in this case it seems that the discussion ends with their victory. However, the most well-known discussion of this topic appears in the commentary to verse 12 of the Svārthānumāna chapter of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. This verse and Dharmakīrti's auto-commentary thereon had already been discussed by John Dunne, and on the whole I subscribed to his interpretation.[2] According to Dunne's (and my) understanding, Dharmakīrti accepted[3] that the Buddha did have desires.

* I wish to express my gratitude to John Taber who kindly read the first draft of this paper and made very helpful and encouraging remarks.

1 Cf. FRANCO 2004a.

2 Cf. DUNNE 1996.

3 I am not sure how to qualify this acceptance; Dunne says it is stunning, I qualified it as courageous, it may also be seen as a bit grudging, and according to my current reading (cf. below), it serves a rhetorical purpose.

To my delight, my short paper elicited a number of critical and thought-provoking responses from several friends,[4] and thus I would like to take this opportunity to clarify a few points. I am grateful to the editors, Vincent Eltschinger, Danielle Feller and François Voegeli for inviting me to participate in this volume dedicated to our most prolific and much appreciated colleague Johannes Bronkhorst, who has always enjoyed lively controversies and perhaps will enjoy this friendly discussion (*sambhāṣa*) as well.

The first critical response was penned by John Taber in his contribution to the Fourth International Dharmakīrti Conference, "Did Dharmakīrti think the Buddha had desires?" (TABER 2011 (written in 2005, but published only recently)), in which he presents the discussion in its context with impeccable clarity. He suggests that there are two different ways of reading this passage that actually point to the opposite conclusion, namely that "Dharmakīrti really did not hold compassion to be desire in the sense of some kind of passionate feeling in the Buddha's case" (TABER 2011: 439).

Taber's first point is crystal-clear (TABER 2011: 339):

> Dharmakīrti at PV(SV) I.12 couldn't mean that the Buddha was possessed of desire insofar as he was compassionate because that would defeat the purpose he wants to achieve, namely, to cite the Buddha as a counterexample to the generalization that no one ever speaks without desire!

Taber's point is undisputable, but I dare say that this was also clear to Dunne and me when we wrote our papers. So how could we have claimed the opposite? Or did we? Obviously, we were not talking about the same thing.

Although the passage in question has been quoted and translated several times, I will repeat it here for the reader's convenience[5] (PVSV 9.1–20):

4 The most critical response to date came from Ernst Steinkellner, who considers the discussion closed and Dunne's and my interpretation only an 'episode' in the history of Dharmakīrti research. I am grateful to Steinkellner for sending me his richly annotated forthcoming translation of the PVSV.

5 Needless to say, the translation that follows differs in several details from previous translations.

vipakṣe 'dṛṣṭimātreṇa kāryasāmānyadarśanāt, hetujñānaṃ pramā-ṇābhaṃ vacanād rāgitādivat ||12|| *na hi rāgādīnām eva kāryaṃ spanda-navacanādayaḥ, vaktukāmatāsāmānyahetutvāt. sa eva rāga iti cet, iṣṭa-tvān na kiṃcid bādhitaṃ syāt. nityasukhātmātmīyadarśanākṣiptaṃ sāsravadharmaviṣayaṃ cetaso 'bhiṣvaṅgaṃ rāgam āhuḥ. naivaṃ karu-ṇādayo 'nyathāpi saṃbhavād iti nivedayiṣyāmaḥ. atra yathā rakto bra-vīti tathā virakto 'pīti vacanamātrād apratipattiḥ. nāpi viśeṣāt, abhiprā-yasya durbodhatvāt, vyavahārasaṃkareṇa sarveṣāṃ vyabhicārāt. prayojanābhāvād avyāhāra iti cet, na, parārthatvāt. na yukto vītarā-gatvād iti cet, na karuṇayāpi vṛtteḥ. saiva rāga iti cet, iṣṭam, avipa-ryāsasamudbhavān na doṣaḥ. asaty apy ātmagrahe duḥkha-viśeṣadarśanamātreṇābhyāsabalotpādinī bhavaty eva karuṇā. tathā hi, sattvadharmādyālambanā maitryādaya iṣyante. etāś ca sajātīyābhyā-savṛttayo na rāgāpekṣiṇyaḥ. naivaṃ rāgādayo viparyāsābhāve 'bhāvāt. kāruṇikasya api niṣphala ārambho 'viparyāsād iti cet, na, parārtha-syaiva phalatveneṣṭatvāt. icchālakṣaṇatvāt phalasya. sarvathābhūtā-samāropān nirdoṣaḥ. tadanyena doṣavattvasādhane na kiṃcid aniṣṭam.*

"The (inferential) cognition of a cause due to the observation of a common result merely because one does not see (the reason) in a dissimilar example has only the appearance of a valid cognition, just like (the inference that the Buddha) has desires because he speaks.

The movement (of the lips), utterances and so forth are not only a result of desires, etc., because being desirous to speak is a cause which is common (to both those who have desire and those who don't).

[Objection:] Precisely that, (being desirous to speak, implies) desire.

[Reply:] Because this is accepted (by us,) nothing would be harmed (in our position). (Those who know)[6] call desire the attachment of the mind, which has the defiled elements of existence as an object, which is caused by seeing (erroneously, what is impermanent, suffering, not the self, and does not belong to the self as) permanent, pleasure, the self and what belongs to the self. Compassion and so forth are not (necessarily) so because they arise otherwise, too. We will show this (later on). Here (in this world,) just as the passionate (person) speaks, so does the impassionate one, too. Therefore, it is not apprehended from speech/utterance as such (whether one is passionate or dispassionate). Nor (is it apprehended) from a special type (of utterance,) because the intention (behind

6 PVṬ 52.9: *āhur vidvāṃsaḥ*.

the utterance) can hardly be known. For all (utterances) are doubtful (as inferential indicators of desires) because (linguistic) activity is a mixed group [i.e. some arise from desire and some don't].

[Objection:] (One who is completely free of desires) does not speak, because he has no motivation (whatsoever to speak).

[Reply:] No, (he is motivated) because (he speaks) for the sake of others.

[Objection:] He does not engage himself (in speaking for the sake of others, because he has no attachment for others, precisely) because he is free of desires.

[Reply:] No, because (engagement for the sake of others) occurs out of compassion, too.

[Objection:] Precisely that (compassion) is desire.

[Reply:] Agreed. (However) it is not a blemish (in the Buddha,) because it does not arise from an error. Even when there is no apprehension of the Self, compassion which is produced by repeated practice arises indeed by seeing special suffering [i.e., *saṃskāraduḥkhatā*]. To wit, (the four immeasurables [*apramāṇa*],)[7] friendliness and so forth, are accepted as having as their support living beings, elements of existence[8] and so on.[9] And these,[10] (friendliness and so forth), inasmuch as they occur as a result of (previous) repeated practice of similar (mental states), do not depend on desire. (On the other hand,) desire and so forth are not so because they do not arise when there is no error.

[Objection:] For the compassionate person, too, undertaking (of activity) is fruitless because there is no error.[11]

7 On the *apramāṇas*, cf. the magisterial study of MAITHRIMURTHI 1999.

8 GILLON & HAYES (2008: 339), however, understand *dharma* here as "virtue."

9 Karṇakagomin (PVṬ 53.8) glosses *ādi* with *anālambana*; he probably means that the object, which is a 'non-object,' is *dharmanairātmya* or *śūnyatā*. He relates three types of persons to the three objects of meditation: ordinary people have living beings as their objective support, the Śrāvakas have the *dharmas*, and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas *anālambana*.

10 Taber's understanding of this statement seems to be different (TABER 2011: 411): "The latter (*etāḥ*) – i.e., those states based on *dharmas* – arise from the repetition of similar kinds of states (*sajātīyābhyāsavṛttayaḥ*), not *kleśa*s like desire." In my understanding, the meditative states in relation to living beings (*sattva*) are not excluded here.

11 The text is uncertain. I follow Gnoli and Malvania, who follow Karṇakagomin, in reading *'viparyāsāt*. The Tibetan translation, followed by Steinkellner, presupposes

[Reply:] No, because precisely the purpose of other (living beings) is accepted as a fruit (of activity). For the fruit is characterized by the wish.[12] In any case, (the Buddha) is without fault, because he does not superimpose (something real) on something unreal. If one proves the faultiness of (the Buddha) by anything other than that (superimposition), there is nothing unacceptable (to us)."[13]

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viparyāsāt. Steinkellner discusses the variants at some length and points out that Śākyabuddhi reads *viparyāsāt* and that a parallel passage in PVin III as well as Dharmottara's commentary thereon also presuppose *viparyāsāt* (the original Sanskrit is unfortunately not preserved). Nevertheless, it seems to me that '*viparyāsāt* is the better reading in this context. Following from the previous sentence, where it is said that *rāga* does not arise (for the *vītarāga*) because he has no error (*viparyāsābhāve*), it is natural for the opponent to retort that for the *kāruṇika*, too (*api*), because he has no *rāga* and thus is free of error, such activity would be fruitless. Further, when one continues from this sentence to the next, it is also more natural to read that there is no error, because the next sentence mentions the purpose of others and the fruit; presumably they would not have been mentioned if the compassionate one had an error (i.e., a notion of the Self, etc.). One must also relate this sentence to the one in line 10: *prayojanābhāvād avyavahāra iti cet*. There, the opponent objects that (linguistic) activity would not be possible. Here, in contrast, he concedes that it might be possible, but claims that it would be fruitless: it would be a strange kind of activity without desire, spontaneous, automatic, 'zombie-like;' it would not be conditioned by the perception of living beings, but at most by the perception of the *dharma*s, or perhaps not even that (cf. *ādi*). One additional point in favour of *'viparyāsāt* is that neither Śākyabuddhi nor Dharmottara is able to construe a convincing example for the error of a compassionate person.

12 That is, the fruit of an activity depends on what one wishes to achieve by that activity.

13 This translation is tentative, for I differ here from Karṇakagomin (PVṬ 53:30): *tadanyena rāgādibhyo 'nyena vaktukāmatādinā*. In this case, one would have to translate: "In a proof of faultiness by something other than desire etc., [i.e., by being desirous to speak and so on], nothing is harmed." The disadvantage of Karṇakagomin's statement is that the anaphoric *tad* in *tadanyena* does not refer to anything in its close vicinity, and that the whole sentence becomes somewhat redundant, for it does not state anything which has not been said before. I propose therefore that *tad* refers to *abhūtāsamāropa* in the previous sentence. Perhaps the reason why Karṇakagomin does not suggest this interpretation is because it implies a very strong statement on Dharmakīrti's part: As long as the knowledge of the Buddha is accepted, any other faults one may find in him do not harm our position; what matters to us is only the knowledge of the Buddha. However, even according to Karnakagomin's interpretation Dharmakirti's statement remains quite strong: Any fault except error and desire (in Dharmakirti's sense) that may be proved to be present in

Clearly Dharmakīrti uses two different concepts of desire in this discussion, the one proposed by the proponent, the other by the opponent, and Dharmakīrti consents that the opponent's use of the term 'desire' (*rāga*) is perhaps not desirable, but certainly possible and even acceptable (*iṣṭa*). When Dunne and I said that Dharmakīrti accepted that the Buddha had desires, we were referring to 'desire' in the opponent's sense of the term. On the other hand, when Dharmakīrti uses the Buddha as an example for a person free of desires, he uses the concept in the proponent's sense of the term. Furthermore, the proponent uses the term 'desire,' or more precisely, the term 'being without desire,' in a newly defined way, which, as far as I can see, is unprecedented and arbitrary. I will return to this in a moment.

Taber's first solution to the problem presented by the passage under discussion, in which he partly relies on studies by PECCHIA (2008) and IWATA 2011, is that compassion is desire for ordinary people, but not for Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. The reason is that the latter kind of compassion does not arise from misconceptions about reality, but from previous practice of compassion.

> Thus, since ordinary compassion is what we are for the most part familiar with, it is right to say that compassion is a kind of desire. But since compassion need not arise from any misconception about reality – since it also 'arises otherwise' – and since it actually is not based on any misconception in the case of the Buddha and other enlightened beings, it is properly speaking not a form of desire in their case. In admitting that compassion [of ordinary people][14] can be a kind of desire, then, Dharmakīrti is no way conceding that the Buddha was possessed of desire, for compassion in that sense did not pertain to him. (TABER 2011: 442)

Taber's statement, however, misses the point of the discussion. While it is true that according to Dharmakīrti, the lack of error distinguishes the Buddha's compassion from that of ordinary people, what Dharmakīrti admits (and I assume we are both referring here to the words *iṣṭatvāt*, *iṣṭam*, etc.) does not concern the compassion of ordinary people, but of the Buddha himself.

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the Buddha is acceptable. Dharmakirti's statement, as interpreted by Karṇakagomin, is also discussed in GILLON (forthc. §5.3.3), where he concludes, "What Dharmakīrti meant to say by this statement remains a mystery."

14 This is my addition, but I believe it is clear from the previous sentences.

TABER's second solution (cf. p. 443) is to suggest that Dharmakīrti is making a distinction between different kinds of desires according to their intensity, i.e., also in the case of the Buddha compassion does not fall entirely outside the realm of desire, but the Buddha has a different kind of desire than ordinary people.

> It [desire] can include anything from a craving for something like drugs or alcohol, to the urge to provide for and protect one's children, to a perception of what one ought to do in a certain situation. Surely we should distinguish the different kinds of motivation that fall within the range of wanting. (TABER 2011: 443) […] I may decide to attend a faculty meeting, for example, out of a belief that it is my responsibility to do so, not because I think I will derive some enjoyment from attending the meeting. As G. F. Schueler puts it, I act out of a 'pro attitude' to attend the faculty meeting, not a 'desire proper' (Schueler 1995: 34–35). (TABER 2011: 444)

Taber's move is to solve this apparent contradiction in Dharmakīrti's text by distinguishing different meanings or shades of meanings in the Sanskrit terms used by Dharmakīrti in this passage, such as *rāga*, *kāma*, *icchā* and *abhiṣvaṅga*. Thus, already at the beginning of his paper he suggests that *rāga* should not be translated by the English word "passion," but rather by "desire":

> I think 'desire' is more apt [translation for *rāga*], because sometimes it is used to refer to intentions less heated, if you will, than what we normally call passion – in fact, as I hope to show, Dharmakīrti's discussion could turn on precisely this point.[15]

In a similar vein Taber translates *vaktukāmatā* as "wishing to speak."

My understanding of PVSV 12 is somewhat different. Dharmakīrti's point is not about different types of desires (in contradistinction to passion) as dependent on their intensity or motivation; on the contrary, distinctions within the category of desire, at least in the ordinary sense of

15 I do not think that Dharmakīrti's discussion turns on this point, but this does not mean of course that I object to the translation of *rāga* as "desire" (as is apparent from the title of this and my previous paper). The advantage of "passion" is that it makes the intimate connection between "passion" and "compassion" evident already from the etymology of the words; the etymological connection, however, is to my knowledge not present in any of the Sanskrit terms for desire and compassion. On the other hand, PECCHIA's suggestion to render *icchā* as "intent" (2008: 168) seems unjustified to me.

the term, are immaterial to the subject matter. Our problem will not be solved by translating the term *rāga* with "desire," or even "wishing," rather than "passion." We may even go a step farther than Taber and say that the Buddha's compassion is a mere feeling or emotion (rather than passion or desire);[16] but this would still involve some desire, in the common usage of the term,[17] and will still be a problem when attributed to the Buddha. For every wish, every wanting[18] indicates that something is missing for the Buddha, and this is painful.[19] Nor is it clear that the knowledge of the Buddha makes his desire to help other living beings moderate (see TABER 2011: 458).[20]

Let us have a quick look at another term for desire which Dharmakīrti ascribes to the Buddha: *kāma*. Dharmakīrti admits *vaktukāmatā* about the Buddha, but he does not do so in order to use a weaker term than passion; after all, there is no Sanskrit term that is more closely associated with sexual desire than *kāma* (cf. *kāmasūtra*). I can see at least two reasons why *kāma* is used in this connection. First, it is necessitated by the

16 In the European tradition, compassion is usually classified as an emotion or feeling; cf. the study of compassion in NUSSBAUM 2001, especially p. 297ff.

17 I differ here from PECCHIA 2008: 168, who maintains that Dharmakīrti's (i.e., the proponent's) use of the term is the common sense of the word and that the common sense of the word involves a superimposition of something unreal.

18 Note the ambiguity of the English term (which also means lacking or missing something).

19 This holds not only for desire in general, but specifically for compassion. NUSSBAUM 2001: 301: "To put it simply, compassion is painful emotion occasioned by the awareness of another person's undeserved misfortune." The association between compassion and pain is ubiquitous in the European tradition and appears already in Aristotle's definition of compassion (Rhetoric 2.8).
According to the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra, (BRAARVIG 1993: 358) the Great Compassion involves the endurance of all suffering (*sarvaduḥkhādhivāsanā mahākaruṇā*) because it arises from the wish of unsullied pleasure (*anāsravasukhecchotpanna*); the same text also mentions bodily pain among the characteristics of *mahākaruṇā*, namely, the pain that arises from the attainment of the adamantine body (*kāyapīḍādhivāsanā mahākaruṇā vajrakāyaprāpaṇotpannatvāt*) (BRAARVIG 1993: 359). I would like to thank Peter Skilling for this reference.

20 Note also that traditional presentations of the Buddha's compassion, such as in the Mahāvibhāṣā, describe his compassion as a highly intense emotion. Cf. MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 149, n. 29: When the Buddha actualizes the state of Great Compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), his body, which is so strong that no one can move it, trembles like a banana leaf in the wind even at the suffering of a single living being.

infinitive: infinitives in compounds are rare in Sanskrit and are usually (or always) built with *kāma* or *manas*. There is a *vārttika* on Pāṇini 6.1.144 to this effect (which accounts for the loss of *m* in the infinitive ending *tum*); thus one says *bhoktukāmaḥ*, *bhoktumanāḥ*, *gantukāmaḥ*, and so on.[21] So while there is no explicit rule against saying *vakturāga* (or even *vaktuṃrāga*), *vaktvicchā* or *vaktvabhiṣvaṅga*, Sanskrit usage does not seem to allow them. Second, the compound probably alludes to the famous Vedic injunctions such as *svargakāmo yajeta*. Both reasons, incidentally, point at *vaktukāma* being a *bahuvrīhi*, to be translated as "(a person who is) desirous to speak."[22] In the context, however, this may seem difficult: […] *vaktukāmatāsāmanyahetutvāt saiva rāga iti cet* […]. Being-desirous-to-speak is obviously not identical with desire. Therefore, we have to interpret the apposition not as a simple identity, but as an implication: "That (i.e., [the Buddha's] being desirous to speak) [involves] desire." In any case, the intensity of the desire involved in the Buddha's desire to speak (that is, his desire to teach, which may be quite ardent due to his great compassion) is immaterial to the subject matter because even a very small desire on his part means that he is not entirely free of desires, and thus he cannot be called *vītarāga*.

To recapitulate, PVSV 12 contains two concepts of desire, and the Buddha has no desires only according to one of the two; according to the other he has desires indeed. One concept is advocated by Dharmakīrti as the true one, but the opponent uses a different concept and Dharmakīrti does not dispense with it entirely, but presents it as an arbitrary usage of the term. To my mind, this is the key for understanding this passage. In fact, it is Dharmakīrti who introduces a new and arbitrary usage of 'desire' (or better, of 'non-desire') in this context, and camouflages his innovation by presenting the argument with the opponent as a mere argument about terms; to use Vātsyāyana's words: *tad idaṃ saṃjñābhedamātraṃ nārthe vivādaḥ. saṃjñābhedamātraṃ nārthabhedaḥ.*[23]

Simply put, Dharmakīrti's concept of desire is this: Desire is something which involves error. If a cognition does not involve an error, it is

21 Cf. VASU 2003: 1105.

22 So also Steinkellner's forthcoming translation: "denn sie sind durch die Tatsache im allgemeinen verursacht, daß (jemand) den Wunsch zu sprechen hat (*vaktukāmatāsāmānya*)." MOOKERJI & NAGASAKI and GILLON & HAYES understand the compound differently.

23 Nyāyabhāṣya on 3.1.16 and 3.1.19.

not desire. Thus, since the Buddha's compassion (which, mind you, involves the 'desire' or the 'wish' that other living beings should not suffer)[24] involves no error, it is not desire.

To see how arbitrary this concept of desire is, think of the final scene of Romeo and Juliet. Romeo, wrongly believing Juliet to be dead, has the desire to end his life and drinks poison. Juliet, rightly knowing Romeo to be dead, has the desire to end her life and stabs herself with his dagger. According to Dharmakīrti's usage of desire, Romeo's wish to stop living is desire because it is based on an error. Juliet's same wish, on the other hand, would not be desire because it is not based on error.[25]

Normally, neither desire nor compassion depends on the truth or falsity of their content; the same holds good for action (such as speaking): it may arise from knowledge, but it can equally arise from desire, repulsion, delusion, disposition, doubt and so forth,[26] and that would not make it 'non-action.' Of course one could define action as only following upon error, and designate all actions that arise from knowledge as 'non-actions.' Isn't that what Dharmakīrti does to the term desire?

Now, one could argue perhaps that for us desire is independent of the truthfulness of its cognitive content,[27] but perhaps the same does not hold good for the South Asian Buddhist tradition. What about the 'traditional' definition of desire quoted by Dharmakīrti? Doesn't it say that desire is always based on error?

> PVSV 9.5–6 *nityasukhātmātmīyadarśanākṣiptam sāsrvadharmaviṣayaṃ cetaso 'bhiṣvaṅgaṃ rāgam āhuḥ.*

24 PVA 53.11: *duḥkhahetos tathāduḥkhād viyogecchā parasya yā, sā kr̥pā*. PVA 53.15: *karuṇā sarvatrāṇecchālakṣaṇā.* Translated in Franco 1997: 160–161: "Compassion is the wish that someone else (would be) disconnected from the cause of suffering as well as from suffering (itself) […] [T]his compassion is characterized by the wish to protect everyone […]."
For the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra compassion is a form of "love" (*sneha*); see MSA 127.6: *bodhisatvānāṃ karuṇāmayaḥ sneho niravadyaś ca laukikātikrāntaś ca*. See also the references to the Akṣayamatinirdeśa in n. 19 above.

25 Of course from a Buddhist point of view, Juliet is also in error, because her feelings are still based on the erroneous perception of Self, living beings, etc. The example should not be stretched too far.

26 Cf. Franco 1994: 42 and n. 64 on p. 53, with further references therein.

27 I have read through Nussbaum's extensive study on compassion (Nussbaum 2001: 297–454); nowhere is compassion said to depend on the truthfulness of its content.

> (Those who know) call desire the attachment of the mind, which has the defiled elements of existence as an object, which is caused by seeing (erroneously what is impermanent, suffering, not the self, and does not belong to the self as) permanent, pleasure, the self and what belongs to the self.

I have not been able to trace the source of this definition, and I would not put it beyond Dharmakīrti to have modified an existing definition to suit his needs. But such an assumption is not necessary. In fact the definition does not say anything substantially new beyond what is stated in the *pratītyasamutpāda*, namely, that desire is caused by ignorance. (And therefore, of course, no ignorance, no desire.) However, this definition of desire does not solve our problem: If there is no desire, how can there be compassion? My guess is that the definition was not developed in a context in which compassion was the topic of discussion. In any case, it neither states nor implies that a cognition or a mental awareness in the form "I want X" can arise without being desire; the definition can be understood to imply that such a cognition could not arise at all.

Furthermore, the intimate connection between compassion and error is apparent not only for ordinary human beings, but also for advanced Bodhisattvas (up to the sixth stage?[28]). Indeed, in order to cultivate his compassion, a Bodhisattva must cultivate the *illusion* that living beings actually exist.

Of course, Dharmakīrti is aware of this. Therefore, he cannot advocate the complete overlapping of compassion[29] with lack of error. Thus, he maintains that (9.14–16): *sattvadharmādyālambanā maitryadaya iṣyante*. "(The four immeasurables [*apramāṇa*],) friendliness and so forth, are accepted to have as their support living beings, elements of existence and so on." Since living beings (and in the final analysis, the *dharmas* as well) are non-existent, friendliness, compassion, etc., cultivated in respect to them do involve error. Thus, according to Dharmakīrti there is compassion with desire and error (for ordinary human beings), without desire but with error (for Śrāvakas and advanced Bodhisattvas up to a certain stage), and with neither desire nor error (for Buddhas and the most advanced Bodhisattvas).

28 Cf. DAYAL 2004: 281.

29 That is, also the special compassion of the Buddhist saint, not just that of ordinary people.

The crucial point for Dharmakīrti is that knowledge cannot produce desire and, therefore, whatever it produces is a 'non-desire.' But why does Dharmakīrti need this problematic concept of 'non-desire'? One can understand the necessity when one recalls that the Mīmāṃsā argument, against which Dharmakīrti struggles here, *was* valid. According to the rules of debate accepted by Dignāga and Īśvarasena, the inference "The Buddha is not free of desires because he speaks" is a valid inference inasmuch as the three conditions required for a valid reason (*trairūpya*) are satisfied. The argument becomes even stronger when one recalls that the Buddha himself, being the subject of the inference, cannot be used as a counterexample, since according to Dignāga the subject of inference (*pakṣa*) is excluded from the similar examples (*sapakṣa*).[30]

Dharmakīrti's purpose in PVSV 12 is to invalidate the Mīmāṃsā inference, first by changing the rules of the game: non-perception (*adarśana*) is no longer sufficient to establish the absence of the reason in the *vipakṣa*. But that in itself is not quite enough; one could still construe an inference based on *svabhāvahetu* in order to uphold the Mīmāṃsā thesis: the Buddha has desires because he is compassionate. For what is compassion if not the wish that other living beings should not suffer?[31] And what is a wish if not desire? Here Dharmakīrti introduces a new, and I think, arbitrary, usage of the term: If a wish is not based on error, we do not call it desire. You may call it desire if you wish, but we are not going to argue about mere terminology. In fact Dharmakīrti seems to go still a step further: No matter which faults the Mīmāṃsakas or the Naiyāyikas may prove in the Buddha, as long as the knowledge of the Buddha is guaranteed, it would not affect the Buddhist position: "no other fault is unacceptable."[32]

The fact that the opponent uses the word 'desire' in its usual sense is apparent from the fact that Dharmakīrti concedes the point by saying *iṣṭatvāt* and *iṣṭam*. He did not have to use these terms. He could have said *neṣṭam*, *na sā rāgaḥ* (or *na sa rāgaḥ*) and would have spared us the discussion. But he cannot do so because the opponent uses 'desire' in a

30 On the exclusion of the *pakṣa* from *sapakṣa* in inferences prior to Dharmakīrti's time, cf. TILLEMANS 1999: 89–116, OETKE 1994: 17–73; on the way this was used to create sophisms, cf. FRANCO 2004b.

31 Cf. n. 24 above.

32 As seen above n. 13, this statement depends on the interpretation of *tadanyena doṣavattvasādhane na kiṃcid aniṣṭam.*

sense that is well established (as an affective state that takes the form "I want X," a state that applies to compassion too).[33] Both John Dunne and John Taber[34] suspect that there is a rhetorical purpose in PVSV 12, and I subscribe to this opinion. However, the rhetorical purpose in my view is that Dharmakīrti makes the opponent, who points out a real problem here, appear as if he is merely insisting on a quaint and arbitrary meaning of the word 'desire.'

There is another way to reject the Mīmāṃsā argument *without* denying the obvious connection and implication between compassion and desire in the usual sense. If compassion implies desire, then the absence of compassion could imply the absence of desire on the part of the Buddha. One can say that the Buddha is so different from ordinary human beings that neither compassion nor desire in the ordinary sense of the term can apply to 'him' (or 'it,' for he is no longer a person in the ordinary sense of the word). This path was taken by Cristina Pecchia[35] and was also explored by Taber with regard to later Buddhist philosophical literature, notably the Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita and the Sarvajñasiddhi of Ratnakīrti. In its most extreme form, as developed in the Tathāgaragarbha tradition (not pursued by Pecchia and Taber),[36] compassion can be used only metaphorically for a Buddha, who/which does not even perceive other living beings. The Buddha may be said to help other living beings, but his helping activity is not conscious, just as the sun or the rain helps plants to grow, but this helping is automatic and unintentional.[37] It is not prohibited to call such a Buddha compassionate, but obviously the term can be used only metaphorically to designate an ineffable entity.

33 To repeat, the traditional definition of desire quoted by Dharmakīrti does not, in itself, refute the position of the opponent: If there is no error, there is no desire, but this could imply that compassion, too, cannot arise.

34 Taber 2011: 444 and n. 21.

35 Cf. Pecchia 2008; see also Iwata 2011.

36 On a possible commitment of Dharmakīrti to Tathāgatagarbha metaphysics, cf. Franco 1997: 88–91.

37 Karṇakagomin may be referring to such an interpretation when he reports the opinion of some Buddhists who maintain that the Buddha does not act, but only appears to act to those who are in need of instruction (*vineya*); cf. PVṬ 53.25–27: *nanv aham iti buddhirahitasya kathaṃ parārthāpi pravr̥ttir iti cet* [...] *vineyānāṃ tathāpratibhāsanād ity anye*. However, it is possible, indeed more probable, to interpret this statement from the Yogācāra point of view.

In less extreme form, one may think of the Yogācāra concept of Buddhahood. What does it mean from the Yogācāra point of view to say that the Buddha teaches (i.e., speaks) the doctrine out of compassion? This question has no obvious answer. Let me quote Paul Griffiths on the issue of the Buddha's speaking[38]:

> Buddha teaches nothing because there is, precisely, no *designatum*, nothing capable of being referred to and so nothing capable of being taught. There is certainly a sense, therefore, in which Buddha does not speak; but there must also be a sense in which it is proper to say at least that the Buddha appears to speak. Recall the discussion of the Buddha's omnilinguality in chapter four. There, I made the point that a key part of the Buddha's action in the world is its ability to appear to speak in all natural languages perfectly […] The denial that Buddha teaches anything at all must then be compatible with these claims about Buddha's omnilinguality, just as must the denial that Buddha's construction-free awareness is implicated with language. It is relatively easy to see how these things can be held together. If speech is defined as dependent upon the deliberative application of concepts to the flow of experience, the proliferation of ideas for the manipulation and categorization of percepts, then Buddha's construction-free awareness precludes it. This is the sense in which Buddha is dumb, or in which Buddha teaches nothing; this is what is meant by denying that Buddha's awareness is implicated with language. But if speech is equated with utterance, with the simple vocalization of lexical items in sentence-patterns, then Buddha's construction-free awareness is entirely compatible with it, and may even be said to require it. For utterance may occur without accompanying mental effort and volitional activity, and also without *vikalpa*. When it does, of course, the semantic content of what is uttered is not present to the mind of the utterer; instead, the utterance occurs spontaneously in response to some theoretically specifiable set of causes and conditions; and this was just the interpretation I gave to Buddha's omnilinguality in chapter four.

Did Dharmakīrti have something similar in mind when he said that the movement of the lips, etc., are not the result of desire? [39] The discussion here and the more detailed remarks scattered in the Pramāṇsiddhi chapter, which have been competently discussed by Pecchia and Iwata, do not allow a comprehensive understanding of Dharmakīrti's doctrine of Buddhahood. It is quite possible that Dharmakīrti believed the Buddha to be a metaphysical entity to which all ordinary terms such as compassion and desire cannot be applied in the usual sense of the word. However, in the context of PVSV 12 Dharmakīrti does not go that far; the image of

38 GRIFFITHS 1995: 163–164.

39 PVSV 9.3 *na hi rāgādīnām eva kāryaṃ spandanavacanādayaḥ*.

the Buddha here is quite human. In any case, Dharmakīrti could not claim that "the utterance (of the Buddha) occurs spontaneously in response to some theoretically specifiable set of causes and conditions," for he accepts that the Buddha had the desire to speak (cf. *vaktukāmatā*). Thus, Dharmakīrti's Buddha is, in this respect, incompatible with the metaphysical Buddha as depicted by Griffiths on the basis of Yogācāra manuals.[40]

There is certainly a difference in emphasis, if not in content, between PVSV 12 and the various remarks about the Buddha in the Pramāṇasiddhi chapter, and one might ask why. I assume that here, too, one has to remember the context of debate with the Mīmāṃsā. To argue about a desireless, metaphysical Buddha, far removed from a human figure, would amount to argue about *atyantaparokṣa-artha*, something that is radically beyond the reach of the senses, and this would mean that the very existence of the Buddha could be set into doubt. Whatever Dharmakīrti's religious convictions may have been, he was not ready to defend them fully in a debate against the Mīmāṃsakas and the Naiyāyikas, for he saw that his convictions were not defensible in the context of a philosophical debate. One is reminded of Dharmakīrti's assertion about the Buddha's omniscience (Pramāṇasiddhi 33cd): "His complete knowledge of the number of worms is of no use to us." This does not deny that the Buddha knows everything, even the number of worms on earth, but this is not something Dharmakīrti is ready to defend in a debate against Brahmanical philosophers, and wisely so.

To conclude, Dharmakirti's 'plan of action' in PVSV 12 seems to be this: The Buddha is traditionally said to be free of desires. But Mīmāṃsakas have succeeded in showing that this claim is unjustified, inasmuch as he is said to teach the *dharma* out of compassion. Therefore, Dharmakīrti 1) changes the rules of inference and 2) defines 'desire' in a new way, so that it would not apply to the compassionate Buddha; he further pretends that this new usage of the word 'desire' is what the Buddhists had in mind all along when they said that the Buddha is without desires.

40 Prajñākaragupta seems to be of a different opinion. Cf. PVA 117.16–17 (on PV II 142), discussed by PECCHIA 2008: 174, where the Buddha is said to speak without *vitarka* (deliberation, conceptual activity). This position, however, is only offered as an alternative.

Furthermore, when the putative Mīmāṃsaka protests and insists on the common sense meaning of the term 'desire,' Dharmakīrti retorts that he accepts this: The Mīmāṃsaka may use the word 'desire' in any way he likes, but his usage is irrelevant to the Buddhist position. Further, Dharmakīrti makes the Mīmāṃsaka appear a bit silly and stubborn in insisting on this usage, and finally presents the whole issue as a mere futile discussion about terminology, as Vātsyāyana would say, *saṃjñā-bhedamātram*.

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VASHISHTA NARAYAN JHA

Ontology of Relations
The Approach of Navya Nyāya

Any philosophical system is based on some presupposition. At the same time no philosophy can deny the experience of plurality of this world. Every system has to explain this plural experience and through that the ultimate truth or fact. If one looks at the six systems of Vedic philosophy such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva Mīmāṃsā and Uttara Mīmāṃsā, and the non-Vedic philosophical systems, namely, Jainism, Buddhism and Cārvāka, one can discover that all those systems of philosophy are based on some presuppositions. All are trying to explain the plurality of our experience in terms of these presuppositions. While some think that the source of this plurality is one, others think that the source of this plural world is many.

Given those two possibilities such as 'One' and 'Many,' we can have maximum four possibilities. Suppose, 'A' stands for 'One' and 'B' stands for 'Many,' mathematically we can have the following four possibilities:

$$(1)\ +A \rightarrow +B$$
$$(2)\ +A \rightarrow -B$$
$$(3)\ -A \rightarrow +B$$
$$(4)\ -A \rightarrow -B$$

(1) Should be read as "'One' has become 'Many'", (2) as "'One' appears as 'Many'", (3) as "the source is not 'One'; 'Many' of our experience has come from 'Many'", and (4) as "the plurality of our experience has come neither from 'One,' nor from 'Many'"; our phenomenal world is in a flux in the sense that all entities in this world are devoid of all characterizations or characteristics (*svabhāva śūnya*).

Again, it may be noted that although the first two presuppositions point to 'One' as the source, they mean two different facts. According to

the possibility (+A → +B), the same 'One' (*brahman* or Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu) has become 'Many'; therefore the plurality of this phenomenal world is as much real as *brahman* or Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu (*sarvam kṛṣṇa-mayam jagat*). All that we see, in any form, is nothing but a form of *brahman* or Bhagavān, the ultimate source of this plurality. This *brahman* or Kṛṣṇa is a *bahurūpin* and he himself has appeared in the plural form of this universe. Here, emerging from 'One' means "'One' becoming 'Many'" as 'gold' becomes a ring, a chain, a bangle, etc., without loosing goldness. Vallabhācārya accepts *jagat* as *brahma-pariṇāma*. Obviously, therefore, this world of our experience is as much real as *brahman*.

The second presupposition, namely, (+A → -B) is the basis of Śaṅkarādvaita philosophy. For Śaṅkara also the source of this plural world is 'One' (*brahman*). But here "coming from 'One'" should be understood as "'One' (*brahman*) appears as 'Many.'" Since 'Many' is mere 'appearance,' the world is treated as false of *mithyā.* As a snake appears in the rope, which is the phenomenal reality, in the same way the plural world appears in *brahman* and hence unreal.

A snake in the rope, a snake in the dream and a snake in the bush are all mere appearances. They all are going to vanish when the reality will emerge. There is only difference in the duration of time. If the *jñāna* of snake existed for two moments, the snake also existed for two moments; if the snake was chasing me in the dream for ten moments it existed for ten moments.

As the snake disappeared in the rope after knowing the rope, as the snake in the dream disappeared after I woke up from the dream, so also the snake in the bush is going to vanish after the ultimate reality is revealed.

Thus, 'appearance' is unreal and 'becoming' is real.

The third presupposition (-A → +B) is to be read as "the source of our plural world is not 'One' but the source of this plural phenomenal world is also 'plural'; the 'Many' has come from the 'Many.'" This plural world, therefore, is not apparently real (*vyavahāra-sat*) but ultimately real. As God is real so also even an atom is real.

The fourth presupposition (-A → -B) says that neither 'One' nor 'Many' is the source of our phenomenal world. The world is in a flux and there is nothing which can be characterized by any nature.

I think, in terms of these presuppositions any philosophical system can be understood.

The systems of Śuddhādvaita of Vallabhācārya is based on the presupposition (1); the Advaita of Śaṅkarācārya is based on (2); the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā system, and all the other systems of realism such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, etc., will be included under (3); and the Mādhayamika school is based on (4).

With this background let us turn to the ontology of relations.

A relation is required to be posited in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system in order to explain a qualified cognition (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*). In a qualified cognition there appear three things: a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), a qualificand (*viśeṣya*) and a relation (*sambandha*).

A cognition is said to be *nirākāra* (without a form or content) in this system. A qualified cognition, however, presents a structured content. Thus, the cognition "This is a flower" (*idaṃ puṣpam*) presents 'flowerness–inherence–flower' type of structure which can be presented as follows:

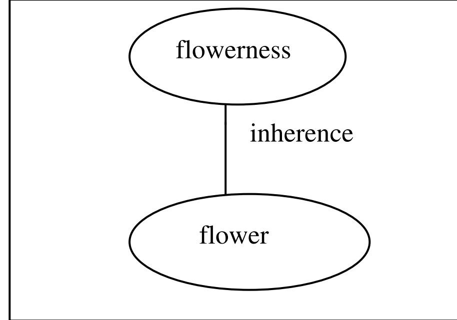


Figure 1: *idaṃ puṣpam* ("This is a flower")

Here, the rectangle is the cognition and what appears is a 'flower' which is reflected there with that structure. Obviously, the cognition is without any intrinsic structure; it merely reveals the structured object called 'flower.' All the three components of that structure are in the object of the cognition of the person who says "This is a flower." The cognition is thus *nirākāra*. The relation here called inherence (*samavāya*) is neither any part of the cognition nor the cognition has contributed to the ontol-

ogy of inherence. In other words, inherence is independent of its cognition. The cognition simply reveals it. Likewise, flowerness and its locus, the substance, flower, and the relation of inherence between the two are independent of their cognition and they are simply revealed by the cognition.

The same will be the analysis of the cognition. "There is a pot on the ground" (*bhūtale ghaṭaḥ*) which can be shown as follows:

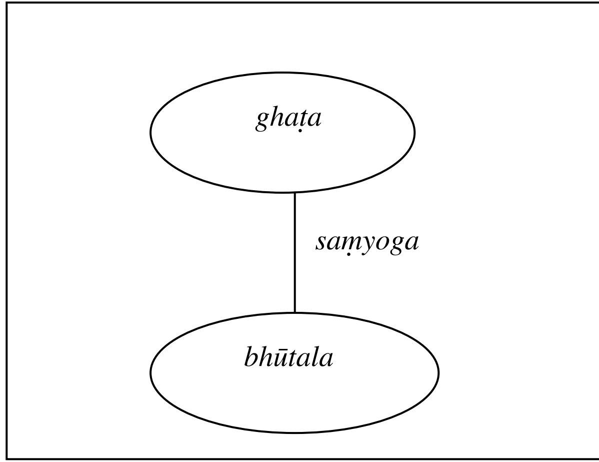


Figure 2: *ghaṭavad bhūtalam* ("There is a pot on the ground")

Here too, pot (*ghaṭa*) the qualifier, ground (*bhūtala*) the qualificand and the relation called contact (*saṃyoga*) are part of the structured world and do not depend on their cognition for their existence.

Similarly, we cognize "The absence of pot on the ground" (*bhūtale ghaṭābhāvaḥ*) which reflects the following structure in the cognition:

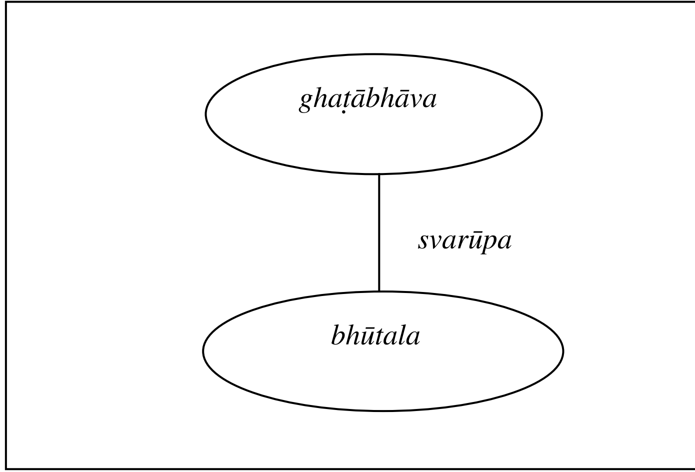


Figure 3: *bhūtale ghaṭābhāvaḥ* ("There is no pot on the ground")

All the elements in the structure of the content (*viṣaya*) here are external and the cognition has not contributed anything towards their ontology.

As a matter of fact, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system has posited only two entities as relations, namely, *saṃyoga* (contact) and *samavāya* (inherence). *saṃyoga* is listed in the list of twenty four *guṇa*s and *samavāya* is presented as a distinct entity (*padārtha*). *Saṃyoga* is non-eternal, whereas *samavāya* is eternal one.

The cases like the last one explain how the qualified cognition *ghaṭābhāvavat bhūtalam* involves a relationship called *svarūpa*.

As a matter of fact *svarūpa-sambandha* (self-linking relationship) is not a distinct entity in between the two relata. It is a property of *padārtha* as such. It is a property of any of the two relata, which being together generate the notion of connectedness (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*).

There are two conventions for stating this *svarūpa-sambandha*, popularly known as *dākṣiṇātya* and *maithila* convention. In the *dākṣiṇātya* convention which is, in fact, the convention of Bengal, the property of an *anuyogin* is treated as the *svarūpa-sambandha*. In the *maithila* convention, on the other hand, the property of a *pratiyogin* is treated as *svarūpa-sambandha*.

For example, relationship between father and his son can be stated as follows:

(1) There is a *janya-janaka-bhāva-sambandha* between father and son. This amounts to saying that there is a *janyatā* or *janakatā sambandha*. *Janyatā* is the property of *janya*, i.e., the son and *janakatā* is the property of *janaka*, i.e., the father.

The picture becomes further clear when the Navya Nyāya makes the statement of relation with a direction. Thus, when Navya-Naiyāyika says: "the father is related to his son," the same can be put in two different ways:

(i) *pitā pitṛtvena putre anveti* ("Father is related to the son as father").
(ii) *pitā putre putratvena anveti* ("Father is related to the son as son").

The same will be the case when a son is related to his father. This also can be put in any one of the following ways:

(a) *putraḥ putratvena pitari anveti* ("The son is related to father as son").
(b) *putraḥ pitari pitṛtvena anveti* ("The son is related to father as father").

The difference is due to convention. But in any case the *svarūpa-sambandha* is presented here as a property which is either of a *pratiyogin* or of an *anuyogin*.

Let us put it in the following format:

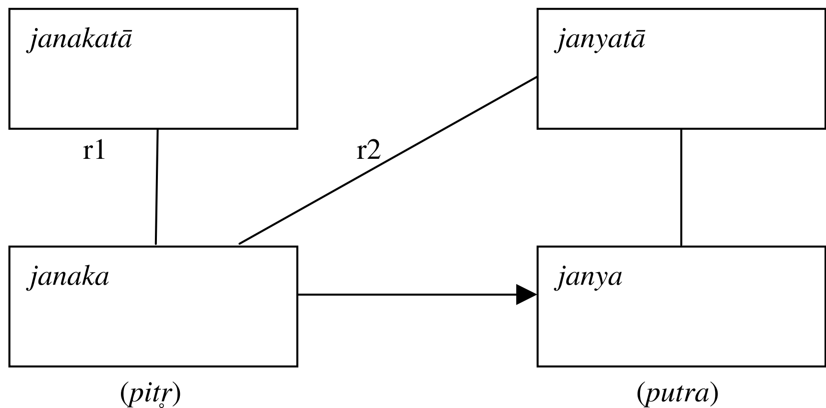


Figure 4: relation (A)

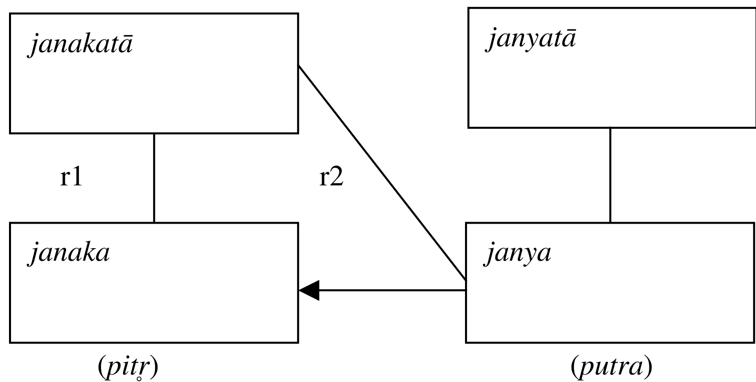


Figure 5: relation (B)

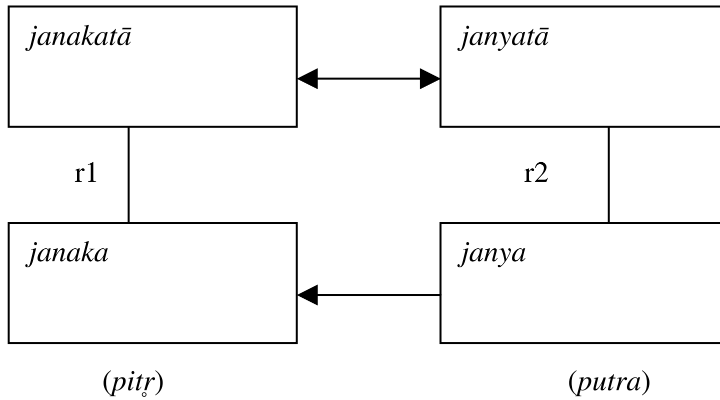


Figure 6: relation (C)

Following the maxim: *anuyogin-niṣṭha-dharmaḥ sambandha*, father is related to son by the relation of *janyatā* in (A) and son is related to father by the relationship of *pitṛtva* or *janakatā* in (B).

(C) presents the fact that because *janakatā* and *janyatā* are related, their *loci* are related. This relationship is the describer-described relationship (*nirūpya-nirūpaka-bhāva*). Because of the fact that *janakatā* and *janyatā* are mutually described by each other, their loci are related.

This points to the fact that the properties like *janakatā-janyatā, kāryatā-kāraṇatā, viṣayatā-viṣayitā, vyāpyatā-vyāpakatā, nirūpyatā-nirūpakatā*, and so on are relational properties and they, therefore, appear in pairs. They mutually describe and are described by each other.

These are the properties which depict the roles that their *loci* play towards each other. These properties are external in the sense that they are not intrinsic properties of any cognition.

Now the question arises, if the relationships are the properties like *viṣayatā, viṣayitā*, *kāryatā, kāraṇatā, nirūpyatā, nirūpakatā* and the like, then in which of the seven categories can they can be included?

Obviously, these properties are not universals like potness, clothness, etc., and hence they cannot be included in the *sāmānya* or *jāti* or universal generic property. They are not mental constructs or the like, and hence Raghunātha Śiromaṇi had to argue in favor of open set of *padārtha*s in his Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa in order to accommodate such properties in the list of *padārtha*s.

Thus, it is quite clear that the relations in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system including the *svarūpa-saṃbandha* are real, objective and factual,

and not mental constructs and hence not unreal and without any ontology of its own. Relations are also *padārtha*s like any other entity in this world.

It is interesting to note that Dharmakīrti composed a treatise called Sambandha-parīkṣā where he systematically examined all these three types of relations and came to the conclusion that relations are all our mental constructs and hence unreal.

In the light of the above, now it is very easy to understand why Dharmakīrti had to take such a stand. As a matter of fact, he cannot take any other position if he has to maintain his basic presupposition that language does not speak the truth. Not only Dharmakīrti, in fact, no Indian idealist can afford to support the reality of a relation. The moment he accepts the reality of a relation, he will no longer remain an idealist.

On the other hand, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system does not start with such a presupposition that language cannot express reality. For them the entire world of our experience is *padārtha* (*padasya arthaḥ*) and hence they must accept the fact that relations are also objective reality.

One objection, however, can be raised and it is this: a relation has to rest on two *relata*. But if *kāryatā, kāraṇatā, viṣayatā, viṣayitā, putratā, pitṛtā*, and the like are treated as relations, these properties do not satisfy the basic characteristics of a relation, namely, a relation should exist in two things (*dviṣṭhaḥ sambandhaḥ*) because *putratā* exists in *putra* alone and not in *pitṛ*, also *pitṛtā* exists in *pitṛ* alone and not in *putra* also. Same is the case with other pairs of properties. So how can they be treated as relations?

The Navya Nyāya response to this objection is very simple. It is this: it is true that *putratā* does exist in *putra* alone but it is not true that *putratā* does not exist (i.e., is not related to) in *pitṛ* at all. If something has to exist it has to exist by some relationship. Thus, *putratā* exists in *putra* by the relation of *ādhāratā* (a direct relationship) whereas *putratā* exists in *pitṛ* too by the relation of *nirūpakatā*. It is a fact that because of *pitṛ*, son has acquired the property of *putratā* and because of *putra*, father has acquired a property called *pitṛtā*. Thus *putra* described *pitṛtā* in *pitṛ*, and *pitṛ* described *putratā* in *putra*. To be more precise, the *putratā* and *pitṛtā* describe each other mutually. Thus, it is not the case that *pitṛtā* is not related with *putra* or *putratā* is not related with *pitṛ*. It is not true, of course, that *pitṛtā* is related to both *pitṛ* and *putra* by the one and the same relation. But this is not required everywhere. Although *saṃyoga*

and *samavāya* will satisfy this symmetry, the *svarūpa-sambandha* need not satisfy this condition. We will have to interpret the notion of *sambandha* namely *dviṣṭhaḥ sambandhaḥ* as "R is a relation between A and B provided R is connected with both A and B by some relation."

The implication is, nothing should be called a relation unless they are related to the *relata* either directly or indirectly.

Thus, the properties like *putratā*, *pitṛtā* and the like should be treated as relations. Such properties are public and not private, and hence they belong to the objective reality and are not created by mind.

If this conclusion is treated as a criterion to examine realism and idealism in Indian philosophical systems, we can see that Buddhism and Śaṅkara's Advaita Vedānta will fall under the category of idealism, and all other systems of Indian philosophy will come under the category of realism. Now we realize why Dharmakīrti had to demolish all relations, and why Śaṅkara cannot afford to accept relation as real over and above the reality of *brahman*.

The acceptance of reality of relations amounts to acceptance of plurality and denial of reality of relations amount to denial of plurality.

Indian idealism can further be divided into two types:

(1) In one type, there is only one reality (i.e., *brahman*), and the plurality of our experience is superimposed on that. The plurality, therefore, is mind-dependent. This view is held by Śaṅkarācārya.
(2) In the other form of Indian idealism, there is no characterization possible. Everything is *svabhāva-śūnya*. Reality is only *svalakṣaṇa* which is devoid of all properties. There is no *dharmin* and hence there is no *dharma* in reality. The world of our experience, however, is presented to us as a *dharmin* possessing a *dharma*. This is done by mind and hence the experience of plurality is mind-dependent.

For the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, however, the relations are very much the part of objective reality, and they are not mental constructions.

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Wise Men and Ascetics Indian Philosophy and Philosophers in Classical Antiquity*

The question of the possible philosophical contacts between ancient India and the Graeco-Roman West is rather complicated. Much has been written on it and many hypotheses suggested that are founded on very slight evidence and much optimistic speculation. "Hilft nicht weiter," as a German friend and colleague says. Therefore, it has been a habit of mine to avoid discussions about possible philosophical contacts and influences. I am, after all, a philologist and historian, not a philosopher. However, I have recently been led to make some exceptions to this rule. Moreover, in my Hellenism book in 1997 I promised to take up this question in my future book on India and Rome and as I have now, after some interval, again started working on it, it was also high time to begin with philosophy.[1] This time, however, instead of pure doxographic comparison, I think we must first consider the subject in the wider context of the history of ideas. This also helps us to see what kinds of undercurrents there are in the modern discussion of the intellectual contacts between India and the Mediterranean world in antiquity.

When I speak of 'Indian wisdom' and 'Indian wise men,' I am not so much referring to anything really Indian, but to a recurrent Western

* At different stages I have read earlier versions of this paper: in May 2004 at Università Sapienza, Rome, and at Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples; again in May 2005 at Jagiellonian University in Kracow and in a revised form at the University of Texas in Austin in February 2006. The research involved was originally done at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies (University of Helsinki). Margaret E. Stout Whiting has kindly checked my English.

1 This subject was first suggested to me as a lecture topic by Professor R. Torella. Of course, the subject was very proper in Rome as one of the early articles of Giuseppe Tucci dealt with "Dei rapporti tra la filosofia greca e l'orientale." *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 1, 1920, 38–59.

idea, although with a certain Indian background. It can be traced from the days of Alexander up to our own time. Some of its proponents were well informed, some just shared the common belief. A number of texts simply extol the harsh asceticism practised by Indian philosophers, but some went beyond the mere appreciation of wise men. A related idea made India the origin and source of all wisdom. That classical philosophy supposedly derived from India was first suggested by Christian apologists of Late Antiquity, who used this argument in their attempt to undermine the value of Greek philosophy as a challenger of Christianity. In addition to India, they also mentioned Egypt, Chaldaea and Persia as sources, but the main idea was just to deny any originality in Greek thought.

The Middle Ages were mainly content to quote the accounts of a handful of accepted (and preserved) classical authors. The few Medieval travellers did not contribute to the intellectual conception of India inherited from classical antiquity. Even when the studies were revived by the Italian humanists of the trecento and quatrocento, the authority of classical texts was usually taken without question – including the tradition of Indian wisdom. In the 16th century, the French humanist Henri Estienne without attribution took Strabo's old argument and adapted it to his own time, claiming that the testimony of uneducated and illiterate soldiers and traders – the Portuguese – visiting India in our day is unreliable and much inferior to the testimony of established classical authors.[2] He did not mention the enormous chronological distance between these two, apparently believing that the Gymnosophists were still practising their harsh asceticism and committing suicide on pyres in India exactly in the same way as in the days of Alexander. For a philosophically-minded humanist, India was in any case of secondary importance; there were

2 Strabo 15.1.4 and Stephanus in BAER 1824: 27, speaking of the reliability of Ctesias. The latter is rather rare in libraries, so I quote it here: *Nescio (respondebit quispiam) quis in eo tempore potuerit* [scil. give more reliable account of India than Ctesias]: *at nunc possunt mercatores nostri, qui illic et ipsi navigant. Ain' tu? at unde illis, ut, quum sint ἀναλφάβητοι, ideoque judicio eo, quod literis et doctrina quaeritur, omnino carent, observare et observata aliis postea commemorare eadem, quae viri docti, possint?* […] *Haec autem a me idcirco hic dicuntur, lector, ut, quoties in quosdam homines incides, qui plus fidei de illis rebus, mercatoribus etiam literarum imperitis, quam vel doctissimis antiquis scriptoribus adhibendum esse credunt, in promptu tibi, quod illis nugatoribus respondeas, esse possit.*

enough fascinating new ideas to be found in the recently rediscovered Neo-Platonism and in the Jewish Qabbala.

The idea of India as the source and origin of all wisdom became really fashionable in the age of romanticism.[3] Its main propagators were Herder, Friedrich Schlegel and Schopenhauer, and, to a lesser extent, also Schelling. The idea was supported by the fantastic early dates ascribed to Indian antiquity by early Indologists. The first reaction came from Hegel and was extremely critical: Indians have no philosophy at all, just religion. The verdict was in certain way justified in the light of the literature then available in translations (Gītā and a few Upaniṣads). When the first introduction to real Indian philosophy, by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, started appearing in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1823, Hegel changed his mind, but many Hegelians stuck to the earlier opinion.

In the 19th century, there were two or three different currents. The philosophers (and the majority of classical scholars with them) claimed that all independent thought arose in Greece, without any outside influence. Any Asian tradition of thought was a marginal feature, not worthy of serious study. In this lot, Paul Deussen was a rare exception. At the other end were various Schwärmers and charlatans, who still wanted to derive everything from India. Indologists tended to hold a middle position, putting every supposed contact under critical examination.

In the 20th century, we have learned more, especially of Indian philosophy, but the attitudes to the question of contacts with the classical world have not changed much. Philosophers often ignore India (e.g., Heidegger and Russell) and the great history of classical philosophy by Guthrie[4] mentions it only in passing. There are still uncritical enthusiasts taking every slight similarity in ideas as evidence of contact (e.g., LOMPERIS 1984). But there is also a growing number of critical studies discussing the possibilities of contact in the light of real evidence.[5]

The question of intellectual contacts between India and Greece is somewhat problematic. It is no longer fashionable, and certainly not rea-

3 Much of this and the following is summarised from HALBFASS 1988. I have myself dealt with the Western reception of Indian philosophy in the 19th and 20th centuries in KARTTUNEN 2006 (in Finnish).

4 GUTHRIE 1962–1981. Cf. KARTTUNEN 1989: 108ff.

5 See, e.g., CONGER 1952 and HALBFASS 1988. The new book by MCEVILLEY 2002 is a new example of too much optimism and wild speculation.

sonable, to claim complete independence for Greek philosophy. Early Near Eastern, Egyptian and even Iranian influences are undeniable, but India was very distant and even at best, the contact remained slight. The very same Greeks who were much impressed by the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia, had no idea of the ancient culture of India and often classified it among barbarian nations.

I suppose it is now time to reveal my own position. When I started studying the relations between India and the Classical World – more than 30 years ago – I was soon struck by the number of hypotheses founded on defective or unacceptable evidence, and repeated from book to book, often without knowing the original source. I soon found out that some of them went back to the early 19th century. Therefore, I gave myself the task of finding out what is really warranted by solid evidence, what we really *know,* and what are just loose hypotheses.[6] In this respect, philosophy is no exception, and after my scrutiny there seemed to remain very little in the way of concrete evidence. Note that I am here not looking for similarities, but for clear evidence of contact. Therefore, I must concede that my answer is not always the ultimate truth. For instance, there is much in Neoplatonism resembling Indian thought and which even suggests some kind of contact, but there is no *evidence* of any exchange of ideas and there certainly are alternative explanations, too.

In my first book (KARTTUNEN 1989), I fully discussed the period before Alexander, but here it is enough to briefly state some of the conclusions. The Solomonian expedition to India and the Homeric 'vague knowledge' of India were both founded on the wrong interpretation of evidence and must be left out. The first extant author to show even some vague knowledge of India was Herodotus (using somewhat earlier information culled from the lost works of Scylax and Hecataeus). However, there is nothing about Indian religion or philosophy in Herodotus. His so-called 'vegetarian Indians' are neither Buddhists nor ascetics, but a primitive people from the rim of the inhabited world (Herototus 3. 100f.).[7] Everything we know points to the conclusion that the Greeks had never heard of India before Darius occupied the Indus country and even after this, had no idea of Indian civilisation. This is already enough to make one suspicious of the old argument of Leopold von Schroeder and

6 Many of the early results were included in KARTTUNEN 1989.

7 Cf. ROSSELLINI & SAÏD 1978: 955f. and KARTTUNEN 2002a.

others that Pythagoras had visited India and got the main part of his doctrine there. There are some similarities, but they are not really convincing. Thus for instance, the idea of metempsychosis was developed by many peoples (notably Thracians!) and it is even not clear whether it was known in India in the days of Pythagoras.[8]

There is a recurring motif of travels, both real and apocryphal, to India in search of wisdom. Pythagoras remains at the beginning, followed by Lycurgus, Plato, Democritus and many others. With these early names, however, all accounts are much later and clearly apocryphal. Nevertheless, from the very beginning these philosophers were known as great travellers, and I think this motif of travel can also shed some further light on the question of Indian influence.

There is no doubt that the Greeks were fond of travelling. Narratives of long travels and adventures of gods and heroes have a prominent part in Greek mythology. Dionysus, Odysseus, Jason, Heracles, and Perseus are the most familiar examples. India, however, had no place in early narratives, the geographical context remaining more or less Mediterranean. Only during Alexander's eastern campaigns, when India actually became known to the Greeks, were early Indian expeditions ascribed to Heracles and Dionysus, and later Perseus was occasionally said to have visited India, too.[9]

It was also thought that many wise men of Greece derived their wisdom from their travels. But those travels took them to countries where there was known to be some wisdom to be learnt, such as Egypt and the Near East. Egypt was particularly popular as a supposed source of ancient and deep wisdom. Before Alexander, India was considered to be a barbarous country on the rim of the inhabited world. In Greek opinion, one could not learn wisdom from barbarians; even the primitive happiness that was sometimes ascribed to them could not be transferred to Greece.[10] There was the lesson of the relativity of morals which so fascinated Herodotus, but it was not necessary to travel to distant barbarian lands to learn it.

8 SCHROEDER 1884, KEITH 1909, and KARTTUNEN 1989: 113ff.

9 See KARTTUNEN 1989: 210ff., 1997: 27f. and 2002c.

10 See KARTTUNEN 2002a on the theory of the primitive (golden age) happiness of distant barbarians.

When Alexander came to Taxila, he met naked ascetics, variously called sophists, Gymnosophists, and philosophers by his historians. He sent his lieutenant, Onesicritus, to talk with them and succeeded in having one of them, Calanus, join his retinue. Little was understood of their doctrine, but their tranquillity and severe asceticism evoked admiration that lasted many centuries. At once, the India of legend and fantasy had turned into the land of wisdom, worthy of visit even by philosophers.

After this, we often meet these naked sophists of India, but only as a literary motif in classical Graeco-Roman literature. Their harsh asceticism, their remarkable tranquillity and their voluntary death were mentioned again and again with great admiration. The Cynics adopted them as a model, then the Stoics, and even several Christian authors made use of them as an example of true asceticism. Of their doctrines, very little was known. The main account comes from Onesicritus who himself admitted that he needed the help of three interpreters in order to be capable of conversing with them and therefore obtained only a vague idea of their thoughts.[11] It has been pointed out that even this vague idea comes suspiciously close to what is known of the teachings of Diogenes, whose follower Onesicritus claimed to be.

I have discussed the various Western traditions of Gymnosophists and Brahmans elsewhere[12] and can therefore leave them now, but let us consider some other aspects of the Indo-Western intellectual contacts. We noted that with and after Alexander, India had obtained the status of a source of wisdom, to such an extent that some early Greek philosophers (Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Democritus) were ascribed apocryphal travels there.[13] Now it is time to ask who really went there and what they learned? Unfortunately, the harvest is meagre.

In addition to Onesicritus, Anaxarchus and his pupil Pyrrho, the founder of the Skeptic school of Greek philosophy, also followed Alexander to India. Unfortunately, however, we have no idea of what they did there and what they possibly learned of Indian thought. A brief statement

11 Onesicritus' account is preserved in Strabo 15.1.63–65. See also KARTTUNEN 1997: 55ff.

12 Most recently in KARTTUNEN 2002b.

13 The tradition of a Gymnosophist visiting Athens and conversing with Socrates must also be rejected as apocryphal (see KARTTUNEN 1989: 110f.). The very term 'Gymnosophist' was invented during or or perhaps only after Alexander's expedition. It is first attested in a papyrus of c. 100 BC (WINIARCZYK 2009).

that Pyrrho learned his ascetic habits from the Gymnosophists is all we have.[14] It is perhaps significant that even here we hear of ascetic habits, not of any doctrines.

In the early Hellenistic period, there were frequent commercial and diplomatic contacts between India and the West, but the sources are so meagre that we often get only irritating hints. If Megasthenes said something about Indian philosophy, this part is not preserved among his fragments.[15] The Greek translations of the edicts of Aśoka were made by someone familiar with contemporary Greek philosophy and its terms.[16] In the West, however, there are no echoes of Aśoka to be heard. It seems likely that Clearchus of Soloi, the pupil of Aristotle, went as far as Bactria and perhaps visited North-West India, too, but this remains a hypothesis, and his fragments show no Indian ideas.[17]

In any case, it seems to me that what was known of Indian thought in the West was mainly learned in the early Hellenistic period. After the rise of Parthia, direct contacts again became rare. We see that in the literature, any fresh information is sparse; when India is mentioned at all, Alexander's historians and Megasthenes were the only accepted sources. The Indo-Greeks certainly had some knowledge, but it never spred to the Hellenistic West.[18] The flourishing maritime trade of the early Roman period hardly contributed – merchants and seamen were usually not interested in philosophy and the busy harbours of the Indian western

14 Antigonus quoted by Diogenes Laertius 9.11.63 (cf. also 61). On Skepticism and India, see also FLINTOFF 1980, FREMKIAN 1958, and PIANTELLI 1978.

15 It is all the more a pity because Indian philosophy in the form we know it – even the philosophical parts of the Mahābhārata and early Buddhist thought – are mainly later developments. With the possible exception of some Upaniṣadic doctrines, we have no idea of what was thought and discussed around 300 BC.

16 CHRISTOL 1983: 37, KARTTUNEN 2009.

17 His works are lost and what remains in fragments certainly does not suggest any knowledge of *Indian* philosophy. According to Diogenes Laertius (Preface 9), he claimed that the Gymnosophists descended from Iranian *magi,* and according to Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 178), he made Indian philosophers ancestors of the Jews. See also BAR-KOCHVA 2010.

18 A fascinating glimpse is offered with the dealings with *dharma* in Greek. Aśoka's ethical, more or less Buddhist, virtue was translated as *eusebeia* 'piety,' while the royal virtue in Demetrius' epitheton *dhārmika* (*dhramika* in his coins) was equivalent to *dikaios* 'righteous.' The question of Menander and Buddhism can here be left aside.

coast were probably not the best places for intellectual contact.[19] It is true that Indians seem to have learnt Greek astronomy and astrology in this period, but this was then considered practical knowledge, and in the West we can show hardly any evidence of new knowledge (with the exception of pure geographical information). I must say that I find it hard to understand when some colleagues claim that the trade relations *must* have also led to an exchange of ideas.[20]

Did someone go to India in search of wisdom in the Roman Imperial period? Perhaps some did, but the list of known cases is again short and not very convincing in most cases. The first and foremost is Apollonius of Tyana in the first century AD. According to his life by Flavius Philostratus – virtually our only source about him – this Stoic or Neo-Pythagorean saint or charlatan went all the way through Mesopotamia and Iran to North-West India. The first part of his Indian travels, a stay at Taxila, clearly reflects an eye-witness account from the early first century, but when Apollonius leaves the Pañjāb and moves on to the country of the Brahmans, he also enters the realm of myth and legend. The fabulous peoples and animals do not interest us here (I have discussed them elsewhere),[21] but the Gymnosophists or Brahmans, with whom Apollonius conversed in Greek, have nothing particularly Indian about them. On the contrary, their thoughts and opinions are just plain Greek. They do teach metempsychosis, but only in its Pythagorean form. Philostratus' book has often been deemed a sort of novel and this is what it certainly is, although he used some good sources for it. We can only say that a Western legend ascribed Indian travels and Gymnosophist doctrines to Apollonius. Perhaps he even himself claimed to have been a pupil of the Gymnosophists, but this is not necessarily true. Even if he really went to India, Philostratus did not give (or have) a reliable account of his whereabouts there.

However, the idea was there. Lucianus, in a work of fiction, created a young man who left for India in order to learn wisdom from the Gymnosophists.[22] Christian missionaries went to India as early as the first

19 Cf. Strabo's comment mentioned in the beginning.

20 See, e.g., VERARDI 1997. I certainly cannot follow MCEVILLEY 2002 who, speaking of a much earlier period, claims that merchants of different nations meeting each other must certainly have discussed philosophy. Why should they?

21 See, e.g., KARTTUNEN 1989: 127ff. and 1997: 178, 227f.

22 See KARTTUNEN 2004.

century, but they did not really participate in intellectual exchanges.[23] The Syrian philosopher Bardesanes (Bar-Daisan) never went to India himself, but obtained some information from an Indian embassy on its way to Rome and could at least offer some fresh information on Brahmans and their religion in his books.[24] However, there are no clear Indian elements in the so-called Gnostic doctrines.[25]

Manichaeism was important transmitter of motifs and ideas between East and West. We know that Mani actually went to India[26] and adapted some features from Buddhism to his syncretic religion which soon spread all over the Mediterranean world and in Asia to the borders of China. Together with Mithraism, it was Christianity's most serious competitor. To fight it, Christian propaganda created a curious story about the roots of Manichaeism. Scythianus, an Egyptian merchant, visited India and learned there a new mystical doctrine which he then taught to his pupil Terebinthus. After Scythianus' death, Terebinthus proclaimed that his real name was Buddha and that he was born of a virgin. This concoction was claimed to be the real origin of Manichaeism.[27] The main

23 They brought some Western ideas to India, but took nothing back. Note that the first missionary going to India was probably not Thomas, who originally belonged rather to Parthia, but Bartholomew (see DIHLE 1963). In a recent article (FEAR 2003: 36f.), an interesting hypothesis was proposed about the *Acts of Thomas,* the earliest source about the supposed Indian mission of Thomas. According to Fear, the work is more or less contemporary with the *Vita Apollonii* of Philostratus and its attempt to give an Indian mission to Thomas may be a direct Christian counterpart to the Indian travels of Apollonius.

24 The Indian information of Bardesanes has been recently discussed by VOFCHUK 1999.

25 I do not think that the alleged Indian influences in the Gospels and early Christianity deserve serious discussion here. At the turn of the century and especially after GARBE 1914, there was a lively discussion, which, however, contributed very little of lasting value. The recent, highly speculative studies by J. D. M. Derrett and Chr. Lindtner have not changed my opinion at all (see e.g. DERRETT 2002, 2004ab and LINDTNER 2001).

26 This travel is attested in the Manichaean (Coptic) *Kephalaia,* see WIDENGREN 1961: 35.

27 Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* 42f., Epiphanius, *Contra Manich.* 66.1–4, Socrates, *Eccl. hist.* 22, and other works. It is possible that Scythianus and Terebinthus were real persons, perhaps they even propagated a doctrine influenced by Buddhism, but then their case is separate from Manichaeism.

idea was to show Manichaeism as a mere unoriginal imitation of Buddhism which was to some extent already known (below).

There were probably at least some travellers, no account of whom survives. We can indeed trace some addition to the Western awareness of Indian thought during the Roman period, although the sources are scarce. A famous case is the late 2nd century Skeptic philosopher Sextus Empiricus. Generally, I am rather unwilling to accept the mere similarity of ideas as a proof of intellectual exchange. After all, the problems offered by logic, epistemology and ontology easily lead to similar ideas. But when we also find similar examples for these ideas, and in the case of Sextus Empiricus, even two different examples, there must be something behind them, especially as these examples are among the most familiar ones of Indian philosophy, such that they have been considered and commented upon again and again by many different schools.

One of these examples is the famous epistemological problem of the rope taken as a serpent when seen in a dark room. Most of the Indian schools of philosophy have discussed it and suggested different solutions according to their epistemological tenets. Sextus considered the case as one where only careful investigation can discover the truth. Sextus' second example is the standard example of Indian syllogism, the deduction of a fire on a mountain from the smoke observed. The question is do these two examples go back to Pyrrho, the founder of the Skeptic school, who indeed visited India, or do they reflect some more recent source of exchange? Sextus provided them in connection with the early Academic philosophy of Karneades for whom there are no known links to India.[28] The Indian evidence for these two cases is generally later, but it is numerous, and I find it difficult to accept that these ideas could have been developed in Greece and only later brought to India.

Another example of the growing knowledge is found in the works of early Christian authors: Clement of Alexandria and Jerome knew the Buddha by name and had at least some idea of both his life story[29] and of

28 Sextus Empiricus *Math.* 7.187f. (rope), 8.152 and *Pyrrh. hyp.* 2.100 & 102 (fire). These are fully discussed in FREMKIAN 1958 (see also KOVAL 2005). Perhaps I should note that the mere idea of turning deduction into a formalised syllogism is not difficult and the attempts to make either Aristotle or Indian logicians dependent on each other seem thus rather far-fetched.

29 The full story, in the form of the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, arrived in the West much later. It was originally a Manichaean adaptation made in Central Asia

the basic tenets of Buddhism.[30] However, they were not much interested in it, bypassing Buddhism briefly as one of the pagan religions, and we do not have the writings of those who perhaps were interested. There is an old hypothesis (by LASSEN 1852) attempting to trace this account back to Megasthenes, but I find it very unlikely. Another early Christian author, Hippolytus, briefly mentioned a sect (Encratitae) supposedly having Gymnosophist ideas.[31]

We must remember that what actually survives of classical philosophy is a small fraction. It leaves much out, but at the same time, I think, the preserved part also shows that Indian philosophy was certainly no major field of interest. Old stories of Gymnosophists and Brahmans remained popular and were often repeated, but rarely anything else.

Much has been written about the possible relations between Neo-Platonism and Indian thought. Both were dealing with similar ontological and metaphysical doctrines and often found more or less similar answers. Some – often Indologists – have found the evidence of similar ideas convincing, some leave the question open, some stiffly deny any real connection.[32] Personally, I am still among those who leave the question open. To quote an Italian scholar, there certainly is "una grande ragionevole probabilità,"[33] but no more than that. We know from Porphyrius that Plotinus himself expressed some curiosity about Indian thought. Early in his career he actually tried to go there. But remember: He never went there! A war between Rome and Persia prevented his travelling, and thus he never met Indian philosophers on their home turf.[34] It is also possible that the whole episode was invented just to make

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from a Buddhist version close to the Lalitavistara. It was turned into a Christian legend in Georgia and translated into Greek in the 11th century, although the text is often ascribed to the early 8th century author St. John of Damascus.

30 See Clement, *Stromateis* 15.1.71, Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.42.

31 Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* 8.7. From other sources (Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Epiphanius) they are known as a Greek heterodox sect strictly attached to celibacy ('encratite').

32 Among those who find definitive Indian elements in Neo-Platonism are BRÉHIER 1928, PRZYLUSKI 1934, and LACOMBE 1951, more cautiously GARCIA BAZAN 1976, while MÜLLER 1914 and ARMSTRONG 1936 completely reject any contact. Less categorical skeptics are KEITH 1936 and HALBFASS 1988 (and myself).

33 MARRUCCHI 1938: 394.

34 Porphyrius, *Life of Plotinus* 3.

his life resemble that of Plato.[35] There are very few actual references to India in Neo-Platonist literature and even these are mostly borrowed from earlier literature (e.g., Bardesanes in Porphyrius). I would be happy indeed to find more evidence, but at present, the question necessarily remains open. If you disagree, I can only remark that my position is that of a philologist and historian, not that of a philosopher.

In the fourth century, we meet some further Western travellers in India.[36] Around 300 AD, Hierocles was expressly said to have studied under Gymnosophists, but unfortunately we have no idea of what he learnt.[37] The Theban Scholasticus (a sort of official) whose work is preserved among the writings of Bishop Palladius of Helenopolis,[38] certainly spent years in India, but he was apparently not interested in philosophy. In addition, as a kitchen-slave in a Keralan court, he was unlikely to have opportunities for learning any niceties of Indian philosophy. To his account, an account of Indian Brahmans and their apocryphal teachings to Alexander is appended, but this seems to reflect rather Gnostic and Neo-Pythagorean ideas than anything Indian. Frumentius was a Christian missionary who, after some adventures, ended up in Ethiopia, not in India as he intended.

In the beginning, I referred to Christian apologists challenging Greek philosophy. One of their arguments was that Greek thought was not independent, but derived from the doctrines of Egypt, Chaldaea, Iran and India.[39] With the first three, they were at least partly right. However, they did not much develop this argument and the supposed Indian influences were only founded on the stories of apocryphal travels and the old traditions about Gymnosophists. When Christianity definitely took over, in the 5th and 6th centuries, and put an end to classical philosophy, this was also the end of any intellectual exchanges with India. In the early Middle Ages, actual contacts were extremely few, and what new infor-

35 According to Diogenes Laertius 3, 7 Plato wanted to meet Magians, but was prevented from it by Asian wars. Also in Apuleius, *De Platone* 1, 3.

36 Of Indians in the West there is still less evidence and, with the exception of an occasional Buddhist monk, no one who is supposed to know philosophy.

37 He is briefly mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Brachmanes) and Tzetzes (*Chil.* 7, 716ff.).

38 See the summary in DERRETT 1962.

39 For details and references, see KARTTUNEN 2002b.

mation arrived belonged to the realm of legends and narrative, and was not always even recognised as Indian.[40]

In the Middle Ages, we are thus back in the India of legends which we first met in the early works of such authors as Herodotus and Ctesias. Even more than the wise men, this was an essential part of the traditional Western conception of India. If one has carefully studied the ancient and Medieval legends of India, one can easily understand the greater part of the details in a work such as *Baudolino* by Umberto Eco, but alas, there is no Sāṁkhya, Mādhyamika, or Vedānta mentioned there.

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40 I have in mind such cases as the legend of Barlaam and Joasaph (above), the Pañcatantra, and the unicorn tradition. Indian astronomy and mathematics were studied by Arabs, but what echoes reached Europe (the 'Arabic' numbers!) were not necessarily recognised as Indian. In some cases works translated from Arabic into Latin contained references to India and it would be an interesting task to collect them as an addition to our defective picture of the Medieval knowledge about India. GREGOR 1964 gives much interesting information, but ignores this aspect.

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RAFFAELE TORELLA

Studies in Utpaladeva's Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti Part V: Self-Awareness and Yogic Perception*

The present paper is the fifth of a series (TORELLA 2007 a, b, c d) presenting the critical edition and English translation of the fragmentary *codex unicus* of the Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti, the long commentary that Utpaladeva composed on his own Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikā (ĪPK) and *svavṛtti*, a work of outstanding importance for the philosophy of Kāśmīrian Śaivādvaita, and for Indian philosophy as a whole. I need not repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on the nature of the Vivṛti and its relation to the other commentaries.[1] Suffice it to recall that Utpaladeva is said to have composed the ĪPK and the concise Vṛtti at the same time, and later on to have devoted an analytic commentary to the complex Kārikā-Vṛtti, i.e. our Vivṛti (or Ṭīkā), in which he discussed possible alternative views and rejected them, also occasionally making quite long digressions on particular subjects. Of this lengthy work – corresponding to the extent of 8000 *śloka*s (hence the traditional denomination of Aṣṭasāhasrī) – only a comparatively small fragment has come down to us, covering the section ĪPK I.3.6 through I.5.3. A detailed exposition of my discovery of the original manuscript after a cursory consultation, some fifteen years ago, of a transcript of the same made by Prof. K. Ch. Pandey, can be found in the first study that I devoted to this text (TORELLA 2007a), which also contains a description of the manuscript (National Archives, Delhi, Skt. Mss. No. 30).

The present article provides the English translation of the Vivṛti on ĪPK I.4.3–I.4.6 (the text was edited in TORELLA 2007c: 479–484). The subject matter of the fourth *āhnika* of the Jñānādhikāra can be outlined

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1 TORELLA 2002: XL–XLV.

as follows, following the summary made by Abhinavagupta himself in the Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī (ĪPV) and Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛtivimarśinī (ĪPVV):[2] (*kārikā* 1) the explanation of the phenomenon of memory according to the author's view is presented; (*kārikā* 2) memory possesses the capacity of manifesting the unique particular that had been the object of a previous perception; (*kārikā* 3) memory enters the previous perception and its object, becoming one with them; (*kārikā* 4) in memory the previous perception does not appear as an object, that is, as something 'separate' from memory; (*kārikā* 5) not even in the case of yogic cognition the perceptions experienced by others appear as an object, as something separate from yogic cognition; (*kārikā* 6) if memory may seem to objectify the previous cognition as something separate from it, this is only a matter of conceptual construction not of actual fact: (*kārikā* 7) this can be extended to conceptual thought too: also conceptual thought does not objectify perception but becomes one with it; (*kārikā* 8) the single and unitary consciousness principle is the ultimate resting place of memory, the object remembered and the one who remembers, and, by extension, of the perceived object, the perception and the perceiver.

The topic of yogic perception[3] enters Pratyabhijñā philosophy through a side door. In the section devoted to knowledge (Jñānādhikāra), the first of the Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikā (ĪPK), Utpaladeva proposes to demonstrate, against the Buddhists, the existence of a permanent self as the necessary common pivot of the various cognitions, without which they would remain confined to themselves only and incapable of establishing those reciprocal relations that alone make the network of ordinary reality possible. Utpaladeva's discourse develops on three different levels – not only as far as terseness is concerned – in the Kārikā, Vṛtti and Vivṛti. In the very complex and dense text of the Vivṛti, Utpaladeva shows that, precisely in two of its central tenets, the logical-epistemological school of Buddhism implicitly belies its denial of the self. Neither non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) – assumed as the criterion for establishing absence – nor exclusion of what is other (*anyāpoha*) – with

2 ĪPV I, p. 114, l. 8 – p. 115, l. 9; ĪPVV II, p. 1, l. 18 – p. 2, l. 8.

3 On yogic perception see recently FRANCO (ed.) 2009 (particularly, ELTSCHINGER 2009, MCCREA 2009, TABER 2009), FRANCO forthc.; cf. also TORELLA forthc. The above publications also contains a detailed bibliography on the subject.

which the Buddhists replace the universal of brahmanical epistemologies – are logically tenable unless a permanent subject is admitted. The same obtains for memory, which the Buddhists try to explain in purely mechanistic terms as an original perceptual content experienced in the past and re-actualised through the awakening of the latent impressions that have remained of it in the individual continuum. Utpaladeva gives voice to a hypothetical opponent who finds the explanation proposed by the Pratyabhijñā too awkward and distant from common sense: it would be much simpler to speak of a cognition (present memory) that 'cognizes' another cognition (the past perception). However, the Pratyabhijñā cannot accept such an interpretation, nor can the Buddhists, unless they question one of the keystones of their respective philosophies: cognitions can never become the object of other cognitions as they are only cognizable through introspective self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana*).[4] The opponent, not expressly named but certainly representing the realistic brahmanical schools, replies that it is common knowledge that at least one case of objectification of cognitions does exist, namely, the case of the *yogin* who penetrates the thought of others, that is, the cognitive and emotional content of their minds. Thus, from Yogasūtra III.19 *pratyayasya paracittajñānam* "(by virtue of the discipline exercised) on cognition there is the knowledge of the mind of others" starts Utpaladeva's argument, which successively concerns three possible cases, described by Abhinavagupta as follows: a) (the *yogin* knows that) another knows this object; b) I had this perception while being in another body, characterised by a previous birth; c) what was thus perceived by another is now remembered (by me).[5]

4 This theme has received an in-depth treatment in Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta's commentaries on ĪPK I.3.6. As far as Utpaladeva's Vṛtti and Vivṛti are concerned, see TORELLA 1988: 160–166. That cognition does not need (and cannot) be known by another cognition is also strongly affirmed by Utpaladeva's mentor, Bhartṛhari, in the last four verses of the Jātisamuddeśa of the Vākyapadīya (see particularly v. 106 *yathā jyotiḥ prakāśena nānyenābhiprakāśyate*, *jñānākāras tathānyena na jñānenopagṛhyate*). Besides the Buddhists (Sautrāntika and Vijñānavādin) and the Śaivas, this view is also essentially upheld by Advaita Vedānta, Jainism and Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā, while the opposite view is upheld by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā, though in very different ways. See e.g. MOOKERJEE 1935: 319–336, KAJIYAMA 1966: 47–53, MATILAL 1986: 141–179, MACKENZIE 2007.

5 ĪPVV II, p. 42, ll. 8–10.

Utpaladeva feels as a primary task to define as accurately as possible the expression *svasaṃvit* 'self-awareness' (on the part of all cognitions) through singling out three levels of meaning (Abhinavagupta even adds a fourth one of his own). In the main, he is in full agreement with Dharmakīrti, who had taken *svasaṃvedana* (or *ātmasaṃvedana*) as one of the four varieties of perception.[6] Any cognition, says Utpaladeva, has as its essential nature self-awareness (*saṃvit*), which can be taken in three different, and complementary, senses: *svasyaiva saṃvit, svaiva saṃvit, svasya saṃvid eva ca* (Abhinavagupta adds: *svā saṃvid eva*; see below p. 306).[7] None of them would stand, if the objectifiability of cognition were accepted. For each of them, apart from the first one,[8] Abhinavagupta specifies the respective counterparts, aptly clarifying the terse lines of the Vivṛti: *svaiva saṃvit* → *parāpy asya* [*jñānasya*] *saṃvit*, *svasya saṃvid eva* → *asaṃvid api ca*, *svā saṃvid eva* → *jaḍam apy asya rūpam*.[9] Once we have ascertained that this is indeed the distinctive mark of any cognition, it remains to be seen whether this may be a feature of yogic perception, too. Even if we were hypothetically willing to admit – says Utpaladeva with his usual terseness – that a cognition might become the object of another cognition, things would hardly change. In fact, the relationship of the subject and object of cognition (*viṣaya-viṣayin*), which would thus obtain, should, in the case at issue, necessarily pass through the achievement of identification between the two cognitions and their respective subjects, since all cognitions and subjects share the same essential nature. However, if a valid cognitive process is based on

6 Nyāyabindu I.7 *tat* [*pratyakṣaṃ*] *caturvidham*; I.10 *sarvacittacaittānām ātmasaṃvedanam* 'the self-awareness of the mind and the mental events in their entirety.' Also Dignāga had listed *svasaṃvitti* as a variety of *pratyakṣa* in *Pramāṇasamuccaya* I.6c *mānasaṃ cārtharāgādisvasaṃvittir akalpikā*, a definition not exempt from problematic aspects; cf. HATTORI 1968: 27, 92–94; YAO 2004.

7 Here Utpaladeva is probably reminiscing about the classification of the affirmative proposition made by Dharmakīrti in PV IV.190–192, where the different position assigned to the particle *eva* produces three different relationships (in that case, among qualificand, qualifier and verb), namely, *ayogavyavaccheda*, *anyayogavyavaccheda* and *atyantāyogavyavaccheda*. See Mokṣākaragupta's Bauddhatarkabhāṣā (KAJIYAMA 1973: 162–167).

8 The counterpart of *svasyaiva saṃvit* is not shown both because it is not relevant to what the author intends to prove, and because an awareness also of the other does not constitute a characteristic of insentience (ĪPVV II, p. 45, ll. 5–7).

9 Cf. ĪPVV II, p. 44, l. 25 – p. 45, l. 5 (l. 3 *prāg iti* is to be corrected to °*pratiyogi*).

the attainment of 'conformity' between the 'apprehended object' (*grāhya*°) part and the 'apprehending subject (or cognition)' (*grāhaka*) part, such a conformity is incompatible with the essential unity of the two cognitions. Utpaladeva's discourse is based on the full acceptation of the epistemological scheme provided by Dignāga: the twofold aspect of cognition.[10] The 'apprehending cognition' part assumes the form of the 'apprehended object' part; the cognitive process consists precisely in the conformity or likeness (*sārūpya*) between the two.[11] It is an undeniable fact, concludes Utpaladeva, that the *yogin* can have access to other minds, but this takes place insofar as he has attained identification with the supreme self, and, consequently, has overcome the distinction among the various limited subjects. On this plane, the cognitions of the others end up being one's own cognitions, and, as such, are known through self-awareness.

At the end of this argument, *ātmavāda* is finally established, but to Utpaladeva this is not sufficient. It is true that in this manner cognitions are endowed with a permanent self acting as their ultimate substratum, but the 'idle' self – e.g. of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika – would prove incapable of moving freely through cognitions, now by uniting them, now by separating them, or, as in the case at issue (the phenomenon of memory), by retrieving an object and its perception from the past and making them shine again in the present without cancelling their original nature, but also without reproducing them mechanically. The object recovered by

10 Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti p. 4 (ad I.9a) *dvyābhāsaṃ hi jñānam utpadyate svābhāsaṃ viṣayābhāsaṃ ca. tasyobhayābhāsasya yat svasamvedanaṃ tat phalam* "Cognition arises having two manifestations: it contains the manifestation of itself and that of the object. The self-awareness of both manifestations constitutes the result (of cognition)." In the various formulations of this doctrine by Dignāga himself and his followers, we can find a fluctation in terminology which does not affect the overall meaning (*sva*°, *grāhaka*°; *viṣaya*°, *artha*°, *grāhya*°; °*ābhāsa*, °*ākāra*). The only real difference is given by the Sautrāntika or Vijñānavāda framework: while for the former the image is projected onto consciousness by an only inferable (*nityānumeya*) external object, for the latter the image arises from consciousness itself. See also recently CHU 2006.

11 Utpaladeva adopts the conception, also upheld by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti – and, more generally, by Sautrāntikas and Vijñānavādins (along with Sāṃkhya and Vedānta) – known as *sākāravāda*. The *nirākāravāda* is followed by Vaibhāṣikas (and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṃsakas and Jaina); cf KAJIYAMA 1989. Expectedly, the dualist Śaivasiddhānta is also *nirākāravādin* (WATSON forthc.).

memory is not the same object as in the original perception, but an object 'coloured' by it. For that to take place, the dynamism, the sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) of the I of the Śaivas is needed.

Between the lines of Utpaladeva's discourse we can glimpse the full awareness of what was then being debated, on the theme of *yogipratyakṣa*, by the Buddhists, on the one hand, and the brahmanical schools, first of all Mīmāṃsā, on the other. Mīmāṃsā denies that the cognition of a past thing or event – whether related to oneself or others – might be labelled as 'direct perception' (cf. WOO 2007: 349). This is maintained with special insistence by Kumārila (in this, already essentially preceded by Ś abara), when he interprets the ambiguous *sat*° – included in that which some authors[12] take as a definition of perception in the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* – in the sense of *vidyamāna* 'present' (I.1.4 *satsamprayoge* […] "there being a contact at the present moment").[13] Prajñākaragupta (cf. FRANCO forthc.) will reply to Kumārila – in a sense overturning the issue – by saying that the 'presence' of an object is not a question of its mere temporal collocation, contiguous to that of the cognizer, but indeed of its being realised in terms of immediacy (Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra p. 112, *sākṣātkaraṇam evāsya bhāvasyāstitvam ucyate*).[14] Time, on the other hand, does not have a reality of its own; the *yogin* can catalogue his (present) perception as that of a past or future object only after he has returned from the state of *samādhi* to the modality of ordinary consciousness, which, thanks to its limitations, can provide the equivalent of a temporal scheme. The solution proposed by Utpaladeva is not very different from that proposed by Prajñākaragupta. The yogic perception may concern an object belonging to the past and not previously experienced by the *yogin* (for, otherwise, it would be merely a case of memory), and

12 For example, the *mīmāṃsaka* Bhavadāsa or Dignāga, but not Kumārila.

13 Cf. HATTORI 1968: 161–163, TABER 2006. The last part of *sūtra* I.1.4, however, does not lend itself to doubt: "[…] since (perception) is apprehension of what is present" (*vidyamānopalambhanatvāt*). On the various possible implications of *sat*° – to which at least two possible (but radically different) interpretations of °*samprayoge* are to be added – see particularly TABER 2006, who analyses Kumārila's considerations on *sūtra* I.1.4, understood by the *mīmāṃsaka* author with regard to the (divergent) considerations of Dignāga in the first chapter of Pramāṇasamuccaya.

14 Just as expected, the realist philosophers move along an opposite line. The *naiyāyika* Bhāsarvajña, for example, considers precisely such appearing of the presence of an object, which instead is not factually present, as the confirmation of the illusory nature of the yogic perception (cf. WOO 2003: 444).

this is due to the 'intermediate' nature of the *yogin*, who a) has overcome the māyic dimension of identification of the subject-ness with the physical body, but not yet the identification with the other factors of limited subjectivity, like *prāṇa*, *puryaṣṭaka*, etc.; b) has come close to the identification with supreme consciousness but has not yet fully accomplished it. Condition b) enables his perception sporadically to overcome temporal succession and differentiation of individual subjects, while condition a) allows him to grasp such perception as that of a 'past' object.[15] Another theme touched on by Utpaladeva is the *vexata quaestio* as to whether the *yogin*, on entering the mind and psyche of another, might be affected by the emotional and passional drives that are present in them. This question is answered by Utpaladeva, not differently from Prajñākaragupta (cf. FRANCO forthc.), in the negative.

Translation of the Vivṛti on I.4.3–5[16]

Vivṛti – It is not admissible that, at the time of memory, the manifestation of the object here taken into consideration as delimited by past time be separate from the present light of memory. As a consequence, the unity of the object incorporated [*śarīrībhūtaḥ*] in the (previous) perception and (subsequent) memory implies the unity also of the perception and memory. While showing that, (the following *kārikā*) demonstrates that the perceiving subject and the recollecting subject are one and the same.

> Kārikā I.4.3 It would not be possible to speak of the manifestation of the object being remembered, if it appeared as separate from memory; therefore, the unity of cognitions that occur at different times is necessary, and this unity is precisely the knower.

15 The Vivṛti passage is translated and commented on in TORELLA 2007b: 558–559 (see n. 104 for Abhinavagupta's explanation of the laconic text).

16 For the text, see TORELLA 2007c: 479–484.

Vṛtti – And the object formerly perceived, manifesting itself together with the perception in the (present) light of the memory directed at that past time [*tātkālikasmṛtiprakāśe*], is necessarily not separate from the memory, since that which is separate from light cannot shine. In this manner, there is a unity of the cognitions, such as direct perception, memory etc., and this (unity) is precisely the self, the knower. To elaborate:

Vivṛti – In memory, we do not have the manifestation of the object previously perceived (*tout court* – that is,) in isolation [*kevalasya*][17] – as in the case of the *yogin*'s cognition having as its content an object belonging to the past.[18] For in this case this cognition would not match the basic requirements for memory to be such. Even though the object as such possesses a permanence-continuity of its own [*svayaṃ sthiratve 'pi*], in memory we are allowed to call it 'past' only owing to the (previous) perception. Thus, it is indeed the light of perception which provides the decisive contribution to the point at issue [*atropayogī*].[19] This is expressed in the Vṛtti by the phrase "and the object formerly perceived, (manifesting itself) together with the perception." And memory is indeed 'cognition' in its essence [*jñānarūpaiva*], whence the Vṛtti says: "the light of memory."[20] The mention of the light of memory in the present, but joined with the qualification of 'belonging to the past,' indirectly implies [*upakṣiptam*] the demonstration of the existence of a recollecting subject due to the unification of the two times.[21]

On the other hand, the perceived object, delimited by the time that is originally its own, i.e. past, united with the previous perception, cannot possibly be separate [*bhinnātmaiva*] from the cognition 'memory,' delimited by present time and playing the role of the subject of cognition [*viṣayiṇaḥ*]. For, if it (the perceived object united with the previous per-

17 That is, only with its 'objective' content, not qualified by its having been the object of a previous perception.

18 In such a case, there would be nothing but the perception of something new, not experienced before (ĪPVV II, p. 33, l. 19 *apūrvānubhavataiva syāt*, *na smṛtitā*). In fact, the *yogin* is deemed to be able to perceive objects belonging to the past without having already experienced them in the past. See below n. 57.

19 That is, the distinctive feature of memory (ib. l. 23 *'atra' iti smṛtilakṣaṇe*).

20 Lit.: "that light-cognition that is memory."

21 The synthesis of past and present occurring in memory is only possible through the work of a 'dynamic' subject.

ception) were separate from the light (of memory), its status of 'cognitive content' [*viṣayatvasya*] would come to be logically inadmissible, since the essential character of any cognitive content is its not being divorced from the subject of cognition [*viṣayyabhraṃśamānatā°*]. This the Vṛtti expresses by saying 'manifesting itself (in the present)' [*avabhāsamāna°*]. Unless the object does not appropriate the own nature of light, it is not logically admissible to say that it is being manifested, just as it happens when an object is outside the range of perception [*parokṣārthavat*]. Likewise, a building becomes white when there is on its part a penetration into the white.[22] This has already been said and will be said again later on.[23]

In this manner, therefore, if the previous perception of the object is not connected with the present light of memory and the object is not penetrated (at the same time) by these two cognitions [*tajjñānadvayātmatāṃ vinā*], it would not be possible (for the previous perception and the previous object) to become the cognitive content of the memory [*smṛtiviṣayībhāva eva nopapadyate*]. Thus, it is demonstrated that the perception and the memory possess a single nature, consisting of their unification [*anusandhāna°*] (by the knower). This has been said in the Vṛtti with the phrase: "In this manner, (there is a unity of the cognitions, such as) direct perception [...]" [*evam anubhava°*]. By saying "and so on" [*°ādi°*], the Vṛtti means to include also other kinds of cognitions, such as conjectural imagination, etc. [*utprekṣādi°*]: "in the future, I shall perceive this object again." In this case, the 'conjectural imagination' cognition is also united with some future direct perception.

However, in the case under consideration, because of the multiformity of the various cognitions, such as direct perception, memory, imagination and so on, caused by the multiformity of their various cognitive contents, common experience alternatively [*vā*][24] conceives of a 'property' status [*dharma°*] to be attributed to them (cognitions), and,

22 *śvetarūpādāv āveś e śvetāyamā nateva prāsādasya*, my conjectural emendation (which I had not taken into consideration in my edition of the text) for *śvetarūpādauveśe śvetamā nayeti prasādasya*, ms. The fact that this constitutes an example (which allows us to propose the reading *iva* instead of *iti*) is clearly stated in ĪPVV II, p. 35, ll. 1–2 *smaraṇe eva hi arthasya śvetatāveśo dṛṣṭāntaḥ, na tu anubhave*.

23 In *kārikā* I.1.2 and I.5.2, respectively.

24 I deem it possible that *vā*, which seems rather out of place here, should be deleted.

consequently, of a single self, assumed as possessor of such properties [*taddharmavān*],[25] as though it were something different from them. But in actual fact, the introverted self, being not differentiated from these (cognitions) and vice versa, coincides with them [*tadātmatvam*]. This has been expressed by the Vr̥tti with the phrase "and this is constituted precisely by the self."

[Objection:] There being a temporal differentiation between one's past perception and memory, there must also be a temporal differentiation concerning the object, which is not separate from them, in terms of a 'previous' and a 'subsequent' (object). But then, if you have said that in memory the object appears in unity with the 'past' manifestation, how could such object have two forms that are in opposition to each other, such as separation and non-separation?

[Reply:] To this objection we reply as follows. First of all, as will be stated shortly,[26] the manifestation of the 'previous perception' cognition does not take place in terms of separation from the 'memory' cognition. For cognitions in themselves have no connection with time; if they appear as connected with a particular time, it is just because the connection with time that concerns the objects of cognitions is metaphorically extended to the cognitions themselves [*tatropacaryate*]. This too will be said later on.[27] But even admitting that, not even at the level of ordinary experience may perception and memory be qualified as previous and subsequent, respectively, depending on their respective objects, since the object perceived and the object being remembered are not different from each other. And such non-difference has as synonym the self and nothing else, as will be stated later on. However, this very self, possessing all powers [*sarvaśakteḥ*], being sovereign and active [*īśvarasya*], makes a differentiation appear in manifestations through the power of time, by creating a variety of manifestations and by the presence or absence of specific manifestations, marked by the perception of certain actions, such as those of the sun, etc.[28] Therefore, since, by virtue of such making different manifestations appear, there is the manifestation of a succession

25 This is, *par excellence*, Vaiśeṣika's position.

26 In the next *kārikā* (I.4.4).

27 In *kārikā* I.5.21.

28 Utpaladeva's concept of time is developed in ĪPK II.1.2–6 (to be read in the light of ĪPV and ĪPVV). Cf. TORELLA 2002: 153–155.

– which takes place according to a process that will be described subsequently – it is possible to attribute metaphorically to the previous perception and memory the succession that belongs to the various stages of the body, etc., even though in actual fact there is no differentiation between these two cognitions. Then, how could there be in the object a contradictory temporal sequence, which should depend precisely on these cognitions? And not even this other objection might be acceptable: the object being remembered, though being manifested in (the present of) memory, is not manifested vividly [*sphuṭākāro nāvabhāsate*]. In fact, the object is not (established as) differentiated [*na bhidyate*] because its manifestation forms are differentiated, since the reflective awareness concerning it is unitary.[29] Also this point will be dealt with later on.[30] Even though the previous perception does not appear in memory in terms of differentiation, nonetheless, since the object is manifested as perceived previously, the perception is indeed manifested as informed by this (past) object [*arthamayo 'sau*].[31] On the basis of what has been said,

29 The prospective objector does not resign himself to his previous objection being dismissed, and formulates it again in slightly different terms: the object of memory and the object of perception have at least one feature that unequivocally distinguishes them, namely, their different level of vividness (*sphuṭatva*). The question is expounded by Abhinavagupta with exemplary clarity: ĪPVV II, p. 38, ll. 18–19 *sphuṭatvāsphuṭatvāt tu tasyaiva viṣayasyeti abhinnaviṣaye te ca sta eva anubhūyamānasmaryamāṇayor iti tatkṛto virodhaḥ syāt*). On this point Abhinavagupta calls upon the support of the Buddhist epistemologists, who do share this view. Interestingly, he does not quote Dharmakīrti, who had solved the question in unequivocal terms in the Pramāṇavārttika (e.g. I.73, 109, and *svavṛtti* thereon; cf. TORELLA 1992: 334–336), but a work by Śaṅkaranandana, the Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā: *saugatair api asphuṭagrahaṇaṃ dhūlipaṭalādivastvantarasāhityagrahaṇam eva, vastunas tu adhyavasāyaikyād ekatvam eveti prāmāṇyaparīkṣādau nirṇītam (*ĪPVV II, p. 38, l. 25–p. 39, l. 2). Unfortunately, I was not able to trace the relevant passage in the extant portions of the three versions of the *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* (*Laghu*°, *Madhya*° and *Bṛhat*°), whose *kārikā*-text is currently studied by Vincent Eltschinger on the basis of new manuscript evidence (I am very grateful to him for kindly putting this material at my disposal).

30 In *kārikā* II.3.10.

31 According to Abhinavagupta (ĪPVV II, p. 39, ll. 4–7), here Utpaladeva intends to reply to a hypotetical objector, who wonders whether the expression "(the object) together with the perception," occurring in the Vṛtti on I.4.3, should not allow us to view the perception as differentiated, just like the object, and therefore as cognizable by memory. If, instead, their status as regards differentiation is not the same, how is it possible to say "(the object) together with the perception"?

the (next *kārikā*) now shows that, although common experience views perception as differentiated (from memory), in actual fact perception is absolutely one with it. The Vṛtti shows this by saying: "to elaborate […]" – I.4.3 –

Vivṛti – And the previous perception, though being compenetrated by the light (of memory), does not receive the status of 'apprehended object' – as is, instead, in the case of things like jars and so on – because, if it were so, it could not be manifested. On the contrary, it manifests itself as resting on the 'apprehending subject' part.

> Kārikā I.4.4 In fact, in memory the former perception is not manifested separately – like the object – since it appears as resting on the self, as the expression "I [*ahaṃ*] perceived in the past [*prāk*]"[32] indicates.

Vṛtti – In memory, the former perception – unlike what happens to the perceived object that is remembered – is not manifested as separate, since it is the self itself which is manifested – the referent of the 'I' notion [*ahantāpratyeyasya*][33] – informed by this perception. And it is precisely that reality present at many different times, known as 'I,' that is the self.

Vivṛti – What appears in 'memory' cognition is solely the form of the object, e.g. the jar, delimited by a previous time etc., belonging to the plane of the 'apprehended object' and indicated as 'this,' that is, in terms

32 Abhinavagupta in the ĪPV (I, pp. 131–133) strongly objects to interpreting *ahaṃ* and *prāk* as I interpreted them, according to the position they occupy in the *kārikā*. If referred to *anvabhūvam*, both of them are redundant as *aham* is already indicated by the personal ending of the verb and *prāk* by the tense used (p. 133, ll. 3–5 *luṅā bhūtakālasya dyotitatvāt, prāk iti bhinnakramaḥ, uttamapuruṣeṇa asmadarthasya aham ity api*). So *prāk* should refer to *arthavat* and *aham* to the following *ātmāroheṇa*; the latter possibility would be plausible, but one would expect one more *iti* after *anvabhūvam*. Abhinavagupta (ibid. p. 131, l. 7) also adds that the *kārikā* can be understood both as *sādharmya*° and *vaidharmyadṛṣṭānta* (Utpaladeva's comments show that he intended it only as a *vaidharmyadṛṣṭānta*). Be it as it may, Abhinavagupta's exegetic acrobatics does not significantly change the overall meaning. It is to be noted that in the Vivṛti on I.4.5 (see below p. 311) Utpaladeva says again *aham anvabhūvam* without this time provoking any reaction from Abhinavagupta.

33 See below, n. 39.

of separation (from the apprehending subject). And, on the contrary, another form, that of the previous perception, does not appear. (In the Vṛtti) it is said: "In memory." However, we cannot say that such previous perception does not appear at all, just as it does not appear in the *yogin*, who cognizes the past object and nothing else.[34] As a matter of fact, the previous perception is manifested as compenetrated with the 'apprehending subject' part, which has become the seat of limited egoity, and in unity with the consciousness of the remembering subject; it can be expressed verbally in forms like these: "I have perceived (such an object in the past)" or "such an object has been perceived by me" (*aham anvabhūvam iti mayānubhūto 'rthaḥ).*[35] Even in the formulation "the object has been perceived by me," it is always only the object that is manifested as separate, while the perception – which does belong to a 'higher' rank than the object [*taduttīrṇa eva*][36] – in spite of being expressed on such occasion as subordinated to the object,[37] nonetheless does by no means allow of being touched by a reflective awareness in terms of "this." Perception rests only on the I as its own essence. Instead, the fact of grasping that (perception) in terms of 'that' or 'vivid' is nothing but a verbal expression used in ordinary experience, grounded on the metaphoric extension

34 The *yogin* can cognize the object that another subject has perceived in the past and is now stored in his mind. He may cognize only the past object in its objective generality and not as accompanied by the awareness of the original perception, which 'colours' it in some way. But this not the only possibility (see below n. 57).

35 The passage corresponding in the translation to "Even in the formulation […] belonging to the perceived object" can be found almost *verbatim* in n. 79 of ĪPV I, pp. 129–130: *ghaṭam aham anvabhūvam ity atra pūrvānubhavasya smartṛ-bodhaikyena pratipādanaṃ sa ghaṭa ity atrāpi artha eva pṛthagbhūto bhāti, anubhavas tu tadānīm arthopasarjanabhāvena sṛjyamāno 'pi taduttīrṇa iva idantāparāmarśasaṃsparśākṣamaḥ ahaṃmātraviśrāntisatattvaḥ, tasya tu yaḥ sa iti sphuṭa iti ca parāmarśaḥ tadanubhāvyadharmopacāreṇa vyavahāramātram iti bhāvaḥ.*

35 See *kārikā* I.4.3.

36 The requirement of meaning induces me to the conjectural emendation *eva* in the place of *iva*, found in the ms. and previously accepted in my edition.

37 While in the first formulation the subject predominates over the object (the verb belonging to the *kartṛstha* category), in the second formulation the verb, in the form of past participle (*anubhūta*), appears as subordinated to *artha*. However, Abhinavagupta says (ĪPVV II, p. 40, ll. 8–11), even when the surface structure shows subordination to the object (thus acting as the grammatical subject), the *kartṛstha* roots never lose their intrinsic nature of being centred on the actual subject. Hence 'to perceive' (*anubhava*) is, and always remains, resting on the subject.

to perception of properties belonging to the perceived object. For, in actual fact, perception in itself has no delimitation, whether spatial or temporal (this topic will be treated later on),[38] since the formulation "at that time I was in such a manner" – where the self figures as the apprehended object, though actually being the knower itself – is only a matter of verbal designation in ordinary reality [*vyavahārāt*] through the metaphorical transfer to the self of properties that belong to the intellect and so on. In actual fact, on the contrary, neither the self nor the 'perception' cognition abstracted from the perceived object are manifested under the rubric 'apprehended object,' as it is instead for the form, etc. What is manifested in the 'I' notion [*ahaṃpratītau*][39] is nothing but the very self, the subject who sees and remembers, brought down to the sphere of 'cognizable object': on the plane of individual self-hood, only owing to its looking at cognizable objects related to many different places and times, does the subject come to be deemed, in the same way, as metaphorically related to many different places and times. This has been expressed in the Vṛtti with the phrase "which is present at many different

38 In *kārikā* I.4.3.

39 The 'I' notion, or 'I' cognition (*ahaṃpratīti, ahaṃpratyaya*), is assumed by most realistic schools as a proof of the existence of a permanent self (among others, this is the position of Uddyotakara and Kumārila); for a thorough treatment of the matter, focusing on, or rather starting from, Rāmakaṇṭha's Nareśvaraparīkṣā-prakāśa, see WATSON 2006: 257–332; WATSON forthc.: 7–16. Buddhist philosophers reply that the very fact that it is a conceptual notion intrinsically connected with verbalization (the word 'I') undermines its capacity of proving anything: our experience shows only a flux of momentary cognitive events without any stable entity beyond them that we may call 'self.' As a reply to the Buddhists, Abhinavagupta (ĪPV I, p. 247, l. 4–p. 258, l. 6), developing what Utpaladeva says in ĪPK I.6.5, distinguishes *ahaṃpratyaya* into two forms, *śuddha* and *māyīya* or *aśuddha*. The *śuddha* form escapes Buddhist criticism, since it is not a *vikalpa* in that it does not imply any exclusion of what is other: here the referent is the very Śiva or Sadāśiva self-hood. The *aśuddha* form, instead, having as referent the body, mind, etc., is indeed a *vikalpa*, and has in its turn two varieties, characterized by *anubhava* and *anusaṃdhāna*, respectively. The latter (ibid. p. 254, l.7–p. 258, l. 4), which features the connection of various factors ('that which was previously a child, then an adult, with a determinate name, character etc., is the I'), can be viewed as the first step towards *śuddha-ahaṃpratyaya*, since in every act of unification we perform in ordinary reality there is a flash of *vidyāśakti* (cf. TORELLA 2002: 132–133, n. 13). About the earlier use of *anusaṃdhāna* (or *pratisaṃdhāna*) argument for establishing the existence of the self by *naiyāyika* philosophers, see WATSON 2006: 139–165.

times." In the formulation of the Vṛtti [*atra*], the concept of 'being a cognizable object' [*vedyatā*] is used in the sense of 'being manifested' [*prathamānatātātparyeṇa*], and is not to be taken as the object of the action 'to cognize' [*vedanakarmatayā*], which would presuppose the modality of dependence on something else [*anyāyattaprakāratvena*].[40] – I.4.4 –

Vivṛti – [Objection] Let us take for granted that for something to come to light it must be compenetrated with light [*prakāśānupraveśam*]. However, from this it does not follow that illuminator and illuminated come to be one. For, if it is true that the illuminated object, for example a jar, is not separate from light, nonetheless in its manifestation the 'apprehended object' part is cut off from the 'apprehending subject.' Analogously, the cognition belonging to another knower appears indeed as 'other,' that is, in terms of 'this' (i.e. of the object). Were it not so (such cognition of the *yogin*) would merely be an error. Therefore, how could you claim that the memory regarding a (previous) perception is in unity with such perception, unless you admit that one cognition may be the object of another cognition?[41]

> Kārikā I.4.5 Cognitions are not manifested in another cognition [*darśanāntare*], not even for the *yogin*s![42] The only means of knowing them is self-awareness. What has just been stated also applies if they are acknowledged as an object of cognition [*meyapade 'pi vā*].

Vṛtti – For the omniscients, too, cognitions belonging to other knowers – which can be known only through self-awareness – must always be

40 Only the *kartṛ* is by definition *svatantra* (P. I.4.54), while all the other *kāraka*s are subordinated to it. Cf. Mahābhāsya, Vol. II, p 352 (ad P. I.4.23): *kathaṃ punar jñāyate – kartā pradhānam iti. yat sarveṣu sādhaneṣu sannihiteṣu kartā pravartayitā bhavati*. See also ĪPK II.4.15–16 and Vṛtti (TORELLA 2002: 184). On similar passages of Prabhākara and Śālikanātha denying that the status of *karman* may ever be assigned to cognition, see WATSON forthc.: 10–11, n. 25.

41 This is the thesis expressed in the previous *kārikā* (I.4.4; cf. TORELLA 2002: 107).

42 Abhinavagupta's glosses would allow a partly different translation: "The cognitions (of others) are not manifested (as an object) even in that particular cognition belonging to the *yogin*s." In fact, he takes *darśanāntare* in the sense of *darśanaviśeṣe* or *jñānaviśeṣe*. Such 'special' cognition is then described in purely Dharmakīrtian terms (ĪPV I, p. 135, l. 4 *bhāvanādyudbhavaḥ*, ĪPVV II, p. 43 l. 11 *bhūtārthabhāvanāprakarṣaviśeṣaparyantaje*).

manifested as resting on their own self [*svātmārūḍhā eva*]; and, therefore, what in reality occurs [*tattvam*] is just the identification of the *yogin*s with the self of others [*parātmatāpattir eva*].[43] Should one attribute (to the cognitions of others) the nature of cognizable object [*prameyakakṣyāyām api*] such as the jar etc., they would have to be manifested each in its own form of pure consciousness [*suddhabodhātmanā rūpeṇa*] had that been possible […].

Vivṛti – [Reply] We answer this objection as follows [*tad atra*]. Even in the case of the *yogin*s, cognition belonging to another is manifested only as informed by self-awareness, for were it not so, on the basis of the principle mentioned above,[44] the very essential nature of cognition would perish, since its own form is indeed its being manifested through self-awareness only. Even if, as an alternative [*vā*], we were to admit that (cognitions) are manifested as belonging to the plane of the apprehended object, there would in any case be a difference in status between the characteristics and the ways of functioning [°*vṛttāntavailakṣaṇyam eva*] of perception and memory, on the one hand, and those of the arising of yogic perception concerning others' cognitions, on the other. However, it is not allowed, on the ground of this example, to establish a relationship of apprehended object/apprehending subject for the case of the (previous) perception and (subsequent) memory. That is why (the *kārikā*) says: "[…] of the *yogin*s" [*yoginām*]. (The *kārikākāra*) has mentioned the status of the *yogin* having in mind the fact of cognizing something outside the scope of sensory faculties (such as the minds of others), since this is functional (to the context of exemplification).[45] The Vṛtti uses the term 'omniscient' [*sarvajña*] (instead of '*yogin*') as the perception of the *yogin*s is a belief known and accepted only among other schools.[46] The ex-

43 The mss. of the Vṛtti oscillate between *parātmatā*° and *paramātmatā*° (the latter is also the reading of the Vivṛti ms.). Changing my view with respect to TORELLA 2007c, now I am convinced that the former reading is the correct one.

44 *Kārikā* I.3.2.

45 This remark is intended by Abhinavagupta (ĪPVV II, p. 43, l. 25–p. 44, l. 4) as an answer to the possible perplexity at mentioning the *yogin*, in whom by definition the power of action predominates, in a context that is exclusively epistemic.

46 I would be tempted to translate *anya*° by 'specific, particular' (like °*antara*), but I am not aware of any use of *anya* in this sense. The term *sarvajña* would be, therefore, of wider application. According to Abhinavagupta (*ibid*. p. 44, ll. 4–5), when

pression "(cognitions) belonging to other knowers" actually means "occurring in other knowers," or, even better, "coinciding with other knowers";[47] these cognitions concern the various entities, such as the jar, conceived of as separate from the knower. If a cognition became the object of another cognition, it would lose its own nature; that is why the term 'own nature' [*svabhāva*] has been used (in the Vṛtti). In order to make known also that the possibility that a cognition can be cognized by both [*ubhayavedyatā*][48] is to be ruled out, (the Vṛttikāra) has added "exclusively" [*mātra*].

Therefore, given that the distinctive character of perception is precisely self-awareness, the fact of being cognizable only through self-awareness is to be considered its own nature [*svabhāva*].[49] (*svasaṃvit* can be taken in various senses:) "awareness of itself only" (*svasyaiva saṃvit*), "awareness only belonging to itself, that is only its own" [*svaiva saṃvit*], and "only awareness of itself" [*svasya saṃvid eva*].[50] Cognition has self-awareness as its distinctive character: at the moment when cognition illuminates itself it also illuminates the other (the object).[51] However, its illuminating the other is not distinct from its illuminating itself.

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one hears of a special vision of the *yogin*, his mind instinctively turns to *yogipratyakṣa*, a term well known to common people and the majority of *śāstra*s.

47 In other words, the Vṛtti has intended to follow common sense, represented by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conception, which considers cognition as a property of the subject. The Vivṛti, on the other hand, because of its more analytic and 'specialistic' character, brings back the discourse to the specific tenets of Pratyabhijñā, for which cognition does not 'belong' to the subject, but coincides with it.

48 That is, that a cognition may be cognized both by itself and by other cognitions.

49 The specific nature of an entity is what excludes it from any other entity (*yat yasya anyato vyāvartakaṃ sa eva tasya svabhāvaḥ*) (ĪPVV II, p. 44, ll. 10–11).

50 By resorting to a device widely used by commentators, to these three meanings Abhinavagupta adds a fourth one – *svā saṃvid eva* 'its own awareness only' – which the text of the Vivṛti (*svasyaiva saṃvid eva ca*) allegedly alludes to by the conjunction *ca* (p. 44, l. 20 *cakāreṇa turyam api niyamaṃ sūcayati*).

51 This position is strongly rejected by the brahmanical schools in the context of criticism of Vijñānavāda. See e.g. Ślokavārttika *śunyavāda* 184ab, denying that the same entity, cognition, can perform two tasks at the same time *vyāpṛtaṃ cārthasaṃvittau jñānaṃ nātmānam ṛcchati* (among the Buddhist replies, see e.g. Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā p. 70, ll. 10–18). Cf. also Nyāyamañjarī, Vol. II, p. 497, l. 11–p. 500, l. 14; p. 498, ll. 1–2 *sa tu prakāśaḥ rūpādiviṣayaprakāśaḥ, na prakāśaprakāśaḥ* (Kataoka 2003: 318–317 has pointed out the indebtedness of Jayanta's arguments to Kumārila's).

Awareness is of itself only (and by itself only) [*svasyaiva saṃvit*] and only due to the possession of such a distinctive character is it (cognition) manifested for what it really is [*tathābhūtaṃ ca sat*]. If that cognition were illuminated also by another cognition, then it would no longer possess an awareness that is its own only [*svaiva saṃvit*], nor would it be only awareness of itself [*svasya saṃvid eva*], but, on the contrary, the awareness of such cognition would be also 'other' in that its illumination would depend on the other. Furthermore, such cognition would come to be also a non-awareness [*asaṃvit*], since it is what is insentient that has such distinctive character.[52]

[Objection] But, then, the phenomenon described above might be interpreted simply in these terms: When a cognition belonging to another knower comes into the presence of a *yogin*, it manifests itself to him spontaneously. In this manner, there would be no violation of the distinctive character of cognition.[53]

[Reply] This is not admissible, for (in a cognition) there cannot be a relation with another (knower). Furthermore, a cognition is said to have a certain content precisely because of conformity [*sārūpyeṇaiva*] (between itself and its object). But since this conformity rests on a combined relationship of difference/non-difference, it can stand between the cognition and, for example, the blue colour, in that the latter has a different nature from cognition, and cognition can 'conform' to it [*tadanukāreṇa*]. Instead, two cognitions that (are supposed to) establish between themselves a relationship of cognitive content/cognizer [*viṣayaviṣayiṇoḥ*] have as their distinctive character only light – which is one and the same (in both) – and, as a consequence, there can be only non-difference between them. Thus, the meaning of being a content of cognition [*ālambanārthaḥ*] would not be 'conformity' but merely unity. Between two mirrors, there is a reciprocal conformity owing to all their forms being different from each other, while, between two cognitions, not even a distinction caused by their being related to specific spaces and times, exceeding their essential nature of consciousness, is by any means possible [*na sambhavī*]. Then, we can say that a cognition has a certain thing as

52 That is, the fact of not being luminous by itself, but of needing to be illuminated.

53 As Abhinavagupta makes clear (*ibid*., p. 45, l. 12), this would be due to the unobstructed spreading of the *yogin*'s consciousness, being the result of its extraordinary stainlessness (*nairmalyātiśayena*).

its content when a cognition takes on its form by virtue of the very nature of the thing. In fact, a cognition that takes on the form of a blue colour due to a certain blue colour, distinct by exclusion from all that is not blue, is said to have that blue colour as its content. Therefore, with respect to a cognition having as its own nature solely that of 'apprehender,' distinct by exclusion from the 'apprehended' [*grāhyavyavacchinnagrāhakaikasvabhāvena*], another cognition would come to have a form altogether equivalent to it [*tulyākāram eva syāt*]. If one cognition (the *yogin*'s cognition) made the other reside in one part only [*ekabhāga eva*],[54] then its essential nature would indeed be safeguarded. (But) in this manner, the (hypothetical) cognitive content/cognizer relationship between the two cognitions would amount to one of mere identification [*aikyāpattir eva viṣayaviṣayibhāvaḥ*].[55] This has been said (in the Vṛtti) by the expression: "resting on their own selves" [*svātmārūḍhāḥ*]. The own self of cognition is the 'apprehender' part [*grāhakāṃśaḥ*], while the body and the other components (of individuality) related to another knower appear in the cognition of the omniscient only as the 'apprehended' part [*grāhyāṃśaḥ*], in terms of differentiation [*bhedena*]. This is what is meant in common experience when it is said that the omniscient's cognition concerns penetration into another's being [*parasattānupraveśa*°]. Actually, the fact that an omniscient knows the self of another is nothing but the attainment by the real knower [*vāstavena pramātrā*], consisting solely of consciousness, of identification with the other knower [*pramātrantaraikyāpattir eva*]. This is said (in the Vṛtti) with the phrase "just the identification of the *yogin*s with the self of others" [*yogināṃ parātmatāpattir eva*]. And it cannot even be observed that unification with other knowers entails for the omniscient coming into touch with the pleasure or pain of others, for pleasure etc. do not penetrate into the real knower, identified with the emerging of pure subjectivity whose distinctive character is only consciousness.[56] Later on, we shall show how

54 In other words, if it managed to take on the other cognition only in the 'perceiver' part that is its own.

55 In the ms., the reading *aikyāpattir eva viṣayaviṣayibhāvaḥ* corrects a previous *aikyāpattyaiva viṣayaviṣayibhāvaḥ*, equally possible (the latter would mean: "the cognitive content/cognizer relationship between the two cognitions would obtain only through mere identification").

56 In a single cognitive act that the *yogin* directs toward another subject (it is Abhinavagupta speaking, ĪPVV II, p. 47, ll. 3–6), we can identify three distinct aspects,

pleasure and so on can take place only in the knower on the *māyā* plane, where he identifies himself with the intellect and refers to the concepts of 'I' and 'this.' Precisely for this, those who have overcome the stage of the (limited) 'apprehending subject' [*grāhakabhūmikottīrṇānām*] and attained the plane of the real knower [*vāstavapramātṛdaśāsamāpannā-nām*] do have direct experience of pleasure or pain – as produced by their respective causes –, but this does not render them 'happy' or 'un-happy' [*na sukhitvādi*]. Or, alternatively, such states do not arise at all in them owing to the incompleteness of their causes. At that moment, the innate bliss emerges in them [*sahajānandāvirbhāvaḥ syāt*].

Let us take into account the case of *yogin*s having a direct cognition of previous existences. Here, when *yogin*s have a direct experience of objects perceived by themselves in the course of previous existences, they are aware of them as objects perceived in the past. Thus, they do nothing but achieve unity with their previous perceptions. And then, this merely amounts to a case of memory, having as its content the object perceived in the past through unification with the previous perception: "I, as (a knower) present here and now, (am experiencing) a certain object perceived by me in a previous existence." (Lastly), let us take into consideration the case of an object perceived in the past by another knower. When, at a subsequent time, the *yogin* has the direct perception of such an object (previously) seen by the other knower along with the cognition (of that object) by the other knower [*pramātrantaradarśanena sahā*], then he perceives it through unification with the cognition that the other knower had in the past. This kind of cognition is merely a case of memory [*smṛtir eva sā*].[57] Even when (the *yogin*) has reached unification

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which appear simultaneously (*samam eva*) within the authentic apprehending subject (the *yogin*) (*paramārthagrāhakarūpam*). The first consists of the body, vital breath etc. of the other, assumed as '(limited) apprehending subject' (*grāhakābhi-matam*); the second consists of the cognitive content found in the other, assumed as 'apprehended object;' the third consists of the mental states such as passion etc. qualifying the other's cognition (*rāgādicaittarūpaṃ jñānam*). The cognition found in the other is accordingly conceptualised as 'other' (*paratvena vikalpyate*), but grasped as 'his own' (*gṛhyate tu svatvenaiva*), while the body etc. of the other are grasped exclusively as other, inasmuch as they are separate from the fictitious ego of the *yogin* (which has not yet been fully overcome).

57 This apparently conflicts with an earlier statement by Utpaladeva in a similar context (*smṛtitvaṃ na syāt*; see above n. 18). In fact, as it becomes clear if we bear in mind what the Vivṛti on I.4.2 and Abhinavagupta's comments thereon say (cf.

with the other knower, he perceives the octuple body, etc., which constitutes the own form of the other knower, as being the other knower proper. This happens when in the *yogin* the karmic impulses responsible for (identification with) his own limited individual subjectivity have not yet ceased. But when these karmic impulses have become altogether extinguished, the *yogin* in the state of divine sovereignty [*īśvarāyamānaḥ*] sees the entire universe as it were his own body, and there is for him no distinction as to cognitions (belonging to himself or another).

On the basis of what has been said, however conceived of [*sarvathā*], the relationship of cognizing/cognized between cognitions, has exclusively the form of self-awareness (*svasaṃvedanarūpatayaiva*),[58] even when the karmic impulses responsible for the distinction my/other's have disappeared through the identification with the state of 'apprehender' only. This has been definitively established.

An alternative hypothesis is provisionally put forward: Let us admit that the perceptions belonging to another knower be manifested to the omniscient as included in the 'apprehended object' part. In this case, however, these perceptions should be manifested (on the one hand) as 'other' [*paratvena*], i.e. as 'this' [*idantayā*] and in terms of differentia-

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TORELLA 2007b: 558 and n. 103), in his cognizing past objects stored in another's mind the *yogin* has two options: either to cognize the bare object (*kevala*, *pūrvārthamātra*) or the object as 'coloured' by the original perception by the other (*pramātrantaradarśanena sahā*). In the first case, when the object, though belonging to the past, is so to speak 'new,' we have essentially a case of perception. The second, instead, can be considered a case of memory in that, in order to reach the original perception experienced by the other (which cannot be objectified) the *yogin* must pass through the identification with the other knower, or, in other words, through identification with universal consciousness, which causes any I/others distinction to vanish.

58 My translation refers to a slightly different text from the one I established in TORELLA 2007c: 484: *tad evaṃ sarvathā jñānānāṃ vedyavedakabhāvo grāhakabhāvaikyāpattyā svaparavibhāgasaṃskārabhraṃśe 'pi vastutaḥ svasaṃvedanarūpatayā bhavatīti sthitam*. Thus, I come back to the text of the ms. The two conjectural emendations I had made (addition of *na* before *vedyavedakabhāvo*; *bhavanti* instead of *bhavati*), though probably providing a more explicit text, now do not seem to me to be strictly necessary. The alternative translation would have been: "We can by no means establish a relationship of cognizer/cognized between cognition, however conceived of […] cognitions appear exclusively as having self-awareness as their own form."

tion [*bhedena*][59] – in the sense of being external with respect to the limited egoity (of the *yogin*) – and (on the other hand, also) with their own essential nature that is exclusively consciousness [*bodhamātreṇātmanā*], transcending the mental and corporeal form related to the other knower. This is meant (by the Vṛtti) in the phrases "should one attribute (to the cognitions of others) the nature of cognizable object" [*prameyakakṣyāyām api*] and "each in its own form of pure consciousness" [*prātisvikena śuddhabodhātmanā*].[60] But this thesis is not logically admissible on the basis of the principle mentioned above, and therefore is to be considered as only being hypothetically and provisionally formulated. This is said (in the Vṛtti): "had that been possible[…]" [*yadi tathā sambhavet*].[61] Instead, in our view (cognitions) are manifested exclusively as transcending the plane of 'this' and rooted in the 'apprehending subject' part ("I have perceived (this object), (this object) has been perceived by me"), and, as a consequence, there is indeed unity [*aikyam eva*] of the two cognitive acts – perception and memory – and not (only) their equivalence [*naitattulyateti*].[62] In this manner, the doctrine affirming the existence of the self [*ātmavādaḥ*] comes to be definitively established. However, mere acknowledgement that there is a single self (with respect to these two cognitions) does not amount to also affirming its (necessary) sovereignty [*aiśvaryam*], for such a self, if conceived of in terms of detached idleness [*audāsīnyāt*], cannot act as the possessor of the powers of perception, memory, etc. [*ananubhavasmaraṇādiśaktimattvāt*]. This has been already said and will be said again later on.

59 In my edition, I had (wrongly, I believe now) conjecturally emended ms. *bhedena* to *abhedena.*

60 According to Abhinavagupta (p. 52, ll. 3–4), *prātisvikena* refers to the Buddhist conceiving of cognition as *svalakṣaṇa*.

61 Not even on the *māyā* plane, Abhinavagupta says (p. 53, l. 7), might cognition be objectified, since not even the power of *māyā* can do what is intrinsically inadmissible (*na cānupapannaṃ māyāśaktyāpi śakyate kartum*). The latter is a quotation from the lost Nareśvaraviveka (possibly a work of Utpaladeva himself).

62 Having concluded the excursus on the perception of other minds, Utpaladeva returns to the main issue, the relationship between previous perception and the subsequent memory. The only way to account for the phenomenon of memory is by admitting the existence of a single subject for both of them, the sole possible ground for their unification.

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TOSHIHIRO WADA

Śaśadhara on Invariable Concomitance (*vyāpti*) (1)*

It is not the case the Navya-Nyāya appeared suddenly out of nowhere during the period of Gaṅgeśa, who was active in the fourteenth century.[1] Due to his systematic treatment of philosophical topics and usage of new technical terms he appears at first glance to be the school's founder. But a thorough review of Navya-nyāya materials and the method of analysis found within them reveals that it is Udayana, who flourished in the eleventh century, who furnished the basis for Navya-nyāya analysis.[2] It is Gaṅgeśa's predecessors and not he who commenced the use of major Navya-nyāya technical terms. In order to understand how this school appeared, it is necessary to study the texts lying between the time of Udayana and Gaṅgeśa.

D. BHATTACHARYA (1958: 87–90) shows the importance of Śaśadhara, who flourished in ca. 1275–1325,[3] to the research on Gaṅgeśa, in his discussion of Gaṅgeśa's refutation and borrowing of Śaśadhara's views in the Tattvacintāmaṇi.[4] Focusing on the "Invariable Concomitance Chapter" (Vyāptivāda) of Śaśadhara's Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa (NSD),[5] WADA (1990: 106–113) presents the correspondence between Śaśadhara's and Gaṅgeśa's provisional definitions (*pūrvapakṣalakṣaṇa*),

* I wish to thank Charles Pain for correcting my English.

1 On the dates of the authors of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, I have followed POTTER (1977: 9–12); POTTER & BHATTACHARYYA (1993: 10–13).

2 On this hypothesis, see WADA (2007a).

3 Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra is known to fall into this period too. MATILAL (1972: 171–172) introduces the provisional definitions of invariable concomitance and refers to, but does not present, the conclusive one by Maṇikaṇṭha. POTTER (1977: 669–682, 2004: 375–381) summarizes Maṇikaṇṭha's Nyāyaratna. For recent research on Maṇikaṇṭha, see PHILLIPS (1997: 157–158).

4 For further research on Śaśadhara's influence on Gaṅgeśa, such as B. K. Matilal's, J. Vattanky's, and V. N. Jha's, see POTTER (1995: 483); WADA (2007a: 47, n. 1). On the influence of Śaśadhara's conclusive definition [*siddhāntalakṣaṇa*] upon Gaṅgeśa's, see WADA (2007a: 47–68).

5 POTTER (1977: 682–684, 2004: 382–394) provides a summary of the NSD.

but it does not give the whole discussion found in the chapter. It is my aim to make up for this deficit by providing a complete annotated translation of this chapter. Texts 1–17 are covered in the present paper; the other texts will be covered in subsequent papers.

Text, Commentary, and Contents

I have used the Sanskrit text of the NSD included in MATILAL (1968) and consulted its commentary, the Nyāyasiddhāntadīpaprabhā (NSDP) written by Śeṣānanta, who was active in the fifteenth century. The arguments presented in the "Invariable Concomitance Chapter" can be divided as follows:

A. Objection (*pūrvapakṣa*): p. 65, l. 1–p. 68, l. 3:
- Text 1: Presentation of seventeen provisional definitions of invariable concomitance (p. 65, l. 1–9)
- Text 2 to 17: Examination of the definitions (p. 65, l. 10–p. 67, l. 21)
- Text 18: Discussion of the ninth definition and an introduction of Śaśadhara's answer (p. 68, l. 3)

B. Answer (*uttarapakṣa*): p. 68, l. 4–69.

An Annotated Translation of the "Invariable Concomitance Chapter" of Śaśadhara's Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa

A. Objection

Text 1

nanu keyaṃ vyāptiḥ. anaupādhikatvaṃ vā svābhāvikatvaṃ vā avyabhicāritvaṃ vā kārtsyena sambandho vā, sādhanasamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasamānādhikaraṇasādhyasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ vā, viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyaṃ vā, tādātmyaṃ vā, kāryakāraṇabhāvo vā, avinābhāvo vā, nimittanaimittikatvaṃ vā, anyonyābhāvaviśeṣo vā, yāvatsādhyavyāpakavyāpyatvaṃ vā, sādhyavyāpakavyāpyatvaṃ vā, sādhanātyantābhāvasāmānā-

dhikaraṇyavyāpyātyantābhāvapratiyogisādhyasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ vā sādhyābhāvavyāpakābhāvapratiyogisādhanasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ vā, sambandhamātraṃ vānyad vā.

What is this invariable concomitance? (Is it one of the following definitions?) [1] unconditional (relation), [2] natural (relation), [3] non-deviatingness, [4] the relation in totality (to the *probantia*), [5] the coexistence of (a *probans*) with the *probandum* which has a common *locus* with many[6] properties that have a common *locus* with the *probans*, [6] the relation of a qualifier to the qualified (by the *probandum*), [7] identity, [8] causality, [9] non-occurrence (of *x*) without (*y*), [10] the relation of effect to its cause, [11] a particular (kind of) mutual absence, [12] the state of being pervaded by the pervader of many *probanda*, [13] the state of being pervaded by the pervader of a *probandum*, [14] the coexistence (of a *probans*) with the *probandum* which is the counterpositive of a constant absence which is pervaded by the (possessor of) coexistence with a constant absence of the *probans*, [15] the coexistence of a *probans* which is the counterpositive of an absence which is the pervader of an absence of the *probandum*, [16] (a kind of) relation, or [17] something other (than the above sixteen definitions).[7]

6 ‘Many’ is a rendering of *yāvat*, which means ‘as many as.’ In text 6.1 *yāvat* means ‘as many as one can treat or pick up in a particular context.’ It might be appropriate to render this term as ‘some,’ but this rendering is used for *yatkiñcit*, etc. I am also afraid that it is confusing to render the term as ‘treatable’ or ‘knowable.’

7 MATILAL (1972: 171) presents advocates of the provisional definitions given by Maṇikaṇṭha in his Nyāyaratna, some of which are common to Śaśadhara’s list of the provisional definitions, as follows: “1. ‘any kind of relation’ *saṃbhandha-mātra* (view of Bhūṣaṇakāra=Bhāsarvajña?, [Śaśadhara’s 17th definition]), 2. ‘non-deviation’ *avyabhicaritatva* (found in Śrīdhara’s Nyāyakandalī and in many places [Śaśadhara’s 3rd definition]), 3. ‘the property of not occurring without (the other)’ *avinābhāva* (Diṅnāga, Praśastapāda and many others [Śaśadhara’s 9th definition]), 4. ‘natural relation’ *svābhāvika-sambandha* (Trilocana [Śaśadhara’s 2nd definition]), 5. ‘relation of the effect to its efficient cause’ *nimitta-maimittika-bhāva* (the Sāṃkhya view? [Śaśadhara’s 10th definition]), 6. ‘identity’ *tādātmya* (Dharmakīrti [Śaśadhara’s 7th definition]), 7. ‘relation of the qualifier to the qualified’ *viśiṣṭa-vaiśiṣṭya* (? [Śaśadhara’s 6th definition]), 8. ‘the property of being the counterpositive of an absence which (absence) is pervasive of the absence of the major term’ *sādhyābhāva-vyāpakābhāva-pratiyogitva*, 9. ‘accompaniment of all cases of the middle term with the major term’ *kārtsnena sādhana-sādhya-sahabhāva* (Vallabha), 10. ‘unconditional relation’ *anaupādhika-sambandha* (Udayana and others [Śaśadhara’s 1st definition]), 11. ‘co-occurrence with something that is never the

Text 2.1

na tāvad ādayaḥ. kiṃ tadanaupādhikatvam. upādhyajanyatvaṃ vā upādhirahitatvaṃ vā. nādyaḥ. dhūme sādhye vahner api gamakatvaprasaṅgāt. na hi tayoḥ sambandha upādhinā janyate.

Now, the first (definition is) not correct. What is that unconditional (relation)? This is either [D1.1] the state of being not produced by a condition[8] or [D1.2] the state of lacking a condition. The first (i.e., [D1.1]) is not correct, because even fire would make one understand (the existence of smoke) in the case of smoke being the *probandum*.[9] The reason for this is that the relation between both (fire and smoke) is not produced by a condition.[10]

Text 2.2

na dvitīyāḥ. upādhirahitatvaṃ hi tadupādhirahitatvaṃ vā anyopādhirahitatvaṃ vā. nādyaḥ asambhavāt. vahnau sādhye dhūmasyāpi agamaka-

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counterpositive of a constant absence which (absence) is co-occurrent with middle term in the same *locus*' *sādhanatvābhimatasamānādhikaraṇātyantābhāvapratiyogisāmānādhikaraṇya*." I have supplied to the above quotation the number of Śaśadhara's corresponding definition, if there is one, in square brackets.

8 A condition is defined by Udayana as that which is not the pervader of the *probans* and which is the pervader of the *probandum* (Ātmatattvaviveka, p. 403, l. 12 *sādhanāvyāpakatve sati sādhyavyāpakatvam*). On the Navya-nyāya concept of condition, see PHILLIPS & TATACHARYA (2002); WADA (2007b). Phillips renders *upādhi* as 'undercutting condition,' which is fine as far as Navya-nyāya usage in the context of invariable concomitance is concerned. It is an on-going issue whether his rendering holds good for the period before of Navya-nyāya.

9 The inference in question seems to be "(the mountain) possesses smoke, because it possesses fire" [*vahnimān dhūmāt*], which is invalid. One can point out that the contact with wet fuel is a condition with reference to the invalid *probans* (i.e., fire) of this inference. The opponent intends that since D1.1 applies even to this *probans*, fire would prove the existence of smoke, which is not true. This is the defect of over-application [*ativyāpti*].

10 According to the NSDP (p. 682, l. 17–19 *na hi tayoḥ sambandha iti. samānādhikaraṇasambandha saṃyogalakṣaṇaḥ. upādhinā janyata iti tasya tadasamavāyitvād ity arthaḥ. kin tu adhikaraṇadhūmābhyāṃ vahnitadadhikaraṇābhyāṃ ceti śeṣaḥ*), the present sentence mentions the physical relation between fire and smoke, i.e., coexistence in one and the same *locus*, and not the relation of the producer and the produced. If the latter relation were referred to, we would accept that smoke is produced by fire and the contact with wet fuel. This consequence contradicts the sentence.

tvaprasaṅgāt, tadupādhirahitatvasya tatra pratyetum aśakyatvāt. tad-upādhipratītau ca sopādhitvāpatteḥ. na dvitīyaḥ. dhūmasyāpi kvacid upādhitvena tadvirahāsambhavāt. upādhinirvacane 'nyonyāśrayapra-saṅgāt.

The second [i.e., D1.2] is not correct, because the state of lacking a condition is either [D1.2.1] the state of lacking a particular condition or [D1.2.2] the state of lacking a condition with reference to (some) other (inference). The first [D1.2.1] is not correct, because (such a definition) is impossible. The reason for this is that even smoke would not make one understand (the existence of fire) in the case of fire being the *probandum*.[11] The (two) reasons for this are that in that case the state of lacking a particular condition cannot be recognized, and that in the case of a particular condition being recognized (smoke) would be associated with the condition.[12] The second [D1.2.2] is not correct, because even smoke cannot lack that (state of lacking a condition with reference to some other inference) being a condition in some case.[13] (Another) reason for this is that when a condition is explained, there would be mutual dependence[14] (between the concepts of a condition and invariable concomitance).[15]

11 For instance, in the case of the valid inference that the mountain possesses fire, because (it possesses) smoke [*parvato vahnimān dhūmāt*], one cannot recognize that the *probans*, i.e., smoke, is not associated with a particular condition. Since a particular condition is not known, the state of lacking a particular condition is also unknown. Then, we cannot claim that smoke, the valid *probans*, possesses this state. It follows that smoke would not prove the existence of fire.

12 The valid *probans*, smoke, is not associated with the condition, which means that the condition does not exist with reference to smoke. If some condition were recognized with reference to smoke, smoke would not be a valid *probans*.

13 According to the NSDP (p. 682, l. 21–p. 683, l. 5 *vahnivyāpyatvena maśakanirvartakatvānumānādāv ity arthaḥ*), smoke can be a condition with reference to the inference that (this) drives off mosquitoes, because (it possesses) the state of being the pervaded entity [*maśakanirvartakam vahnivyāpyatvāt*, which is reconstructed from the above NSDP].

14 Matilal (1968: 82) gives the definition of mutual dependence, i.e., "*x* and *y* are mutually dependent if and only if *x* is explained as an object of cognition which is dependent upon a cognition of *y* and *y* in its turn is explained as an object of cognition which is dependent upon a cognition of *x*."

15 Udayana defined a condition as that which is not the pervader of the *probans* and which is the pervader of the *probandum*. On this, see footnote 8. A pervader, being a possessor of invariable concomitance, is explained as an object of cognition

Text 3

nāpi dvitīyaḥ. svābhāvikatvaṃ hi svabhāvajanyatvaṃ vā svabhāva eva vā. svabhāvo 'pi svarūpaṃ vā svadharmo vā. nādyo 'sambhavāt. na hi kaścit svātmanā svadharmeṇa vā janyate. netaro vyabhicārisādhāraṇyāt. tatsvabhāvasyāpi svabhāvatvāt.

Neither is the second (definition) correct. Natural (relation) is indeed either [D2.1] the state of being produced by one's own state or [D2. 2] nothing but one's own state; even one's own state is either itself or its own property. The first [i.e., D2.1] is not correct, because it is impossible (to be produced by one's own state). Nothing is indeed produced by itself or by its own property. The other [i.e., D2.2] is not correct, because it is common to deviating (*probantia*). (This is) because its own state is also an own state.

Text 4

nāpi tṛtīyaḥ. avyabhicāritvaṃ hi vyabhicāraśūnyatvaṃ vivakṣitam. vyabhicāraś ca sādhyātyantābhāvasāmānādhikaraṇyam eva. tac ca kevalānvayini na sambhavati. tatra sādhyātyantābhāvāprasiddheḥ. saṃyogādyavyāpyavṛttau ca sādhye sādhyātyantābhāvasāmānādhikaraṇye 'pi dravyatvasya vyāpter iṣyamāṇatvāt. kiñ ca vyabhicārasya sādhyanirvacanādhīnanirvacanatvena sādhyasya ca vyāpakatvenānyonyāśrayāt.

Neither is the third (definition) correct. (The expression) non-deviatingness is meant (to denote) the state of being absent from deviation;[16] deviation is nothing but the coexistence (of a *probans*) with a constant absence of the *probandum*. That (coexistence) cannot occur in an unnegatable (*probandum*),[17] because a constant absence of the *probandum*

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which depends upon a cognition of invariable concomitance. Invariable concomitance, in turn, is explained as an object of cognition of the condition.

16 'Deviation' is a rendering of *vyabhicāra*; 'deviatingness' of *vyabhicāritva*. 'Non-deviation' [*avyabhicāra*] and 'non-deviatingness' [*avyabhicāritva*] are quite often used as synonyms of 'invariable concomitance' [*vyāpti*]. However, Navya-naiyāyikas such as Śaśadhara and Gaṅgeśa do not regard these terms as its synonyms.

17 An unnegatable entity is that whose negation one cannot demonstrate, such as the state of being an object of true cognition [*prameyatva*], and namability, or the state of being expressed in words [*abhidheyatva*]. This is because in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system all entities are objects of cognition as well as are expressed by words.

is not obtained in that case[18] and also because it is accepted that substanceness possesses invariable concomitance even when (substanceness) has a common *locus* with a constant absence of the *probandum* which occurs only in part of its *locus*,[19] such as contact, etc.[20] Moreover, the reason for this is that since the explanation of non-deviatingness depends upon that of the *probandum* and since the *probandum* is the pervader (of the *probans*), (there would be) mutual dependence (between non-deviatingness and the *probandum*).[21]

Text 5

nāpi caturthaḥ. kārtsnyena hi sāmastyena prakāreṇa sambandho vivakṣitaḥ. na ca sāmastyaṃ sambandhaghaṭakaḥ prakāraḥ. samastavyakti-garbhasya sambandhasyābhāvāt. pratyekaṃ tathātve sāmastyābhāvāt. vyabhicārisādhāraṇyāt pakṣāntarapraveśāt.

Note that a *probans* whose *probandum* is unnegatable is also called unnegatable. On this, see TS, p. 40, l. 8–9 *liṅgaṃ trividham. anvayavyatireki kevalānvaya kevalavyatireki ceti*.

18 In the case of the valid inference that a pot is namable, because it is an object of true cognition [*ghaṭo 'bhidheyaḥ prameyatvāt*], the *probandum* is namability. The coexistence would be defined as that of the *probans* with a constant absence of the *probandum*, namability; however no one can demonstrate such an absence.

19 On that which occurs only in part of its *locus* [*avyāpyavr̥ttin*], see INGALLS [1951: 73]. Ingalls renders *avyāpyavr̥ttin* as "of incomplete occurrence." He renders *vyāpyavr̥ttin* as "of complete occurrence," which means that which occurs in the whole *locus*.

20 In the case of the valid inference that this possesses a contact, because (it possesses) substanceness [*idaṃ saṃyogī dravyatvāt*], even the valid *probans* can possess the coexistence with a constant absence of the *probandum*. Here the *probandum* is a contact, and the *probans* is substanceness [*dravyatva*]. The *probans* can exist in a substance such as a pot, where, if someone touches the pot, a contact with the hand of the person occurs. However, the pot possesses the coexistence with a constant absence of the contact in other parts of the pot which the hand does not touch. It follows that the valid *probans* possesses deviation, which indicates that the definition does not apply to the present valid *probans*. It suffers from the defect of narrow-application [*avyāpti*].

21 In the valid inference the *probandum* is the pervader of the *probans*. The mutual dependency is: to understand non-deviatingness, one needs to know the pervader, which depends upon a cognition of non-deviatingness. For the definition of mutual dependence, see footnote 14.

Neither is the fourth (definition) correct. (The expression) 'in totality' is indeed meant for a relation by way of being with all. And the state of being with all is not a state which forms relation. The reason (for this is that) a relation which includes all individuals is impossible. This is because (a relation) is like that [i.e., with reference to an individual] and not with reference to all (individuals).[22] The (other) reason (why the fourth definition is not correct,) is that since (such a relation is) common to a deviating (*probans*), another view will be concluded.[23]

Text 6.1

nāpi pañcamaḥ. sādhanasamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ hi kiñcitsādhyavyakter vābhidhitsitaṃ sakalasādhanasamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ sakalasādhyavyakter vābhipretaṃ yatkiñcitsādhanavyaktisamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ sakalasādhyavyakter vivakṣitaṃ, sādhanatvāvacchedakadharmavadyatkiñcidvyaktisamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasamānādhikaraṇamātravṛttisādhyatvāvacchedakadharmavadvyaktisāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ vā, yāvatsādhanasamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasamānādhikaraṇayatkiñcitsādhyavyaktisāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ[24] *vā.*

Neither is the fifth (definition) correct. (By this definition) [D5.1] "the coexistence of (a *probans*) with some individual of the *probandum*

22 This means that a particular smoke can prove the existence of a particular fire, but not all fires. For instance, smoke arising on the mountain can prove the existence of mountain-fire, but not any fire.

23 For instance, in the valid inference that the mountain possesses fire, because it possesses smoke [*vahnimān dhūmāt*], the *probans* (smoke) has the relation of invariable concomitance with fire. If the fourth definition were correct, smoke would have this relation with all fires. This relation exists even in the case of the invalid inference that the mountain possesses smoke because it possesses fire [*dhūmavān vahneḥ*]. Here, the *probans*, fire, is inconsistent [*anaikāntika*], or deviating [*vyabhicārin*]. Because smoke is supposed to be connected to all fires, any fire would also be connected to smoke. Then, the *probans* would be able to prove the existence of smoke, which is not true in the case of a hot iron-ball. This ball possesses fire but lacks smoke; in other words, in reality fire cannot prove the existence of smoke.

24 The edition of MATILAL (1976: 66, l. 15) reads *-sāmānyā(nā)dhikaraṇyaṃ*. In his footnote he gives the information that the P edition and another edition drop *samānādhikaraṇayatkiñcitsādhyavyakti-*. Since the P edition reads the last term as *-samānādhikaraṇayam,* it is proper to adopt the present intelligible reading instead of MATILAL's (1976) reading.

that has a common *locus* with many[25] properties that have a common *locus* with the *probans*" is indeed meant, or [D5.2] "the coexistence of (a *probans*) with all individuals of the *probandum* that have a common *locus* with many properties that have a common *locus* with all the *probantia*" is intended, or [D5.3] "the coexistence of (a *probans*) with all individuals of the *probandum* which has a common *locus* with many properties that have a common *locus* with any individual of the *probans*" is meant, or [D5.4] "the coexistence of (a *probans*) with an individual (of the *probandum*) possessing the delimiting property of probandumness which (property) occurs only in that having a common *locus* with many properties which have a common *locus* with any individual (of the *probans*) possessing the delimiting property of probansness" (is meant), or [D5.5] "the coexistence of (a *probans*) with any individual of the *probandum* having a common *locus* with many properties that have a common *locus* with many *probans*" (is meant).

Text 6.2

nādyo rāsabhasādhāraṇyāt. na dvitīyaḥ asambhavāt. na hi sakalasādhanasamānādhikaraṇaiḥ dharmaiḥ sarvāḥ sādhyavyaktayaḥ samānādhikaraṇāḥ. ata eva na tṛtīyaḥ. na caturthaḥ. adhikavṛttisādhye tadabhāvāt. na pañcamaḥ. ekavyaktike yāvadarthābhāvād. vyāptigrahe siddhasādhanaprasaṅgāc ca.

The first [interpretation, i.e., D5.1] is not correct, because [the coexistence in D5.1] is common to a donkey.[26] The second [i.e., D5.2] is not correct, because [the coexistence in D5.2] is impossible. The reason (for this) is that it is not the case that all individuals of the *probandum* have a common *locus* with properties that have a common *locus* with all

25 This is a rendering of *yāvat*. On this rendering, see footnote 6.

26 To confirm how D5.1 applies to a donkey, which is not the *definiendum*, let us take up the valid inference "the mountain possess fire, because it possesses smoke." The *probans* is smoke, and the *probandum* is fire. A property that has a common *locus* with the *probans* can be mountainess [*parvatatva*], trees [*vṛkṣa*], a donkey which happens to carry a load in that mountain, and so forth. This donkey can possess the coexistence with some *probandum*, i.e., some fire that has a common *locus* with many properties (e.g., trees) that have a common *locus* with the *probans* (i.e., smoke), and thus D5.1 applies to the donkey.

the *probantia*.[27] Because of the same reason the third [i.e., D5.3] is not correct. The fourth [i.e., D5.4] is not correct, because the *probandum* occurring in more (*loci*) does not possess that (coexistence).[28] The fifth [i.e., D5.5] is not correct, because (a relation) possessing one individual (for one *relatum*) cannot possess many individuals (for the other *relatum*)[29] and because [D5.5] would (contain the defect of) proving the already proved with reference to grasping invariable concomitance.[30]

Text 7

nāpi ṣaṣṭhaḥ. uktarītyā dūṣitatvāt. yathākathañcitsambhave etāvadajñāyamāne 'py anumiter jāyamānatvāt gauravakaratvāc ca. anyathopapatter vakṣyamāṇatvāc ca.

Neither is the sixth (definition) correct, because (this definition) is invalidated by the stated manner.[31] The reasons (for this) are that when it

27 D5.2 purports that all the *probantia* have a common *locus* with many/some *x*, and that those *x* have a common *locus* with all the *probandum*. This means that the *probans* and the *probandum* necessarily occur in one and the same *locus*. We know that there is a valid *probans* whose *probandum* occurs in more *loci* than in those of the *probans*, for example, smoke with reference to fire. Fire occurs in more *loci* than in those of smoke.

28 D5.4 indicates that the *probans* and *probandum* necessarily occur in one and the same *locus*. Hence, D5.4 does not apply to a valid *probans* which occurs in *loci* including those of the *probandum*, such as fire in the valid inference that the mountain possesses fire, because it possesses smoke.

29 It is presupposed that one *relatum* is connected with another *relatum* by a relation, and not with many relata. On this, see footnote 22.

30 The fifth contains the following expression "any individual of the *probandum* having a common *locus* with many properties that have a common *locus* with many *probantia*" (*yāvadsādhanasamānādhikaraṇayāvaddharmasamānādhikaraṇayatkiñcitsādhyavyakti*), which indicates that wherever the *probans* exists, the *probandum* also exists, i.e., there is a relation of invariable concomitance between the *probans* and its *probandum*. To apply the whole D5.5 to an individual case is to apply the above expression to the same case, which leads us to double confirmation of the relation of invariable concomitance. This is the defect of proving what has been already proved.

31 The sixth definition is applicable to a case of a deviating *probans* [*vyabhicārin*] which happens to occur in the *locus* of some *probandum*. Moreover, because we cannot recognize all cases in which wherever the *probans* exists, the *probandum* also exists, we cannot determine whether the definition applies to even to a valid *probans* or not. Cf. NSDP, p. 688, l. 7–10 *uktarītyeti. yatkiñcitsādhyaviśiṣṭe yatkiñ-*

is somehow possible (to know an invariable concomitance between some *probans* and some *probandum*) and it is even impossible to know (the invariable concomitance between) many (*probantia* and many *probanda*), inference can take place[32] and thus (the definition) creates cumbersomeness (in defining invariable concomitance),[33] and that another possibility will be stated.[34]

Text 8

nāpi saptamaḥ. avyāpakatvāt. abhedena gamyagamakabhāvānupapatteś ca.

Neither is the seventh (definition) correct, because it does not cover (a case in which the *probans* is valid)[35] and because (it implies that) by (the fact that there is) no difference (between a *probans* and the *probandum*) that the relation between an indicated thing and an indicating thing becomes impossible.

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citsādhanavaiśiṣṭyasya vyabhicārisādhāraṇyāt. sakalasādhyaviśiṣṭe sakalasādhanavaiśiṣṭyasyāsambhavād ityādirūpeṇeity arthaḥ.

32 When a *probans* is unnegatable [*kevalānvayin*], we can recognize some *probantia* and *probanda*, but not all. Even if we are not aware of all cases that the relation of the qualifier (i.e., the *probans*) to that which is qualified by the *probandum*, inference can occur. For example, in the case of the inference "this is namable, because it is knowable" [*abhidheyaṃ jñeyatvāt*] the *probans* is knowability, and the *probandum* namability. Here the qualifier is the *probans*, and that which is qualified by the *probandum* are namable things. We cannot recognize all relations of knowability to namable things, because we cannot be aware of all namable things. However, this inference is judged to be valid.

33 The sixth definition is correct when a *probans* exists in that which is qualified by the *probandum*, but it is not certain that the definition is still correct in the case of an unnegatable *probans* whose all cases are not grasped. This indicates that we have to formulate two definitions of invariable concomitance according to these two cases, which is more cumbersome than a single definition.

34 The sixth definition does not cover cases in which the *probans* is unnegatable, which means that we need another definition for these cases. According to NSDP, p. 688, l. 19–20 *anyathopapatter iti. aikyenāpapatter ity arthaḥ*, the present sentence seems to claim that a single definition, which covers them, will be demonstrated later on.

35 This reason means that if invariable concomitance is defined as identity, this definition does not apply to a valid case such as "the mountain possesses fire, because it possesses smoke." Here the *probans* (i.e., smoke) and the *probandum* (i.e., fire) do not stand in the relation of identity.

Text 9

nāpy aṣṭamaḥ. akāryakāraṇabhūtayor api vyāpyavyāpakabhāvāt.

Neither is the eighth (definition) correct, because even two things which are not in the relation of cause and effect (can) exist in the relation of a pervaded and a pervading thing.[36]

Text 10

nāpi navamaḥ. avinābhāvo hi sādhyaṃ vinā hetvabhāvo vivakṣitaḥ. tathā ca kevalānvayiny aprasiddheḥ.

Neither is the ninth (definition) correct. Non-occurrence (of *x*) without (*y*) indeed intends to indicate non-occurrence of a *probans* without its *probandum*, and thus (the definition) is not known (to be applicable) to an unnegatable (*probans*). (This is) the reason (why the definition is not correct).[37]

Text 11.1

nāpi daśamaḥ. nimittanaimittikatvaṃ hi kāryakāraṇabhāvo vā samānāvacchedakatvaṃ vā.

Neither is the tenth (definition) correct. The relation of effect to its cause is either [D10.1] the relation of cause and effect or [D10.2] the state of having the same delimitor.[38]

Text 11.2

nādyaḥ. kāryakāraṇabhāvapraveśāt, na dvitīyaḥ avacchedakatvaṃ hi sāmānādhikaraṇyamātraṃ vā niyatasāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ vā. nādyo vyabhicārisādhāraṇyāt, na dvitīyo 'nyonyāśrayāt. yathākathañcidavacchedakatvanirvacane 'pi avacchedakatvāntarbhāvena vyāpakatvavyāpyatve

36 In some cases we can infer one thing from the other even though both are not in the relation of causality. For example, the color of a mango fruit is not the effect of the taste of the fruit, but a particular color can inform us of a particular taste. Here the color is the pervaded property, and the taste the pervading property.

37 The ninth definition will be discussed again in text 18, which is not included in this paper.

38 On the concept of delimitor in Navya-nyāya, see WADA (1990: 81–98, 2007a: 27–35).

syātāṃ tathā ca kevaladhūmasya vyāpyatvaṃ kevalasya vahner vyāpakatvaṃ ca na syāt.

The first (interpretation [D10.1]) is not correct, because it is involved in the relation of cause and effect.[39] The second [D10.2] is not correct, because the state of having the same delimitor[40] is really only having a common *locus* or invariably having a common *locus*. The first is not correct, because that relation is common to a deviating *probans*; the second is not correct, because there is mutual dependence (between determining a delimitor and a common *locus*). Even if (we can) explain somehow (what contains) delimitorness, (both the *probans* and the *probandum*) contain delimitorness. Hence, it would be (determined) that pervaderness and pervadedness (occur in this and that), and thus it would not be the case that simple smoke is a pervaded (entity) and that simple fire is a pervader.[41]

Text 12

nāpy ekadaśaḥ. tathāvidhānyonyābhāve pramāṇābhāvāt. avyabhicārād eva tadbodhakatve 'vyabhicārasyopajīvyatve vā tasyaiva vyāptitvasvīkārasyocitatvāt. tad evāstv iti ced, na, taddūṣitatvāt.

Neither is the eleventh (definition) correct, because there is no proof of mutual absence being such [i.e., invariable concomitance]. The reason (for this) is that when (mutual absence) indicates (that there is) that [i.e., invariable concomitance between a *probans* and the *probandum*] due to the non-deviation (of the *probans*) or when (mutual absence) is a means of (grasping) non-deviation, it is proper to judge that only that (mutual absence is) invariable concomitance.[42] If some argues that that is indeed

39 The tenth definition will be identical with the eighth.

40 I have translated *avacchedakatvam* as "the state of having the same delimitor," following the NSDP (p. 389, l 15) *avacchedakatvaṃ hi samānāvacchedakatvaṃ hīty arthaḥ.*

41 If the tenth definition is interpreted as the state of having the same delimitor, and further as the state of invariably having a common *locus*, the latter state exists in both the pervader and the pervaded entity. Accordingly, we cannot judge which is the pervader and which is the pervaded entity.

42 When inference takes place, invariable concomitance or non-deviation must have been grasped between a *probans* and the *probandum*, and then it is understood that the mutual absence between them functions as invariable concomitance or non-deviation. If the process of grasping invariable concomitance were the opposite,

correct, (this is) not true. This is because that (argument) has been already invalidated.

Text 13

nāpi dvādaśaḥ. ātmāśrayāt. sādhyavyāpakapadena sādhyasamaniyatavivakṣāyāṃ śeṣavaiyarthyāt. na ca tad evāstv iti vācyaṃ, sādhyavyāpyasyaiva tathātve śeṣavaiyarthyāt.

Neither is the twelfth (definition) correct, because (it has the defect of) self-dependence.[43] (Another) reason (for this) is that if the expression 'the pervader of the *probandum*' is intended to mean 'the collocating (entity) of the *probandum*,' the remaining (expression of the definition) is of no purpose.[44] It should not be argued that that (interpretation) should be (adopted). The reason (for this) is that if ('the pervaded by the pervader of the many *probanda*' means) 'the pervaded by the *probandum*' is obtained through (following) that interpretation, the remaining (expression of the definition) is of no purpose.[45]

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namely, if mutual absence causes a cognition of invariable concomitance, the definition would be correct. However, this is not the case, because we do not always grasp invariable concomitance in the case of mutual absence being understood.

43 MATILAL (1968: 82) gives the definition of self-dependence as follows: "*x* is self-dependent if and only if *x* is explained as an object of some cognition which is dependent upon a cognition of *x*." The twelfth definition purports that to determine invariable concomitance, we should have the cognition of the pervader and the pervaded entity. To have this cognition, we should have the cognition of invariable concomitance. It should be noted that that which possesses invariable concomitance is a pervaded entity.

44 A collocating entity is that which is simultaneously the pervader and the pervaded entity of the other. Then, the twelfth definition will be rewritten as "the state of being pervaded by that which is the pervader and the pervaded entity of the many *probanda*." According to the NSDP (p. 391, l. 7–9 *evaṃsati sādhyavyāpyatve sati ye sādhyavyāpakā yāvadtadvyāpyatvaṃ paryavasyati tatra sādhyavyāpakāṃśo vyartha ity arthaḥ. śeṣeti.*), in this rewritten form "the pervader and the pervaded entity" is not necessary. It follows that in the twelfth definition "the pervader of" is also unnecessary.

45 The twelfth definition will be "the state of being pervaded by the pervaded entity of many *probanda*." Here the words "the pervaded entity of" is unnecessary. Cf. NSDP, p. 391, l. 9–10 *astu yāvatsādhyavyāpyavyāpyatvam eva lakṣaṇaṃ tatrāpy āha. śeṣeti.*

Text 14

nāpi trayodaśaḥ. ātmāśrayāt. śeṣavaiyarthyāc ca.

Neither is the thirteenth (definition) correct, because (it has the defect of) self-dependence[46] and because the remaining (expression of the definition) is of no purpose.[47]

Text 15

nāpi caturdaśaḥ. avyāpyavṛttau sādhye kevalānvayini cābhāvāt. ata eva nāpi pañcadaśaḥ.

Neither is the fourteenth (definition) correct, because (the state regarded as the definition) does not exist (in a *probans*) in the case in which the *probandum* is that which occurs only in part of its *locus*,[48] and in which (the *probans*) is unnegatable.[49] That is why the fifteenth (definition) is not correct either.

46 On the defect of self-dependence and how it occurs in the case of the thirteenth definition, see footnote 42.

47 See the footnotes to the translation of text 13.

48 In the valid inference "a tree possesses contact, because it (possesses) substanceness" [*vṛkṣaḥ saṃyogī dravyatvāt*], the *probandum* is contact, which occurs in part of its own *locus*. The fourteenth definition is "the coexistence (of a *probans*) with the *probandum* which is the counterpositive of a constant absence which is pervaded by the (possessor of) coexistence with a constant absence of the *probans*." Let us test whether we can apply this definition to the above valid *probans* or not. (1) The *probans* is substanceness. (2) A constant absence of this *probans* is that of substanceness, which (absence) coexists, for example, in a quality [*guṇa*] with a constant absence of a quality. This is because entities other than substances do not possess a quality. (3) A constant absence pervaded by the constant absence of a quality is that of contact, because it is true that wherever the constant absence of contact (pervaded) exists, the constant absence of a quality (pervader) also exists. (4) Contact can occur in a substance, so it can never be the counterpositive of a constant absence occurring in a substance. To put it another way, contact, i.e., the *probandum*, cannot be that which is the counterpositive of the constant absence which is pervaded by the coexistent with the constant absence of the *probans*. Thus, the definition cannot apply to the present valid *probans*. This is the defect of narrow-application. The reason for this defect is that the *probandum* can occur in a *locus* with its constant absence.

49 When the *probandum* is unnegatable, the *probans*, universally existent or not, is also called unnegatable. One this, see footnote 17. An unnegatable *probandum* cannot be the counterpositive of a constant absence, and thus we cannot obtain an example of the *probandum* which meets the condition mentioned in the definition,

Text 16

nāpi ṣoḍaśaḥ . sambandhamātrajñānasyānumityajanakatvāt. vyāptijñānasya yena rūpeṇānumitikāraṇatvaṃ tasyeha nirūpyamāṇatvāt. nāpi sambandhatvaṃ saṃyogādyanugatam[50] *asti.*

Neither is the sixteenth (definition) correct, because it is not true that the cognition of any relation produces inferential cognition. This is because it should be explained here how the cognition of invariable concomitance causes inferential cognition.[51] Relationness does not exist in contact, etc.[52]

Text 17

nāpi saptadaśaḥ. tadanirvacanāt. akhaṇḍa eva vyāptipadārtha iti cen na, niyāmakābhāvāt. niyāmakasadbhāve tenaivānyathāsiddheḥ. anyathopapatter vakṣyamāṇatvāc ca.

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i.e., "the *probandum* which is the counterpositive of a constant absence" (*-atyantābhāvapratiyogisādhya-*).

50 The edition of MATILAL (1976: 67, l. 18) reads *saṃyogatvādyanugatam*; he does not refer to this reading given by the P edition. I have followed the P reading.

51 A literal translation would be "This is because it is explained by what property the state of being the cause of inferential cognition, which (state) exists in the cognition of invariable concomitance, is established/delimited," which implies that it is the cognition of invariable concomitance and not that of relation in general that causes inferential cognition.

52 According to the NSDP (p. 393, l. 18–20 *nāpi sambnadhatvam iti. anugamasya viśiṣṭadhīniyāmakatvasya niyamagarbhatvenānyonyāśrayād iti bhāvaḥ.*), the sixteenth definition causes the defect of mutual dependence. (For the definition of mutual dependence, see footnote 14.) Relation, which is regarded as invariable concomitance by the opponent, regulates the occurrence of qualified cognition, but this cognition is obtained by having ascertained an invariable concomitance between the *probans* and the *probandum*. For example, when we infer the existence of fire from smoke on the mountain, we recall the relation between smoke and fire, and then we can infer. In other words, the relation causes the qualified cognition that smoke is qualified by the invariable concomitance with fire, which indicates that the definition (i.e., relation) should be understood before the *definiendum* (i.e., invariable concomitance) is determined. However, to have the cognition of the definition, we have to understand the *definiendum*. To have the cognition of the *definiendum*, we should have the cognition of the definition. This is the defect of mutual dependence. However, contact cannot be such a relation which regulates the occurrence of qualified cognition, though contact is called 'relation.' Being a quality [*guṇa*], contact is perceived independent of its *relata*.

Neither is the seventeenth (definition) correct, because such (a type of definition) cannot be explained. If someone argues that the entity (called) invariable concomitance is indivisible,[53] this is not true. The reasons (for this) are that there is no regulating (factor of this definition with reference to the occurrence of inferential cognition), that if (some definition, e.g., non-occurrence [of *x*] without [*y*],) does regulate (the occurrence of inferential cognition),[54] (a causal relationship between invariable concomitance and inferential cognition will) be established otherwise (and not by the present definition), and that the possibility (of such a causal relationship) will be explained another way.

(*To be continued*)

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53 This means: invariable concomitance is neither an entity which consists of entities possessing a generic property [*jāti*, *sāmānya*], nor a generic property. NSDP, p. 393, l. 20–21 *asiddho hetur ity āha akhaṇḍa iti. jātivaddharmāntarāghaṭitaśarīraḥ. abhāvasamavāyādiṣv anubhūyamānatayāsamavāyitvāc ca jātibinna ity arthaḥ.* INGALLS (1951: 38, 41) refers to the concept of indivisible.

54 NSDP, p. 394, l. 6–7 *niyāmaketi. avinābhāvāder niyāmakatvam āśaṅkyā ha tenaiveti.* Since the seventeenth definition, other than the sixteen definitions mentioned in text 1, cannot be described, such a definition is not required to explain the causal relationship between invariable concomitance and inferential cognition. This relationship can be explained by taking recourse to other definitions of invariable concomitance, such as 'non-occurrence [of *x*] without [*y*]' [*avinābhāva*].

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NSD = Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa.

NSDP = Nyāyasiddhāntadīpaprabhā. Edited in *The Pandit* 41, pp. 359–410, with the title *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpaprabhā. Vyāptivāda of Śeṣānanta*.

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Vedic Studies

JOEL P. BRERETON

On the Particle *hí* in the Ṛgveda

When one has worked with the Ṛgveda for a time, a certain and perhaps unhealthy obsessiveness begins to take hold. This paper may be the result of such obsession, for it is principally concerned with one particular construction in the Ṛgveda, namely, the function of the particle *hí* when used with an imperative. An example of such a passage is ṚV 1.26.1ab *vásiṣvā hí* […] *vástrāṇi* […] *sémáṃ no adhvaráṃ yaja*. If for the moment we ignore *hí*, we could translate: "Clothe yourself in your clothes. Perform this rite for us." But what exactly does *hí* contribute? Is it hortative or emphasizing: "Surely clothe yourself"?[1] Does it express some causal or temporal relationship? Or does it not inflect the meaning much at all?

Before trying to answer this question, let me briefly review the more general use of *hí* in the Ṛgveda. In Vedic texts, the verb of a clause marked with *hí* is accented, as Pāṇini also recognized (SPEYER 1896: §263). According to KLEIN's analysis (1992: 91), Ṛgvedic verbal accentuation developed from two phonetic principles: salience or emphasis and heightened intonation. The latter signaled that a statement was incomplete, and on this basis, verbal accentuation in subordinate clauses became grammaticalized. The required accentuation of verbs in *hí*-clauses is therefore evidence that speakers understood the *hí*-clause to be subordinate or complementary or incomplete in some fashion.[2] However, in later Sanskrit, *hí* also functions as an emphasizing or hortative particle in independent clauses. Therefore, one question is whether this latter function is already present in the Ṛgveda. The use of *hí* with an impera-

1 So both GELDNER (ṚVÜ) and RENOU (EVP XII: 3) construe it.

2 In various ways, the standard Vedic grammars characterize the function of *hí* as a marker of subordination. For example, WHITNEY (1889: 225f.) describes *hí* as having "a slight subordinating force," and Renou (1952: 377) as sometimes "équivalent d'une subordonnée causale […] ou parfois concessive […]." See HETTRICH 1988: 171f. for a more complete review of descriptions of *hí*.

tive might indicate that it is.[3] In this study, I hope to show that *hí* with an imperative has a causal sense, not an emphatic one, and that it, as well as the accented verb within the *hí*-clause, mark it as complementary to another clause.

In his thorough work on hypotaxis in Vedic, HETTRICH (1988: 172ff.) considered the function of *hí*-clauses and developed an informative typology. Like his predecessors, HETTRICH (1988: 175) holds that in the great majority of cases, a *hí*-clause complements an adjacent clause, to which it has a causal relationship. However, he also says (*op. cit.* pp. 176–179) that a *hí*-clause can also have some other kind of connection to another clause: it could be concessive ('although'), adversative ('while'), final ('for'), or temporal ('after'). This is a useful conspectus, although perhaps overly precise in its distinctions.[4] At the end, RENOU's (1952: 377) description of *hí*-clauses in Vedic as typically causal but occasionally concessive captures the normal functions of *hí*.[5]

Most often a *hí*-clause follows the clause it complements (cf. HETTRICH 1988: 175). Examples are a legion, but by way of illustration, there is:

3 See, for example, the view of DELBRÜCK (1888: 522) and Grassmann to whom he refers: "*hí* steht in auffordernden, namentlich imperativischen Sätzen, und zwar (so meint Gr.) um die Erfüllung der Aufforderung als eine erwartete oder erwünschte zu bezeichnen." Similarly, describing Vedic in general, RENOU (1952: 377) says that in addition to its subordinating force, *hí* is sometimes "équivalent d'un hortatif (notamment devant impératif)."

4 Thus, of HETTRICH's (1988: 177) two examples of an adversative *hí*-clause, one might be as easily explained as concessive and the other better explained as causal. The first is 5.34.8cd *yújaṃ hy ànyám ákr̥ta pravepany, úd īṃ gávyaṃ sr̥jate sátvabhir dhúniḥ*. Hettrich understands the two clauses to contrast the different fates of two different men, but the point is rather that because Indra has made the one his ally, he will capture of the cattle of the other. Therefore, we can translate: "Since he who shakes [= Indra] has made one of them his yoke-mate, the tumultuous one, along with his warriors, drives away the cattle(-wealth) (of the other)." The second passage is 10.28.1ab *víśvo hy ànyó arír ājagā́ma, máméd áha śváśuro nā́ jagāma*. Here the clause is concessive: "Although every other outsider has come, my father-in-law, just mine, has not come." For the purposes of my argument, there is no need to distinguish final and causal clauses. Hettrich translates final *hí*-clauses by 'denn.'

5 RENOU (1961: 519) also describes an adversative function of *hí* in post-Vedic Sanskrit.

4.17.18 *sakhīyatā́m avitā́ bodhi sákhā, gr̥ṇāná indra stuvaté váyo dhāḥ, vayáṃ hy ā́ te cakr̥mā́ sabā́dha, ābhíḥ śámībhir maháyanta indra.*
Be the helper and companion of those seeking your companionship. Being sung, Indra, grant vitality to him who praises, for we have zealously performed here for you, exalting you through these labors, Indra.

Not as commonly, but also not rarely, the *hí*-clause can appear before the clause it complements. Since this location is important to my argument, I give several examples:

3.19.4 *bhū́rīṇi hí tvé dadhiré ánīkā́, -gne devásya yájyavo jánāsaḥ, sá ā́ vaha devátātiṃ yaviṣṭha, śárdho yád adyá divyáṃ yájāsi.*
Since the peoples eager to sacrifice have placed in you [= the fire] the many faces of (you) a god, Agni, convey here the assembly of the gods, o youngest one, when you will sacrifice to the divine host today.[6]

That is, the priests have established the face of the god Agni in each fire they kindle, and because they have done so, Agni as a god should bring the gods to the sacrifice.

4.6.1cd *tváṃ hí víśvam abhy ási mánma, prá vedhásaś cit tirasi manīṣā́m.*
Since you dominate every thought, you further the inspired thinking even of an adept.
7.18.18ab *śáśvanto hí śátravo rāradhúṣ ṭe, bhedásya cic chárdhato vinda rándhim.*
Since your rivals in succession have become subject to you, find subjugation even for boastful Bheda.

But, in addition to these, there are verses in which the *hí*-clause does not seem to be in a subordinate or complementary relationship with another clause, whether preceding or following it. HETTRICH (1988: 172ff.) recognizes the existence of such non-complementary *hí*-clauses, and among them he places a number – although not all – of the *hí*-clauses that have an imperative verb. In this paper, I will argue that *hí*-clauses with the imperative conform to the normal type of *hí*-clauses; that is, they also complement another clause and bear a causal relationship to it. For pur-

6 The syntax of *pāda* a is not quite clear. GELDNER (R̥VÜ) takes *tvé* here as genitive in apposition to *devásya*, citing 8.61.6c. In the latter verse, however, *tvé* may also be locative, and I have interpreted it as such here, as did RENOU (EVP XII: 63) and OLDENBERG (1897: 279). Also, as KÜMMEL (2000: 274) notes, the exact function of medial perfect *dadhiré* is not quite clear. He suggests the following translation: "Denn viele Antlitze haben sie (für sich?) dir verschafft, Agni."

poses of this discussion, I exclude *-si* imperatives and ambiguous examples in which a verb form might be imperative but might just as plausibly be injunctive or subjunctive.

According to my count, that leaves 29 examples of imperative *hí*-clauses in the R̥gveda, not including the repeated *pāda*s of one refrain. The distribution of these examples suggests that this is not only an uncommon construction but also one not particularly favored in the core R̥gveda. There are only 10 examples (one of which is in a repeated stanza) in books 2–7 and none in book 9. The construction is in more common use among the poets of book 1, which has 8 examples, and among the Kāṇva poets of book 8.[7] Book 10 has an additional 4.

The best evidence that *hí*-clauses with the imperative are complementary is the verses in which they are followed by clauses introduced by *áthā*. In his discussion of *áthā*, KLEIN (1985 Vol. II: 67) states that the "etymologically oldest and most frequently attested employment" of *áthā* is to indicate "temporal, logical, or modal nexus between clauses." Consider:

> 1.114.9 *úpa te stómān paśupā́ ivā́karam, rā́svā pitar marutām̐ sumnám asmé, bhadrā́ hí te sumatír mr̥layáttamā́, -thā vayám áva ít te vr̥ṇīmahe.*
> Like a cowherd I have driven these praises close to you. Give your favor to us, father of the Maruts. Since your favor is propitious, is most merciful, therefore we choose just your help.

This is a verse in which KLEIN (1985 Vol. II: 70) interprets *áthā* as expressing a logical relationship, although he takes *hí* here as asseverative rather than causal. But since *hí* more usually expresses a causal relationship, why should *hí* carry an asseverative value, especially when the *áthā*-clause expresses a logical consequence? The position of the *hí*-clause before the *áthā*-clause does not preclude such an interpretation, since we have seen that a *hí*-clause can precede the clause it complements. Therefore in this verse, *hí* indicates that the kind of favor offered by the Maruts is the reason that the sacrificers seek help from them.

Klein finds that *áthā* expresses a temporal sequence more often than it does a logical connection. To be sure, it is often difficult to tell when a

7 Of the 7 examples in the eighth *maṇḍala*, 6 are within the Kāṇva section (8.1–66). The one example from an Āṅgirasa poet is the stereotyped *yukṣvā́ hí*, discussed below.

second action is a consequence of a prior action or only later than it, but I think that when *áthā*-clauses are preceded by *hí*-clauses, a logical sequence – “since such and such, therefore so and so” – is more likely. After all, if *hí* regularly has a causal sense in other contexts, we would expect it to have a causal sense in this one as well. For example, KLEIN (*op. cit.* p. 74) offers 7.11.4cd as an example of *áthā* as a simple conjunction, but in this verse, the first action is the condition for the second:

> 7.11.4cd *krátuṃ hy àsya vásavo juṣántā́, -thā devā́ dadhire havyavā́ham.*
> Since the good gods find pleasure in his [= Agni’s] will, therefore the gods have established him as the conveyor of oblations.

Agni is the oblation-carrier of the gods because they are satisfied with his intention. The *hí*-clause states the reason for the action of the *áthā*-clause. The following are further examples in which *hí*-clauses are in logical relationship to *áthā*-clauses:

> 1.109.2 *áśravaṃ hí bhūridā́vattarā vāṃ, víjāmātur utá vā ghā syālā́t, áthā sómasya práyatī yuvábhyām, índrāgnī stómaṃ janayāmi návyam.*
> Because I have heard that you two are those who give abundance better than does a no-account son-in-law or brother-in-law, therefore with an offering of *soma* for you two, Indra and Agni, I beget a newer praise.

Because his in-laws are useless, therefore the poet seeks help from Indra and Agni.

> 1.81.8 *mādáyasva suté sácā, śávase śūra rā́dhase, vidmā́ hí tvā purūvásum, úpa kā́mān sasr̥jmáhé, -thā no ’vitā́ bhava.*
> Find exhilaration in the pressed *soma* for the sake of vast strength, o warrior, in order to show your generosity. Since we know you to possess many goods and we have sent you our desires, therefore become a helper for us.

Because Indra is rich and because he knows our desires, therefore he should come to our aid.

> 9.81.2 *áchā hí sómaḥ kaláśā̆m̐ ásiṣyadad, átyo ná vóḷhā raghúvartanir vŕ̥ṣā, áthā devā́nām ubháyasya jánmano, vidvā́m̐ aśnoty amúta itáś ca yát.*
> Since *soma* has flowed here into the tubs – like the steed that draws (the chariot), the bull’s course is rapid – therefore knowing of the twofold birth of gods, he [= Soma] reaches what is there and what here.

The descent of *soma* is the reason that the god Soma is linked not only with the heaven above but also with the earth below.

3.28.5 *ágne tr̥tī́ye sávane hí kā́niṣaḥ, puroḷā́śaṃ sahasaḥ sūnav ā́hutam, áthā devéṣv adhvarám̐ vipanyáyā, dhā́ rátnavantam amŕ̥teṣu jā́gr̥vim.*
O Agni, since in the third pressing you will find pleasure in the offered sacrificial cake, o son of strength, therefore place the rite among the gods and amid their admiration; (place) it, wealth-bearing and awake, among the immortals.
3.3.1cd *agnír hí devā́m̐ amŕ̥to duvasyáty, áthā dhármāṇi sanátā ná dūduṣat.*
Since immortal Agni befriends the gods, therefore from of old, he has never corrupted the foundations (of the sacrifice).

The pattern in these verses is that the *hí*-clause precedes and states the reason for the consequence expressed in the *áthā*-clause. Because a preceding *hí*-clause is less usual than a following one, the *áthā* acts to confirm that its clause is to be construed with the *hí*-clause.

This same *hí* […] *áthā* sequence is also attested seven times when the *hí*-clause contains an imperative. This may not appear to be a large number, but it is almost a quarter of the total examples of *hí* with the imperative in the R̥gveda. In this construction, as in the other examples of the *hí* […] *áthā* sequence, the *hí*-clause with the imperative expresses the cause or condition of the action in the *áthā*-clause. Consider, for example:

1.10.3 *yukṣvā́ hí keśínā hárī, vŕ̥ṣaṇā kakṣyaprā́, áthā na indra somapā girā́m úpaśrutiṃ cara.*
Hitch up your long-maned fallow bays that fill their girthbands, o you two bulls, and thereby journey, o *soma*-drinking Indra, to hear our songs.

HETTRICH (1988: 178) also cites this verse. In his typology of different kinds of *hí*-clauses, he classes this verse and six other examples of *hí* with the imperative within the category of temporal *hí*-clauses.[8] I would modify his evaluation of this verse only to suggest that the *hí* imparts a causal as well as a temporal nuance.[9]

8 The others are 2.36.3, 37.5; 6.16.43; 8.3.17, 75.1; and 10.30.2.

9 KLEIN (1985 Vol. II: 73) also suggests that in this verse, while *áthā* might be simply conjunctive, it probably has a temporal nuance: “It is often difficult or impossible […] to determine whether or not a temporal nuance is present in *áthā* itself, but […] it is almost always the case that the *áthā*-clause contains an action, wish, etc. which is temporally subsequent to that described in its predecessor.”

1.92.15 *yukṣvā́ hí vājinīvaty, áśvām̐ adyā́ruṇā́m̐ uṣaḥ, áthā no víśvā saúbhagāny ā́ vaha.*
Hitch up the ruddy horses today, o Dawn, rich in winning mares, and thereby convey to us all good rewards.

And finally, to both 1.10.3 and 1.92.5, compare:

8.26.20 *yukṣvā́ hí tvám̐ rathāsáhā, yuvásva póṣyā vaso, ā́n no vāyo mádhu pibā, -smā́kaṃ sávanā́ gahi.*
Hitch up the two that power the chariot, unite the two to be prospered, o good (god), and then drink our honey, Vāyu, and come to our pressings.

Here *áthā* has here been replaced by *ā́t*, which might also signal that the following action is a consequence of a preceding one. Note that *ā́t* regularly patterns with subordinate *yád-* and *yádi*-clauses, and therefore we might expect it to introduce a clause that a preceding clause complements. KLEIN (1985 Vol. II: 131) sees *ā́t* as a temporal conjunction, but again, in many of the examples he gives, a causal nuance is at least possible.[10] According to this verse, because Vāyu hitches his horses in order to travel to the sacrifice, he will drink *soma*.

In the following two verses, HETTRICH (1988: 178) sees a temporal relationship between the *hí* and *áthā*-clauses and I a causal one. But the larger point is that in both, the *hí*-clause complements the *áthā*-clause:

10 The following are a few of the verses he cites together with his translations: 3.9.9cd *aúkṣan ghr̥taír ástr̥ṇan barhír asmā, ā́d íd dhótāraṃ ny àsādayanta* "They sprinkled (him) with ghee, they laid out the barhis for him, and then immediately did they cause the Hotar to sit down." (131); 9.88.2 *sá īṃ rátho ná bhuriṣā́ḷ ayoji, maháḥ purū́ṇi sātáye vásūni, ā́d īṃ víśvā nahuṣyā̀ṇi jātā́ḥ, svàrṣātā vána ūrdhvā́ navanta* "That great one has (just) been yoked like a chariot which overcomes many (enemies) in order to obtain many goods. And thereupon all the Nahuṣa folk cry to him, standing upright in the (presence of the) wooden (cup), in (the battle for) the attainment of the sun." (132); and 8.12.8 *yádi pravr̥ddha satpate, sahásram mahiṣā́m̐ ághaḥ, ā́d ít ta indriyám máhi prá vāvr̥dhe* "As soon as thou didst eat a thousand buffaloes, O strengthened master of the seat (of worship), then immediately did thy Indra-power grow great." (132). In each case, the *ā́t*-clause states a succeeding action that has occurred because of what has happened in a preceding clause. In 3.9.9, because Agni is sprinked with ghee and the ritual grass laid for him, he takes his seat as a Hotar. In 9.88.2, because Soma is a victorious warrior, the Nahuṣa folk cry to him. And in 8.12.8 because Indra consumed a thousand buffaloes, his power became great.

2.36.3 *améva naḥ suhavā ā́ hí gántana, ní barhíṣi sadatanā ráṇiṣṭana, áthā mandasva jujuṣāṇó ándhasas, tváṣṭar devébhir jánibhiḥ sumádgaṇaḥ.*
All you of easy summons, come here to us as if to your home – sit down on the sacred grass; take your delight – and thereby, Tvaṣṭar, find exhilaration from the soma-plant, taking your pleasure and forming an assembly with the gods and their wives.[11]

The poet invites the gods to come to the sacrificial place, but then turns to Tvaṣṭar, who would be among them, and encourages him to become exhilarated as a consequence of his coming to the rite.

2.37.5cd *pṛṅktáṃ havī́ṃṣi mádhunā́ hí kaṃ gatám, áthā sómam pibataṃ vājinīvasū.*
Mix the oblations with honey. Yes, come! And thereby drink the soma, you two whose goods are winning mares.

Here the Aśvins are to drink the *soma* as a result of their coming to the offering.

There are two more examples from the same hymn, 1.108, one of which is the refrain of the hymn. In the first example, the *hí*-clause is combined with subordinate clauses:

1.108.6 *yád ábravam prathamáṃ vāṃ vṛṇānò, -yáṃ sómo ásurair no vihávyaḥ, tā́ṃ satyā́ṃ śraddhā́m abhy ā́ hí yātám, áthā sómasya pibataṃ sutásya.*
Because upon choosing you two [= Indra and Agni], I first declared that we must invoke this soma in competition with lords, travel here towards this true hospitality, and thereby drink of the pressed soma.

The poet claims that in the way one chooses priests, he chose Indra and Agni to be part of his sacrifice and that he was the first to invoke the *soma*. For that reason Indra and Agni should come to the *soma* offering and, as a consequence, drink the *soma*. Part of line d of this verse is the hymn's refrain. As in vs. 6, so also in the refrain in the five verses that follow, lines c and d are complementary clauses:

1.108.7cd, 8cd, 9cd, 10cd, 11cd *átaḥ pári vṛṣaṇāv ā́ hí yātám, áthā sómasya pibataṃ sutásya.*
From there, o you two bulls, travel here, and thereby drink of the pressed soma.

11 The imperatives in bc do not belong to the *hí*-clause, of course, but rather elaborate on the poet's desire that the gods come to his sacrifice.

The two gods are called away from the sacrifices of others so that they will receive the *soma* at the poet's sacrifice.

In another verse, the action of the gods is the cause of the benefit they give to humans:

> 1.93.7 *ágnīṣomā havíṣaḥ prásthitasya, vītáṃ háryataṃ vṛṣaṇā juṣéthām, suśármāṇā svávasā hí bhūtám, áthā dhattaṃ yájamānāya śáṃ yóḥ.*
> Agni and Soma, pursue the oblation set before you – yearn for it, bulls; enjoy it! Be those who offer good shelter and good help, and thereby establish luck and life for the sacrificer.[12]

The placement of *hí* in this verse is unusual. Normally it has second position in a clause, but here it occurs deep within both the clause and the *pāda*. However, this general rule is not without exceptions. HOCK (1996: 221 n. 22) has noted that "[…] particles such as *hí* […] can occur 'downstairs' within the VP, rather than in a clause-initial string" and cites as an example 1.2.4e *índavo vām uśánti hí* "[…] for the *soma*-drops are eager for you two." In Hock's example, *hí* occurs in second position in the verb phrase, exactly where, given its migration to the verb phrase, we would expect it to be located. But unlike 1.2.4e, in 1.93.7 *hí* occurs before the verb. To understand how this occurred, note that the phrase *hí bhūtám* is not unique to this verse. It also appears in 7.67.9 and 99.3, and 10.30.2 has *hí bhūtá*. In 1.93.7 and these other verses, *hí bhūtám* or *hí bhūtá* is in the cadence of the *pāda*, and in three of the four, *hí* is not in second position in its clause or in the verb phrase.[13] On the basis of this pattern, we can say that *hí bhūtám/bhūtá* has become a lexical unit and that it occupies the normal position of the verb despite the presence of *hí*. The basis for this development was *pāda*s like 1.108.6c *tā́ṃ saty ā́n śraddhā́m abhy ā́ hí yātám*, 1.108.7c (etc.) *átaḥ pári vṛṣaṇāv ā́ hí yātám*, 5.4.6a *vadhéna dásyum prá hí cātáyasva*, 10.14.4a *imáṃ yama prastarám ā́ hí sī́da*, and 10.18.12b *sahásram míta úpa hí śráyantām*. In all these, *hí* is in the verb phrase rather than in second position in an initial string. The particle is placed after the preverb(s) and right before the imperative verb form. On the model of such verses the collocation *hí*

12 It is possible that *bhūtám* is injunctive here, but given the frequency of an imperative *hí*-clause with *áthā* it is far more likely to be imperative.

13 The exception is 10.30.2, which has an extra-sentential vocative. Therefore, even though it comes near the end of the *pāda* in this verse, *hí* follows the first word in its clause.

bhūtám developed through the placement of *hí* before the imperative verb despite the absence of a preverb.

How then does this bear on the intepretation of *hí*? The multiple occurrences of *hí bhūtám/bhūtá* and of only *hí bhūtám/bhūtá* as an example of the placement of *hí* before an internal imperative without a preverb suggests that *hí bhūtám/bhūtá* was considered a fixed lexical unit. If so, it is possible that *hí* here may be an essentially meaningless addition. The poets might have employed the phrase *hí bhūtám/bhūtá* because of its convenience in the cadence, the most metrically fixed part of the poetic line. As I will argue below, I think this is exactly what happened in 7.67.9, 99.3, and 10.30.2. In 1.93.7, it is hard to tell. It may be that *hí* still has a causal force that is confirmed by the following *áthā*, or it may be that *áthā* alone signals the relationship between the two clauses. In either case, the poet is saying that because the gods offer shelter and help, they can give 'luck and life' to the sacrificer.

Not surprisingly, there are also examples of *hí*-clauses with causal value whose following clause does not open with *áthā*. In 1.10.3, 1.92.5, and 8.26.20 above, the phrase *yukṣvā́ hí* was followed by an *áthā*-clause. In 1.14.12 and 8.3.17, we again have the sequence 'hitch up and go,' although this time the 'go' clause is not marked with *áthā*:

> 1.14.12 *yukṣvā́ hy áruṣī ráthe, haríto deva rohítaḥ, tā́bhir devā́m̐ ihā́ vaha.*
> Hitch up your ruddy mares to your chariot, your fallow bays, your chestnuts, o god, and so with them, convey the gods here.

In translating these verses with *hí* and the imperative, I have indicated the logical connection between the clauses by 'and so.'

> 8.3.17 *yukṣvā́ hí vṛtrahantama, hárī indra parāvátaḥ, arvācīnó maghavan sómapītaya, ugrá ṛṣvébhir ā́ gahi.*
> Hitch up your pair of fallow bays, Indra, best smasher of obstacles, in the far distance, and so, generous one, turning this way, come to drink the soma – you the mighty one, together with your towering (horses).

Rather than 'hitch up and go,' 8.75.1 has 'hitch up and sit':

> 8.75.1 *yukṣvā́ hí devahū́tamām̐, áśvām̐ agne rathī́r iva, ní hótā pūrvyáḥ sadaḥ.*
> Like a charioteer, hitch up your horses that best summon the gods, Agni, and so take your seat as the first Hotar.

Agni's horses might here be his flames. The god harnesses these flames and then or as a consequence takes his seat in the sacrifice as the Hotar. In 6.16.43, the *hí*-clause probably complements the first sentence of the following verse:[14]

6.16.43–44 *ágne yukṣvā́ hí yé távā́, -śvā̄so deva sādhávaḥ, áraṃ váhanti manyáve. áchā no yāhy ā́ vahā, -bhí práyāṃsi vītáye, ā́ devā́n sómapītaye.*
God Agni, hitch them up! – those horses of yours that go straight to their goal, that convey (the gods) according to your fervor.
And so travel here to us. Convey (the gods) here to the pleasing offerings to pursue them. (Convey) the gods here to drink the *soma*.

If we understand vs. 44 to state the consequence of vs. 43, then this passage is another example of the 'hitch up and go' construction.

In the following verses gods or mortals are commanded to prepare the offering and as a consequence, to perform the rite, to share in the offering, or to reward the sacrifice:

1.26.1 *vásiṣvā hí miyedhya, vástrāṇy ūrjām pate, sémáṃ no adhvaráṃ yaja.*
Clothe yourself in your clothes (of flame), o (Agni) who partakes of the sacrificial meal, o lord of nourishments, and so perform this our rite.
8.23.1 *ī́ḷiṣvā hí pratīvyàṃ, yájasva jātávedasam, cariṣṇúdhūmam ágṛbhītaśociṣam.*
Invoke him receiving (our offering), and so sacrifice to Jātavedas of curling smoke and ungraspable flame.
8.32.24 *ádhvaryav ā́ tú hí ṣiñcá, sómaṃ vīrā́ya śipríṇe, bhárā sutásya pītáye.*
Adhvaryu! Pour out the soma for the ready-lipped hero, and so bring it for (Indra) to drink of the pressed soma.
8.22.9 *ā́ hí ruhátam aśvinā, ráthe kóśe hiraiyáye vṛṣaṇvasū, yuñjā́thām pī́varīr íṣaḥ.*
Aśvins, mount the chariot, the golden chariot-basket, o you whose goods are bulls, and so hitch up refreshments rich in fat.

The sequence in this last verse seems deliberately irregular. Instead of the usual 'hitch up and go,' the Aśvins first 'mount' and then 'hitch up.' The paradox is only superficial, however, since the idea is that by mounting their chariot, the Aśvins are hitching up refreshments for us.

1.48.11 *úṣo vā́jaṃ hí váṃsva, yáś citró mā́nuṣe jáne, ténā́ vaha sukṛ́to adhvarā́m̐ úpa, yé tvā gṛṇánti váhnayaḥ.*

14 So also HETTRICH (1988: 178), who says that the *hí*-clause is in a temporal relationship with the vs. 44.

Dawn, win the prize that is the bright (prize) for the people of Manu, and so, together with that, convey (the gods) of good action here to the rites, to the conveyors (of offerings) [= the priests] who sing to you.

This verse contains a number of exegetical problems, including the ambiguous case, number, and reference of *sukŕ̥tas* in line c. More relevant to this argument, however, is the unclear connection between Dawn's 'winning the prize' in line a and her conveying the gods in line c. The prize is described as 'bright,' and therefore it could refer to the morning light. If so, her winning it would mark the beginning of the sacrificial day and therefore be the condition for the gods' arrival.

10.165.2 *śiváḥ kapóta iṣitó no astv, anāgā́ devāḥ śakunó gr̥héṣu, agnír hí vípro juṣátāṃ havír naḥ, pári hetíḥ pakṣíṇī no vr̥ṇaktu.*
Let the dove that has been sent be kind to us; o gods, (let) the bird (be) without offense in our house. Let inspired Agni take pleasure in our oblation, and so let the feathered missle avoid us.[15]

The interpretation implied in the translation of 10.165.2 is not immediately obvious because the imperative clause marked by *hí* comes in the middle of a series of imperatives. But line c is thematically distinct from abd, which describe the bird. The reference to the apotropaic rite may explain why line c is marked with *hí*. The particle indicates that the rite is the reason that the bird will do us no harm.

In two final examples, *hí* occupies not the usual second position in the intitial string but is located in the verb phrase.

5.4.6 *vadhéna dásyum prá hí cātáyasva, váyaḥ kr̥ṇvānás tanvè svā́yai, píparṣi yát sahasas putra devā́n, só agne pāhi nr̥tama vā́je asmā́n.*
With your deadly weapon, make the Dasyu disappear, as you create vigor for your own body, and so, since you bring the gods safely across, o child of strength, protect us, Agni, o best of excellent men, in our try for the prize.

The sequence of action in this verse reflects the emergence of Agni: as he is kindled he assumes greater strength and therefore darkness – represented by the Dasyu – retreats. When he is fully kindled (in line d), Agni should stand as a protector.

15 The verse also appears as AVŚ 6.27.2 = AVP 19.13.14.

10.14.4 *imáṃ yama prastarám ā́ hí sī́dā́, -ṅgirobhiḥ pitŕ̥bhiḥ saṃvidānáḥ, ā́ tvā mántrāḥ kaviśastā́ vahantv, enā́ rājan havíṣā mādayasva.*
Come and sit here upon this first-strewn grass, Yama, gathering with the Aṅgirases, our ancestors – let the mantras recited by sages convey you here – so find exhilaration by this oblation, o king.

At first blush, the sequence of actions appears out of order because in line a Yama is asked to sit down *at* the sacrifice, but in line c he is asked come *to* the sacrifice. The solution is to take c as parenthetically explaining how Yama should come and sit at the sacrifice. A similar parenthetical statement also occurs in the next verse:

10.14.5 *áṅgirobhir ā́ gahi yajñíyebhir, yáma vairūpaír ihá mādayasva, vívasvantaṃ huve yáḥ pitā́ te, -smín yajñé barhíṣy ā́ niṣádya.*
With the Aṅgirases deserving of the sacrifice, come; Yama, become exhilarated here along with the Vairūpas – I call upon Vivasvant, who is your father – after you have sat down on the ritual grass at this sacrifice.

Lines abd and refer to Yama, but line c declares a second invocation to Yama's father. Thus, vs. 5 repeats the same sequence of actions (first sit and then become exhilarated) and the same structure (with a parenthetical line c) as vs. 4.

Finally, there is one example of a *hí*-clause that follows the clause it completes. In this case, the normal word order of *hí*-clauses has been adapted for the imperative. This verse is in the funeral hymn, 10.18:

10.18.12 *ucchváñcamānā pr̥thivī́ sú tiṣṭhatu, sahásram míta úpa hí śráyantām, té gr̥hā́so ghr̥taścúto bhavantu, viśvā́hāsmai śaraṇā́ḥ santv átra.*
Let the earth stay arching upwards, for let a thousand house-posts be fixed. Let the houses be dripping with ghee. Let there always be shelters for him here.

Note that this verse shows the causal nuance of *hí* and the exclusion of a temporal one.

Thus far our results have been consistent. I have doggedly translated these verses to suggest that the *hí*-clause carries a causal nuance, though I concede that this sense may sometimes be attenuated and the *hí*-clause indicate only a temporal sequence. The more central point stands, however, that all these *hí*-clauses with the imperative complement other clauses. In none of them is *hí* functioning only as an emphasizing particle.

Would this were the whole story, but rarely are things so simple in the R̥gveda. The text also shows examples of *hí*-clauses with accented verbs that do not complement or are not subordinated to another clause. One example is:

> 5.56.6 *yuṅgdhvā́ṃ hy áruṣī ráthe, yuṅgdhvā́ṃ rátheṣu rohítaḥ, yuṅgdhvā́ṃ hárī ajirā́ dhurí vóḷhave, váhiṣṭhā dhurí vóḷhave.*
> Hitch up the ruddy mares to the chariot; hitch up the chestnuts to the chariots. Hitch up the pair of agile fallow bays to the chariot-pole to draw (the chariot) – the two best draught (horses) to the chariot-pole to draw (the chariot).

GELDNER (R̥VÜ) rightly characterizes this verse as a secondary creation. It is based primarily on two verses or on verses similar to them. One is

> 1.134.3abc *vāyúr yuṅkte róhitā vāyúr aruṇā́, vāyū́ ráthe ajirā́ dhurí vóḷhave, váhiṣṭhā dhurí vóḷhave.*
> Vāyu hitches up his chestnut pair, his ruddy pair; Vāyu (hitches) the two agile (horses) to the chariot pole, to the chariot, to draw it – the best draught (horses) to the chariot pole to draw (the chariot).[16]

The other is 1.14.12 (quoted above), which begins *yukṣvā́ hí*. The poet of 5.56.6 has converted *yukṣvā́ hí* into *yuṅgdhvā́ṃ hí* without attention to the function of *hí*. This process was likely aided by a sense that *yukṣvā́* ought to be followed by *hí* or that *yukṣvā́ hí* is a lexical unit, for of the 11 different verses in which *yukṣvā́* is attested, it is accompanied by *hí* in 7.[17]

This verse suggests a key for explaining the few other instances of *hí* with the imperative in non-complementary clauses. The remaining examples with verbal accent contain the phrase *hí bhūtám* or *hí bhūtá*, considered above in the discussion of 1.93.7. Two verses with *hí bhūtám* from book 7 are the only two examples of *hí* with the imperative in book 7. The first is:

> 7.67.9–10 *asaścátā maghávadbhyo hí bhūtáṃ, yé rāyā́ maghadéyaṃ junánti, prá yé bándhuṃ sūnŕ̥tābhis tiránte, gávyā pr̥ñcánto áśvyā maghā́ni.*
> *nū́ me hávam ā́ śr̥ṇutaṃ yuvānā, yāsiṣṭáṃ vartír aśvināv írāvat, dhattáṃ rátnāni járataṃ ca sūrī́n, yūyám pāta svastíbhiḥ sádā naḥ.*

16 Also cf. 1.94.10a *yád áyukthā aruṇā́ róhitā ráthe.*

17 1.10.3, 14.12, 92.15; 6.16.43; 8.3.17, 26.20, 75.1.

Become never failing for the bounteous ones, who speed their gift of bounty together with wealth, who extend their lineage through their liberal gifts, mingling their bounties of cattle and of horses.
Now hear my call, you youths. Aśvins, travel the course, which is filled with refreshment. Grant riches and give our patrons old age. Let all you ever protect us with blessings.

This passage might be based loosely on 1.93.7cd, which has the sequence *hí bhūtám áthā dhattaṃ*, although in 7.67.9f., the connection between *hí bhūtám* and *dhattám* is not close. Or more likely, the poet has employed the collocation *hí bhūtám* for the cadence of line 9a with the *hí* meaninglessly appended to the verb. Much the same is true for the other example in book 7:

7.99.3 *írāvatī dhenumátī hí bhūtáṃ, sūyavasínī mánuṣe daśasyā́, vy àstabhnā ródasī viṣṇav eté, dādhártha pr̥thivī́m abhíto mayū́khaiḥ.*
'Become those filled with refreshment and milk cows and those who give good pasturage through your favor to Manu.' (So speaking,) you propped apart these two world halves, Viṣṇu; you fastened the earth on every side with loom-pegs.

Here again, *hí* is likely an appendage to *bhūtám*, and the phrase has been adopted for the cadence.

One final verse that belongs with these examples of *hí bhūtám* is:

10.30.2 *ádhvaryavo havíṣmanto hí bhūtā́, -chāpá itośatī́r uśantaḥ, áva yā́ś cáṣṭe aruṇáḥ suparṇás, tám ā́syadhvam ūrmím adyā́ suhastāḥ.*
Adhvaryus! Become oblation-bearers; go toward the waters, which are eager as you are eager, upon which the ruddy one of beautiful wing gazes down. Harness the wave today, o you of skillful hands.[18]

HETTRICH (1988: 178) considers this an example of a temporal relation between the *hí*-clause in line a and line b. Were we to take the *hí*-clause as complementary to line b, then he is probably correct. But more likely the poet has adjusted the phrase *hí bhūtám* to his metrical needs and that *hí* does not contribute much of anything to the meaning of the verse.

The final examples of *hí* with the imperative are the most unexpected. Verbs in *hí*-clauses are accented because *hí*-clauses are regularly complementary or subordinate. As we have just seen, in phrases such as

18 The form *bhūtá* could be injunctive, but there are imperatives in the next verse, which shows the same structure as this one.

hí bhūtám, the verb is accented even when in this rare instance that the clause is not complementary. There is one phrase in which this rule is broken, however: *sá mandasvā hí*, in which *mandasvā* is unaccented. The phrase occurs three times, although one example is a repeated verse. The verses are:

> 6.45.27 = 3.41.6 *sá mandasvā hy ándhaso*, *rā́dhase tanvà mahé*, *ná stotā́raṃ nidé karaḥ*.
> Find exhilaration from the soma-stalk in order to show great generosity in your own person. You will not put your praiser to scorn.
> 6.23.8 *sá mandasvā hy ánu jóṣam ugra*, *prá tvā yajñā́sa imé aśnuvantu*, *prémé hávāsaḥ puruhūtám asmé*, *ā́ tveyáṃ dhī́r ávasa indra yamyāḥ*.
> Find exhilaration according to your pleasure, o powerful one. Let these sacrifices reach forth to you. Let these invocations (reach) forth for us to the one invoked by many. This insightful hymn should keep you here to help, Indra.

The precise mechanism by which these unaccented forms were generated is not clear, but the basis for it was surely the reevaluation of *hí* as an appendage to the imperative and the loss of its subordinating force. We have also seen that *yukṣvā́ hí* is a regular collocation. Although in all the examples of *yukṣvā́ hí*, *hí* can be explained as establishing a causal (or at least temporal) relationship with a following clause, the regularity of that phrase produced *yuṅgdhvám hí* in 5.56.6, in which the *hí* has simply been attached to the opening imperative. This sense of *hí* as an appendage to the imperative might have triggered an interpretation of the accent on the verb in an initial sequence like *yukṣvā́ hí* as due to its position at the beginning of a *pāda* and not because it was accompanied by *hí*. Therefore, when *mandasvā hí* was placed in second position after the *sá* pronoun, the accent was omitted. A model might have been a line such as 2.36.3c *áthā mandasva jujuṣāṇó ándhasaḥ* "Thereby find exhilaration from the *soma*-stalk, taking enjoyment of it." The phrasing of this *pāda* resembles that of both *mandasvā hí* verses.[19] Another indication that *hí* functions only as an appendage to *mandasvā* is its placement. It has been pushed out of its usual second position and instead placed in the verb phrase, although, as we have seen, *hí* can still express a causal sense when it is located there. Finally, note that *hí* with the imperative is at-

19 Cf. also 8.45.24ab *ihá tvā góparīṇasā*, *mahé mandantu rā́dhase*, 1.139.6de *té tvā mandantu dāváne*, *mahé citrā́ya rā́dhase*, and 8.64.12 *tám adyá rā́dhase mahé*, *cā́rum mádāya ghr̥̥ṣvaye*, *éhīm indra drávā píba*.

tested only three times in the 6th book: the two examples of *mandasvā hí* and one example of *yuksvā́ hí* (in 6.16.43).

In sum, therefore, *hí* with the imperative usually indicates that the *hí*-clause complements a following clause. In accord with the use of *hí* elsewhere, the relationship is characteristically causal, although in some instances its causal sense may be attenuated, leaving a temporal sequence. When *hí* is attached to the verb, the *hí* could become an essentially meaningless, metrically-motivated appendage. This occurred especially within poetic circles in which *hí* with the imperative was not a common construction. We have seen that *hí* with the imperative appears ten times, including one repeated verse, in the family books. These ten attestations include six of the seven examples of *hí* functioning as a verbal appendage. Two examples of *hí bhūtám* with appended *hí* are in book 7, the two examples of *mandasva hí* are in book 6 with one verse repeated in book 3 (where it is the only example of *hí* with the imperative), and *yuṅgdhváṃ hí* occurs in book 5. Within the core Ṛgveda, only the Gṛtsamada poets of book 2 have more than one example of *hí* with the imperative in which the *hí* shows subordinating force, and even these poets have only two examples. Thus, the use of *hí* with the imperative was a living and meaningful construction within the dialects of the poets of the 1st book, the Kāṇvas of the 8th book, some of the poets of the 10th book, and possibly the Gṛtsamada poets. Among most of the family books, *hí* with the imperative had already progressed toward becoming a metrical convenience.

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MADHAV M. DESHPANDE

Vedas and Their Śākhās: Contested Relationships

1. Vedas and their Śākhās: Contests for Primacy

The R̥gveda ends with a prayer for harmony: "One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord. United be the thoughts of all that all may happily agree," (*samānī́ va ā́kūtiḥ samānā́ hŕ̥dayāni vaḥ, samānám astu vo máno yáthā vaḥ súsahā́sati*, R̥V 10.191.4) Such prayers were perhaps made necessary by the atmosphere of contest for power and primacy which are seen at various levels in the Vedic texts. Vedic communities were competing with each other for the control of cattle, lands and waters. Their priests were competing with each other for ritual and magical superiority over other priests. The spirit of contest and competition is seen in the relations between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha striving for the office of the *purohita* for the king Sudās, and in the debates of Yājñavalkya with his opponents at the court of Janaka in Videha. As the Vedic traditions solidified into various Saṃhitās and their Śākhās spread over different regions, the competition for primacy between these groups was inevitable. The primacy was important for a number of reasons. It added a boost to the self-image of an individual or a group, and its recognition by others could affect the relative social standing as well as economic gains due to differential in the amount of *dakṣiṇā* granted by the patrons. In the course of the history of the transmission of the Vedic texts, many forms of this competition and contest emerged. Some of these are better known than others. For example, the relationship of the Atharvaveda with the other three Vedas provides an important early example. On this matter, A. B. KEITH provides an insightful comment (1925: 18):

> Theosophy *qua* profit-bringing is not absent, and a deliberate attempt was later made to bring the Atharvaveda into the circle of the three orthodox Vedas by the addition to the collection of book XX which contains the hymns to be used by the

> Brāhmaṇācchasin priest in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice. It is, however, important to note that this Veda, despite the attempts made to raise it to an equal place with the others, never succeeded in achieving this position : useful as were its spells, and much as the priests of the school of the Atharvaveda thrust themselves forward as indispensable to princes through their magic powers, there were always not lacking voices to criticize its claim to be a fourth legitimate Veda.

Such competing relations between various Brahmin groups and their traditions were indicated through a number of ways. The Brāhmaṇas are filled with such indications. The competition, even between the three orthodox Vedas, is manifest through mythologies of their origin, the order of their appearance, through their personification etc. Thus, when the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (1.2.1.26) says: *ŕ̥caḥ sā́māni yájūṃṣi, sā́ hí śrī́r amŕ̥tā satā́m*, "The *r̥c*s, *sāman*s and *yajus*es, this is the immortal wealth of the righteous," it may seem like a mere list of the three Vedas. However, such lists are not only excluding the Atharvaveda, they are also perceived as ordering the remaining three Vedas. Whether the order in the list is significant depends on the view of the perceiver, and there is clear evidence that such lists were used to argue for the primacy of the R̥gveda (as is shown by remarks found in the cf. Sarvārtvijyaprayogasāra and the Vedavicāra). Such lists are significant in several ways. They are amplified elsewhere in expanded contexts. The exclusion of the Atharvaveda is clearly argued in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (5.33):

> *r̥caiva hautraṃ kriyate, yajuṣādhvaryavaṃ, sāmnodgītham vyārabdhā trayī vidyā bhavaty, atha kena brahmatvaṃ kriyate, trayyā vidyayeti brūyāt.*
> Since the Hotr̥'s office is performed with the *r̥c*, the Adhvaryu's with the *yajus*, the Udgātr̥'s with the *sāman*, the threefold knowledge is taken up; how then is the Brahman's office performed? "With the threefold knowledge," he should say.

This passage seems to presume as its *pūrvapakṣa* the claim of the Atharvavedin for the role of the Brahmā priest. Such a claim is clearly rejected by the passage. In other places, such lists are brought in the contexts of the origin of the Vedas. The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa (1.6), before explaining the importance of the Atharvaveda, deals with the origin of the three Vedas:

> *agner ṛgvedaṃ vāyor yajurvedam ādityāt sāmavedam.*
> (He created) the Ṛgveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, and the Sāmaveda from Āditya.

Passages like these[1] have been referred to by later works arguing for the superiority of the Ṛgveda over others, because of its primacy in creation (cf. Vedavicāra). While the standard list of the Vedas, i.e. ṚV, YV, SV, AV, is seen in numerous places (Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad 1.1.4, Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad 2.4.10), the contesting claims are seen in other texts. Referring to the limbs of the *manomaya ātman*, the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad (2.3.3) offers the following ranking:

> *tasya yajur eva śiraḥ, ṛg dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ, sāmottaraḥ pakṣaḥ* […] *atharvāṃgirasaḥ puccham pratiṣṭhā.*
> The Yajurveda is its head; the Ṛgveda, the right side; the Sāmaveda, the left side […] the hymns of the Atharvans and Aṅgirases, the lower part, the foundation.

Here the Taittirīya-Yajurveda tradition argues for the primacy of the Yajus by considering it to be the head of the mental self. This may be compared with the hierarchical presentation of the four *varṇa*s in the famous Puruṣa hymn (Ṛgveda 10.90.12):

> *brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd bāhū́ rājanyàḥ kṛtáḥ, ūrū́ tád asya yád váíśyaḥ padbhyā́ṃ śūdró ajāyata.*
> His face was the Brahmin, and his arms were made into the Rājanya. His thighs were the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra was born from his feet.

This hierarchical presentation of the four *varṇa*s has provided a model for the hierarchical presentation of the four Vedas in different traditions. While the Yajus tradition claimed itself to form the head of the *manomaya ātman*, the Atharvaveda tradition saw itself as the head/face of the Skambha:

> *yásmād ṛ́co apā́takṣan yájur yásmād apā́kaṣan, sā́māni yásya lómāny atharvāṅgiráso múkham* […] (Śaunakīya Atharvaveda 10.7.20)
> From whom they fashioned off the verses, from whom they scraped off the sacrificial formula, of whom the chants are the hairs, the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirases the mouth […]

1 Also see Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 5.32.

A verse like this is clearly staking a claim for the Atharvaveda to be the *mukham* “mouth,”[2] and it needs to be contrasted with the place of *puccham* “tail” granted to this same tradition by the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad (2.3.3). In Purāṇic elaborations of these claims, we come across many such efforts. Using the trope of the three *guṇa*s, the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (cited by the Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. 4, p. 496) ascribes *sattva* to the *yajus*, *rajas* to the *ṛk*s, *tamas* to *sāman*s, and *tamas* and *sattva* to the Atharvaveda:

> *ṛco rajoguṇāḥ sattvaṃ yajuṣāṃ ca guṇo mune*, *tamoguṇāni sāmāni tamaḥsattvam atharvasu*.
> The *ṛk*s have the quality of *rajas*; the quality of the *yajus*es is *sattva*, O Sage. The *sāman*s have *tamas* as their quality, and the Atharvan contains *tamas* and *sattva*.[2]

The Kaurma-Purāṇa (cited by the Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. 4, p. 497) says that originally the Yajurveda was the undivided single Veda, which was subsequently divided into four Vedas (*eka eva yajurvedas taṃ caturdhā vyakalpayat*).

As the four Vedas were transmitted through various Śākhā s, in practice it was a given Śākhā of a given Veda which formed a functional unit, while a Veda was more of a generality. The Śākhās defined the actual affiliation of a Brahmin, which was further specified by the ritual Sūtra he followed, and the region where he lived. Thus, within my family, all rituals began with a declaration which contained phrases like *āśvalāyanasūtra-śākalaśākhādhyāyī*, besides the declaration of the region with words like *dakṣiṇāpathe godāvaryāḥ dakṣiṇe tīre*. Since many Vedas and their branches taught and described overlapping ritual performances, the differences between the Vedas and the Śākhās led to major controversies. This had become a major problem already by the time of Jaimini’s Mīmāṃsāsūtras. The *pūrvapakṣa* on this issue is stated in Mīmāṃsāsūtra 2.4.8:

> *nāmarūpadharmaviśeṣapunaruktinindāśaktisamāptivacanaprāyaścittānyārthadarśanāc chākhāntareṣu karmabhedaḥ syāt*.
> If an act is mentioned in different recensional texts, it should be regarded as different, because of differences (1) in name, (2) in form, and (3) in particular de-

2 Compare the order of Veda citations in the Mahābhāṣya (Vol. I, p. 1): AV(P)>YV>RV>SV, in contrast with the more common order: RV>YV>SV>AV.

tails; and because of (4) repetition, (5) deprecation, (6) incapacity, (7) declaration of completion, (8) expiatory rites and (9) perception of different purposes.

This Sūtra and Ś abara's commentary upon it provide perhaps the best traditional discussion of differences between the various Śākhās of the same Vedas. When the Śākhās criticize each other, they call each other liars and followers of untruth and irrational practices. This made the relations between Brahmins belonging to different Vedas and different Śākhās very complex, and they were fraught with issues very difficult to resolve. The Mīmāṃsāsūtras (2.4.9) argue that, with all minor differences, all the Śākhās teach one and the same ritual act. However, in practice, allegiance to one's own Śākhā was paramount. Referring to this issue, Rāmakr̥ṣṇa says in his Saṃskāragaṇapati (p. 9):

yady api sarvaśākhāpratipāditam ekaṃ karma, tathāpi svasvaśākhāvihitaṃ kuryāt.
Even though (according to the Mīmāṃsāsūtras) all different Śākhās teach one and the same ritual act, yet one should carry out a ritual act as prescribed in one's own Śākhā.

In support of this conclusion, Rāmakr̥ṣṇa cites a number of traditional authorities (Saṃskāragaṇapati, pp. 9–10):

tathā cāṅgirāḥ: sve sve gr̥hye yathā proktās tathā saṃskr̥tayo 'khilāḥ, kartavyā bhūtikāmena nānyathā bhūtim r̥cchati.
gr̥hyakārikāyām api: pāramparyagato yeṣāṃ vedaḥ saparibr̥ṃhaṇaḥ, tacchākhaṃ karma kartavyaṃ tacchākhādhyayanaṃ tathā. adhītya śākhā m ātmīyā ṃ paraśākhāṃ tataḥ paṭhet, svaśākhāṃ tu parityajya śākhāraṇḍaḥ sa ucyate.
tathā ca vīramitrodaye vasiṣṭhaḥ: yacchākhīyais tu saṃskāraiḥ saṃskr̥to brāhmaṇo bhavet, tacchākhādhyayanaṃ kāryam anyathā patito bhavet.
śākhāntarīyakarmakaraṇe doṣam ā ha vasiṣṭhaḥ: na jātu paraśākhoktaṃ budhaḥ karma samācaret, ācaran paraśākhoktaṃ śākhāra ṇḍaḥ sa ucyate. yaḥ svaśākhoktam utsr̥jya paraśākhoktam ācaret , apramāṇam r̥ṣiṃ kr̥tvā so 'ndhe tamasi majjati.
Thus (says) Angiras: "A person who wishes to attain well-being should carry out all rites of passage as they are prescribed in his own Gr̥hyasūtra. One performing these rites otherwise does not attain well-being."
It is also said in the Gr̥hyakārikā: "Whichever Veda, along with its ancillary texts, is traditionally associated with a person, he should perform rites according to that specific Śākhā , and one should also study that particular Śākhā . After studying one's own Śākhā, one may study another Śākhā. One (who studies another Śākhā) abandoning one's own Śākhā is called 'traitor to his Śākhā' [*śākhāraṇḍa*]".

> So is the quotation from Vasiṣṭha in Vīramitrodaya: "A person initiated with rites from a particular Śākhā should study that particular Śākhā. Otherwise he becomes a fallen person."
> Vasiṣṭha stipulates a fault in performing rites prescribed in a Śākhā which is not one's own: "A wise man should never perform rites prescribed in another's Śākhā. One who performs rites prescribed in another's Śākhā is called a traitor to one's own Śākhā. He who abandons rites taught in his own Śākhā and carries out rites taught in another's Śākhā invalidates his own *ṛṣi* and sinks into blinding darkness."

The only concession Rāmakṛṣṇa offers is that a person can accept rites prescribed in another Śākhā if they are not described in one's own Śākhā, and do not contradict one's own Śākhā. This, he supports with a quotation from Kātyāyana :

> *yannāmnātaṃ svaśākhāyāṃ paroktaṃ avirodhi ca, vidvadbhis tad anuṣṭheyam agnihotrādikarmavat.*
> The rites which are not taught in one's own Śākhā, and those which are prescribed in another Śākhā and do not contradict one's own may be carried out by the learned, like the performance of the Agnihotra.

With such strictures, the various Śākhās of the Vedas gradually evolved into *jāti*s, sub-caste communities with distinct social identities, and the relations between them became ever so complex.

2. Documented Cases of Ritual Conflicts between Different Vedas and Śākhās

Before referring to some rare Sanskrit works which attempt to deal with these competing relations between the Vedas and their Śākhās, I would like to briefly survey the accounts of recorded instances of such conflicts. Such accounts are rare and yet are very significant in making us aware that such issues were not merely academic and scholastic, but had practical implications and led to actual social and ritual conflicts, which needed to be resolved with great effort on the part of local kings or religious authorities. Most of these accounts available to me are found in Marāṭhī sources.

V. K. BHAVE (1935, 1976: 305) describes an incident at Nashik during the rule of the Peshwas. Though it was an ancient custom to accord the first place to the Ṛgvedins on the occasion of a Mantrajāgara session, other Brahmins considered this as an insult. On one of these occasions at Nashik, the Ṛgvedins went first, followed by the Taittirīyas. As soon as the Taittirīyas began their recitation, the Vājasaneyins felt insulted and initiated a fight. As a result, all the non-Vājasaneyins entered into a formal agreement to excommunicate the Vājasaneyins. During a visit to Nashik, Bhausaheb Peshwa wished to honor all the Brahmins, but this schism raised serious difficulties. Bhausaheb Peshwa promised to take up this issue to a meeting of learned Brahmins at Pune. A meeting was held in Pune during the month of Śrāvaṇa to resolve this dispute. At this meeting, attended by learned Brahmins from Banaras to Rameshwar, authoritative sources like the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Caraṇavyūha, etc. were consulted, and it was resolved that the order of Vedaśākhās during recitation should be: Ṛgveda → Taittirīya YV → Vājasaneyi YV → SV → AV. After this official verdict of the assembly, Nanasaheb Peshwa ordered in 1751 AD. that the Brahmins of Nashik and Tryambakeshwar must follow this sequence.

Extensive accounts of such debates and conflicts are found in S. V. KETKAR (1921) and C. G. KASHIKAR (1977). One of the issues KETKAR (1921: appendices, pp. 5–7) deals with is the debate and conflict over the so-called *yājuṣahautra*. Since the Saṃhitās of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda (hereafter K-YV) contain a substantial portion of the *hautramantra*s, this naturally raised the question of whether a Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedin could and should himself act as a Hotṛ, or must a Ṛgvedin be employed for this function. Some Yajurvedins employed Ṛgvedin Brahmins, followers of the Āśvalāyanasūtra, to carry out the entire *hautra* function. Others used the K-YV *hautra* for the most part, and involved the Ṛgvedins only where they were necessary. Ketkar reports a major controversy around 1870s at the village of Pachvad, near Vai, at the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice performed by Kashinath Dikshit Karandikar. At this sacrifice, there was a major argument over this issue, and the Ṛgvedins were displeased with the insistence by the Taittirīyas to exlusively use the *yājuṣahautra mantra*s. Ketkar refers to several sacrificial performances where this dispute arose, and led to a serious rift between the Ṛgvedins and the Yajurvedins, and also between the Brahmins of Pune and Vai. At some point, this dispute was deliberated by the Śaṅkarācārya of the Saṅkeśvara

Math, who ruled that the Yajurvedins have no right to recite R̥gvedic *mantra*s, unless they undergo a R̥gvedic *upanayana*. A similar dispute arose over whether the Kr̥ṣṇa-Yajurvedin Brahmins in Maharashtra should follow the Hiraṇyakeśisūtra, or the Baudhāyanasūtra. KETKAR reports (*op. cit.*, p. 7) that at one such dispute in Pune, the participants stole the sacrificial animal and began throwing rocks at the sacrificial grounds. The sacrifice had to be concluded with the assistance and protection of the police. This led to the R̥gvedins of Pune excommunicating the Hiraṇyakeśins for two years. The R̥gvedin Brahmins even refused to attend a sacrificial session if the Hiraṇyakeśins were going to participate. KETKAR (*ibid.*) concludes that behind such śāstric disputes was the real issue of economic interests of the participants, who stood to gain or lose their share of *dakṣiṇā*.

C. G. KASHIKAR (1977: 142ff.) has an extensive discussion of the relationships between different Śākhās of the Vedas. After carefully surveying the complex textual evidence, he concludes that the interdependence of the Vedas in the performance of a sacrifice is a fundamental feature of the Vedic tradition. However, when it comes to the interrelationships of the various Śākhās of the Vedas, KASHIKAR (1977: 149) points out that there are no rules given in the Vedic literature for regulating such relationships, though one can figure out the actual state of these relationships from a careful study of the inscriptions, copperplates, and records of grants. Kashikar says that one can infer that geographical proximity and the historical depth of co-existence in a given region must have been the factors that decided these relationships. He points out that generally there was a tradition of associating the Mādhyandinas and the Kauṣītakins or Śāṃkhāyanas in the roles of Adhvaryu and Hotr̥, and the associated role of the Udgātr̥ was carried out by the Kauthumas. However, there were exceptions to these associations. In Maharashtra, there are Mādhyandinas, but no Śāṃkhāyanas. Similarly, there are Kāṇvas in the southern regions, but there is no tradition of the Śāṃkhāyanas. There are Kauṣītakins in Kerala, but there is no tradition of the Śukla Yajurveda or Kauthuma Sāmaveda. Such geographical divergences led to local accommodations between different Śākhās, and often they violated the perceived pan-Indic norms.

3. Systematic Efforts to Relate Different Śākhās of the Vedas

While Kashikar is correct in saying that the Vedic tradition gives no explicit rules about the relationships of different Śākhās, and that such relationships can only be guessed from circumstantial evidence, I have been able to locate a late text which proposes to create theoretical frameworks to define and regulate the relationships between the branches of the Vedas. This is a text titled "Vedavicāraḥ" authored by Śāmaśāstrī Draviḍa Dvivedī. This work was edited and published with a Marāṭhī translation by Kashinath Vaman LELE from Vai (near Pune) in 1912. There is a lone manuscript of this work at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal in Pune (p. 269 of their manuscript catalogue, no. 36/717). It is copied by Sadāśivabhaṭṭa Gadre in Śaka year 1746 (= 1824 AD). The author of the text refers to the Vedabhāṣyas of Mādhavācārya who is dated 1330–1385 AD. Thus our author must be dated between 1385 AD and 1824 AD, the date on the copy of the manuscript at the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal. Given the fact that there is no reference to the British rule and the fact that it refers copiously to the Maharashtrian Brahmin sub-castes like Citpāvan, Deśastha, Karhāḍe, etc., distinctions which appear prominently only in the period of the Peshwa rule, I would tend to date our author to the 18th century.

The purpose of the Vedavicāra is to explain the controversies among various Brahmin groups over who is superior and how and in what rank-order they should participate in ritual. In doing so, the text deals with numerous issues of socio-cultural geography, especially as it relates to the distribution of the Vedic Śākhās and their role in the performance of sacrificial rites as seen by different communities. Here I will touch upon just a few issues discussed in this text. I am working on a full annotated translation, which will be published in due course.

One of the fundamental classifications of Brahmins taken for granted by Śāmaśāstrī is the division of Brahmins into Pañca Gauḍa and Pañca Drāviḍa groups. This classification is found in the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa section of the Skandapurāṇa, and, to judge by the evidence of inscriptions, is approximately a thousand years old. The first five are Brahmins found in India, north of the Vindhyas, while the latter five are said to be

found to the south of the Vindhyas. Traditionally, the five Gauḍa Brahmins include the following types: Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala. The five Drāviḍa Brahmins include the following types: Gurjara, Mahārāṣtra, Tailaṅga, Karnāṭaka and Drāviḍa. It is clear that the terms *gauḍa* and *drāviḍa* are each used in two meanings. They, in a narrow sense, refer to a sub-group, i.e. the Brahmins of Bengal (*gauḍa*) and Tamilnadu (*drāviḍa*), and yet the same terms are used in the broader sense to refer to the two groups, i.e. the northern and the southern. The verses referring to this classification in the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa are as follows (Chapter 1, verses 1–4):

> *skanda uvāca*: *brāhmaṇā daśadhā proktāḥ pañcagauḍāś ca drāviḍāḥ*, *teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ cotpattiṃ kathayasva suvistaram.* [1] *mahādeva uvāca*: *drāviḍāś caiva tailaṅgāḥ karnāṭā madhyadeśagāḥ*, *gurjarāś caiva pañcaite kathyante pañcadrāviḍāḥ.* [2] *sārasvatāḥ kānyakubjā utkalā maithilāś ca ye*, *gauḍāś ca pañcadhā caiva daśa viprāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.* [3]
> Skanda said: "There are said to be ten kinds of Brahmins, five Gauḍas and five Drāviḍas. Please describe to me the origin of all of them in detail." Mahādeva said: "The Drāviḍas [= Tamils], the Tailaṅgas, the Karnāṭas, the residents of the Madhyadeśa, and the Gurjaras, these five are said to be the five Drāviḍas. The Sārasvatas, the Kānyakubjas, the Utkalas, the Maithilas, and the Gauḍas, these five (Gauḍas, together with the five Drāviḍas) are the ten (kinds of) Brahmins."



Figure 1: Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa Geography

Śāmaśāstrī integrates the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification of Brahmins into his own larger purpose, and produces a discussion which is very elaborate and unique. Here, this classification is neither related to language distinctions, nor to issues like the prevalence of regional practices like the cross-cousin marriage among the southerners, but to Vedic affiliations, and marriage-eligibility based on these Vedic affiliations.

While Śāmaśāstrī takes for granted the standard Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification, his elaboration begins with the introduction of the geography of the Vedic branches by citing a passage from Mahārṇava (quoted in the Caraṇavyūhabhāṣya, Vedavicāra, pp. 80–81; Caraṇavyūhasūtra, pp. 33–34):

> *pṛthivyām madhyarekhā ca narmadā parikīrtitā, dakṣiṇottarayor bhāge śākhābhedaś ca vakṣyate.* [1]
> The river Narmadā is said to be the central (dividing) line (between the north and the south). We shall explain the division of Vedic branches to the north and south (of Narmadā).

Śāmaśāstrī's integration of the Mahārṇava geography with the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification begins with a simple question. How is it that Narmadā is the central dividing line of the earth? Presumably the earth is far larger to the north upto the shores of the northern ocean (*uttarasamudra*) according to the Purāṇic cosmology. Śāmaśāstrī responds by saying that the dimensions of the physical earth are not relevant. The region occupied by the learned Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa Brahmins, engaged in *śrauta* and *smārta* rites, is referred to by the word 'earth,' and Narmadā is the dividing line between these two divisions, i.e. Gauḍa and Drāviḍa (Vedavicāra, p. 82). Though Śāmaśāstrī does not cite the definitions of the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa divisions, there is clearly a conflation of the two classifications made possible by the proximity of the Narmadā river and the Vindhya mountains as dividing lines between the north and the south.

> *narmadādakṣiṇe bhāge tv ā pastamby āśvalāyanī , rāṇāyanī paippalādī yajñakanyāvibhāginaḥ.* [2]
> In the region to the south of the Narmadā, there are the following branches, i.e. Āpastambī (of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda), Āśvalāyanī (of the Śākalya-Ṛgveda), Rāṇāyanī (of the Sāmaveda), and Paippalādī (of the Atharvaveda), (members of which) share both (roles in) sacrificial performances and daughters (in marriage).

Referring to this verse, Śāma śāstrī points out (Vedavicāra, p. 82) that here the word Āpastambī is meant to refer to followers of the Taittirīya Yajurveda, including those who follow the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin. Such an inclusion is necessary to ensure that they are also eligible to share in sacrificial rites and eligible for intermarriage among the Vedic branches listed in this verse.

> *mādhyandinī sāṃkhyāyanī kauthumī śaunakī tathā, narmadottarabhāge tu yajñakanyāvibhāginaḥ.* [3]
> In the region to the north of the Narmadā, there are the following Vedic branches, i.e. Mādhyandinī (of the Śukla Yajurveda), Sāṃkhyāyanī (of the Ṛgveda), Kauthumī (of the Sāmaveda), and Śaunakī (of the Atharvaveda), (members of which) share both (roles in) sacrificial performances and daughters (in marriage).

Śāmaśāstrī says (Vedavicāra, p. 82) that the reference to Mādhyandina in this verse is inclusive of the Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneyi Yajurveda as well. This is perhaps a departure from the Mahārṇava geography, but is meant to ensure their mutual marriagibility.

> *tuṅgā kṛṣṇā tathā godā sahyādriśikharāvadhi, āndhradeśāñ ca paryantaṃ bahvṛcaś cāśvalāyanī.* [4]
> From the peaks of the Sahyādri mountain along the rivers Tuṅgā, Kṛṣṇā and Godā(varī), upto the Āndhra region is spread the Āśvalāyanī branch of the Ṛgveda.

Śāmaśāstrī says (Vedavicāra, p. 83) that this verse refers to the region of Maharashtra where the followers of the Ṛgveda and the Āśvalāyanasūtra predominate.

> *uttare gurjare deśe vedo bahvṛca īritaḥ, kauṣītakibrāhmaṇaṃ ca śākhā sāṃkhyāyanī smṛtā.* [5]
> To the north of the Narmadā, in the Gurjara region, the Ṛgveda is said to be prevalent. It is the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa and the Sāṃkhyāyanī branch (of the Ṛgveda).

Śāmaśāstrī points out (Vedavicāra, p. 83) that this verse suggests that to the south of the Narmadā, it is the predominance of the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa, in contrast with the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa in the northern regions.

> *āndhrādidakṣiṇāgneye godāsāgarasaṅgame, yajurvedas taittirīyo hy āpastambī pratiṣṭhitā.* [6] *sahyādriparvatārambhād diśāṃ nairṛtyasāgarāt, hiraṇyakeśī śākhā tu paraśurāmasya sannidhau.* [7] *mayūraparvatāc caiva yāvad gurjaradeśataḥ, vyāptavāyavyadeśe tu maitrāyaṇī pratiṣṭhitā.* [8] *aṅgavaṅgakaliṅgāś ca kānīto gurjaras tathā, vājasaneyiśākhā ca mādhyandinī pratiṣṭhitā.* [9]

> In the Āndhra region, the southern and the south-eastern regions, and at the confluence of Godāvarī with the ocean, the Taittirīya Yajurveda, with its Āpastambī branch, is established. From the beginning of the Sahyādri range upto the ocean in the south-west, near the region of Paraśurāma, the Hiraṇyakeśī branch (of the Taittirīya Yajurveda) prevails. From the Mayūra mountain upto Gurjara, in the north-western region, the Maitrāyaṇī (branch of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda) prevails. The Mādhyandinī branch of the Vājasaneyi (Yajurveda) prevails in the regions of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kānīna, and Gurjara.

Śāmaśāstrī points out (Vedavicāra, p. 84) that while the regions like Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are squarely Gauḍa regions, the region of Gurjara, though included among the Drāviḍas, follows the pattern of the Gauḍas. This distinction of the Gurjara region makes it an anomaly in Śāmaśāstrī's view. They are listed among the Pañca Drāviḍas, but their pattern of Vedic Śākhās seems to follow the Gauḍa way.

> *ṛṣiṇā yājñavalkyena sarvadeśeṣu vistṛtā, vājasaneyivedasya prathamā kāṇvasaṃjñitā.* [10]
> The sage Yājñavalkya spread into all regions the Kāṇva, the premier branch of the Vājasaneyi (Yajur-)veda.

These ten verses from Mahārṇava provide us an important snapshot of the geography of the Vedic branches in the medieval period, and this can be compared with the older geographies of the Vedic branches in the early, middle, and late Vedic periods discussed in detail by WITZEL (1987; 1989: 113–114), where all the Vedic branches, though moving around, are still very much to the north of the Vindhyas. After examining the data from a wide range of Vedic texts, WITZEL (1987: 207) concludes:

> The data presented here allow the conclusion that the horizon even of the late Vedic texts was restricted to Northern India, – but *intentionally* so. Certainly one did, by 500 or even 150 BC, know more about the South, – but it was not *worth* mentioning: these areas were such that a Brahmin would not go (in fact, he had to undergo a *prāyaścitta* if he did do so), and if one went there, as apparently Agastya was thought to have done quite early, on was, as J[aiminīya]-B[rāhmaṇa] states, "outside the Kuru-Pañcālas."

The Mahārṇava geography indicates substantial migrations of these traditions into southern India in such a way that several Vedic traditions are now found exclusively in south India and others only in north India. It is

this migration of the Vedic traditions into southern India that is responsible for the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa divide. In Śā maśāstrī's Vedavicāra, the geography of Mahārṇava actually serves as a point of departure for noting further changes. Particularly the region of Gurjara turns out to be in a dubious zone. It is listed among the Pañca Drāviḍas and yet follows the Vedic branches of the Gauḍas. This creates a dividing line between the Gurjaras and the other four Drāviḍa Brahmins. For a detailed geography of the branches of the Veda as known from more recent periods, see KASHIKAR 1977: 142ff. However, Kashikar does not bring in the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification in his discussion of the branches of the Veda.

Thus, besides the regional distinctions among the Pañca Gauḍa/Draviḍa Brahmins, Śā maśāstrī adds specific configurations of Vedic branches to the Gauḍa and Drāviḍa groups.

Veda/śākhā	**Gauḍa/Gurjara**	**Drāviḍa (except Gurjara)**
ṚV	Sāṃkhyāyana	Śākalya
YV	Vājasaneyi	Taittirīya
SV	Kauthuma	Rāṇāyaīya
AV	Śaunakīya	Paippalāda

We must keep in mind that Śāmaśāstrī may not have been aware of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda traditions in the regions of Orissa and Kashmir, regions which were distant for his personal information. Given this basic structure of the Vedic configurations for the Gauḍas and Drāviḍas, Śāmaśāstrī (Vedavicāra, p. 165) says that the Gauḍas can participate in ritual and marriage with other Gauḍas, and the Drāviḍas can participate in ritual and marriage with other Drāviḍas (*yajñakanyāvibhāginaḥ*).[3] Śāmaśāstrī, however, recognizes that migrations of Brahmins in every direction have complicated these issues. Conceiving of a steady-state ancient period when the Gauḍas and Drāviḍas happily lived under righteous kings in their own Gauḍa and Drāviḍa regions, he points out that things are different nowadays. Due to decline in *dharma*, with the

3 The same idea is expressed in verse 97 of the Kānyakubjavaṃśāvalī (p. 35): *drāviḍair drāviḍeṣv eva gauḍair gauḍeṣu caiva hi*, *tathā svajñātimadhye tu yatra ṣaṭkarmaśuddhitā* [97].

destruction of good kings and expansion of the *mleccha*s, Brahmins have migrated to different regions where they could find a livelihood. Hence there are Drāviḍas in Gauḍa regions and Gauḍas in Drāviḍa regions. This has resulted in chaos as far as the study of the Veda is concerned. There are Gauḍas learning from Drāviḍas, and vice versa. Śāmaśāstrī says (Vedavicāra, p. 166) that such cross-over in learning the Veda is acceptable, and one should not find fault with it, especially under these difficult circumstances. He makes a reference to the Dharmasūtras where it is stated that a Brahmin, under stressful circumstances, may learn the Vedas even from a Kṣatriya. However, he does not approve of the ritual participation and intermarriage across the Gauḍa/Drāviḍa divide. He says that intermarriage across this divide is not observed,[4] though he has occasionally seen crossover in sacrificial rites. Also see KASHIKAR 1977: 142ff.

Śāmaśāstrī then talks (Vedavicāra, p. 167ff.) about specific cases where there is ritual crossover among the Gauḍas and Drāviḍas. In regions like Maharashtra, the followers of the Śākala R̥gveda, when there is need to use Sāmavedic chants, opt for the Kauthuma Sāmaveda of the Gauḍas, instead of choosing the Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda of the Drāviḍas. This is done, it is said, through either incapacity (*aśakti*), absence (*abhāva*), or laziness (*ālasya*). Similarly, the Vājasaneyins, who are all Gauḍas, sometime abandon the *hautra* part of the Śāṃkhāyana R̥gveda, and follow the Āśvalāyana *hautra* connected with the Drāviḍas.[5]

This second case is indeed fascinating. The Vājasaneyins who are resident in Maharashtra claim to be Maharashtra Brahmins. How could they be treated as Gauḍas? Śāmaśāstrī (Vedavicāra, p. 168) takes a conservative position on this issue. Referring again to the passage from the Mahārṇava stating that Drāviḍa Brahmins are found to the south of Narmadā, and that there are no marriage-relations of the Vājasaneyins with the Drāviḍas, Śāmaśāstrī says that these Vājasaneyins in Maharashtra

4 The Vedavicāra (p. 167) says that due to regional differences and differences in local languages, there is generally no intermarriage among the Drāviḍa (= Tamil), Āndhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra Brahmins, although there is no prohibition on such intermarriage, since they are all Drāviḍa Brahmins.

5 Kashikar (1977: 156) refers to the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice performed at Banaras by the Sāmavedin R̥ṣiśaṅkar Tripāṭhī. His choice of the Āśvalāyana *hautra*, rather than the customary Śāṃkhāyana *hautra* in the Gauḍa regions, became a topic of a heated debate.

should be treated as Gauḍas.[6] He extends the same logic to the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva Brahmins in the regions of Āndhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu, and considers them to be Gauḍas. In the same way, according to him, the followers of the Śākala R̥gveda and the Taittirīya Yajurveda in the Gauḍa regions should be considered to be Drāviḍa Brahmins.[7]

Śāmaśāstrī offers a detailed analysis (Vedavicāra, pp. 174–175) of the situation of the Gurjaras in this scheme. Having found the Gurjaras in the list of Pañca Drāviḍas, he is puzzled to find that they follow the Vedaśākhās of the Gauḍas. Instead of the Śākala R̥gveda of the Drāviḍas, the Gurjaras follow the Śāṃkhāyana R̥gveda of the Gauḍas. Instead of the Taittirīya Yajurveda of the Drāviḍas, they follow the Vājasaneyi Yajurveda of the Gauḍas. Instead of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda of the Drāviḍas, they follow the Śaunakīya Atharvaveda of the Gauḍas. Finally, instead of the Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda of the Drāviḍas, they follow the Kauthuma Sāmaveda of the Gauḍas. Śāmaśāstrī faults them for abandoning their Drāviḍa heritage and adopting the Gauḍa heritage. His-

6 In more recent times, this issue has been resolved differently. The Deśastha Brahmin community of Maharashtra is now conceived of as having two sub-divisions, i.e. R̥gvedins and (Śukla)-Yajurvedins. While there have been contentious relations between these two sub-groups, there is no feeling that the Deśastha Yajurvedins are not Maharashtrians, or that they are northerners. It is however the case that the Śukla Yajurvedins and Citpāvans in Maharashtra do not follow the system of cross-cousin marriage. "Are they therefore later immigrants than other Brahmins," as Irawati KARVE (1968: 156) thinks? The intermarriage between the Śukla Yajurvedins and other Brahmin communities of Maharashtra was rare, and yet Siddheshwar Shastri CHITRAO (1927: Introduction, pp. 17–18) notes that a Brahmin Parishad in Akola passed a resolution that there should not be any prohibition on such an intermarriage. He cites a letter dated July 16, 1915 from Hari Shastri Garge of Nasik (addressed to Mr.Lakshman Rajaram Atre of Vardha) confirming the same conclusion. Chitrao himself sees no reason why there should not be intermarriage between these communities. Chitrao notes that the Deśastha R̥gvedins and the Kāṇva Yajurvedins do follow the tradition of cross-cousin marriage – specifically marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter (*mātulakanyāpariṇaya*) – and that this is not followed by the Mādhyandina Yajurvedins. However, there is no indication in Chitrao's work that the Mādhyandinas are to be treated as Gauḍas.

7 This points to the significant changes in the history of the Vedic texts and their transmission. The R̥gveda is indeed composed in the northwestern regions of the subcontinent. Then there may have been a northeastern recention of the R̥gveda (WITZEL 1989: 114, "Eastern RV?"). However, for Śāmaśāstrī, the R̥gveda is exclusively preserved by the Drāviḍa Brahmins, and the few R̥gvedins and the Taittirīyas in the north must be treated as Drāviḍa Brahmins.

torically speaking, there is no reason to believe that there was such a waiving of the Drāviḍa Brahmin heritage by the Gurjaras. Their inclusion among the Drāviḍas took place purely on the basis of geography,[8] which had no connection to the distribution of the Vedaśākhās. It is the conflation of two originally unrelated conceptions that has created a problem for Śāmaśāstrī. However, Śāmaśāstrī is relentless in his criticism of the Gurjaras. There is no sharing of food between the Gurjaras and the rest of the Drāviḍa Brahmins, nor do they share in the study of the Veda. Sāmaśāstrī, a defender of the purity of the Drāviḍa Brahmin group, says that like the unrighteous behavior in the Gauḍa regions, the Gurjara region is also filled with unrighteousness, and hence it was cursed by the Ācārya (who?), and, for this reason, the Drāviḍa Brahmins are not supposed to have any dealings with the Gurjara Brahmins.[9]

4. Conclusion

The Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification arose at a particular point in the history of Brahmin settlements in India. It is clear from WITZEL's (1987, 1989) work on the distribution of Vedic communities from early to late Vedic periods that these communities were still residing to the north of the Vindhyas and had not penetrated to the south. The first hint of late Vedic notions about south Indian communities, among other peripheral communities, comes through the story in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa

8 It may be noted that certain communities in Kathiawar seem to allow the cross cousin marriage typical of the Dravidians, and Gujarat falls in a sort of frontier zone on this issue between the north and the south, cf. Thomas TRAUTMANN 1979: 160–163. Dharmaśāstra writers have noted a shared lack of certain rites among the Gurjaras and Dākṣiṇātyas, cf. Gadādhara's commentary on the Pāraskaragr̥hyasūtra, p. 32: *dākṣiṇātyānāṃ gurjarāṇāṃ ca vistr̥tavr̥ddhiśrāddhābhāvat* etc.

9 The notion that the Pañca Drāviḍas, with the exception of the Gurjaras, can intermarry is found in Siddheshwar Shastri CHITRAO (1927: Introduction, p. 19), though he gives no explanation for the exclusion of the Gurjaras. He notes that such an intermarriage among the Pañca Drāviḍas is confirmed by the practice of the Deśastha Brahmins.

(*adhyāya* 33, *khaṇḍa* 6, ASS ed., Part II, p. 856) about the banishment of the one-hundred sons of Viśvāmitra. After they disobey his command, he curses them that they be banished to the outer regions (*antān vaḥ prajā bhakṣīṣṭa*), and these became the Āndhras, Puṇūras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas. The passage simultaneously seeks a Vedic origin of these outer communities, and yet considers them fallen, and outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy. We see the same attitude in the Manusmṛti (10.43–44):

> In consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and of their not consulting Brahmins, the following tribes of Kṣatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Śūdras, i.e. the Pauṇḍakas, the Coḍas, the Draviḍas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cīnas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas.

The same attitude toward the 'outer' communities continues to show up in other Dharmasūtras. The Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (1.1.32–33) gives us a clear idea of how the late Vedic Aryans of Āryāvartta viewed the communities of the outer regions:

> The inhabitants of Ānartta, of Aṅga, of Magadha, of Saurāṣṭra, of the Deccan, of Upavṛt, of Sindh and the Sauvīras are of mixed origin. He who has visited the countries of the Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas or Pranūnas shall offer a Punastoma or Sarvapṛṣṭhī sacrifice for expiation.

It is only gradually and grudgingly that the Brahmin communities spread to the outer regions and lead to the emergence of the Pañca Gauḍa/Draviḍa classification. The main regional divide was strong enough to produce a general prohibition on ritual and marital cross-over between these groups. This is the indication of the emergence of *jāti*s and sub-*jāti*s within a single *varṇa*-group. As Śāmaśāstrī points out (Vedavicāra, p. 167), even among the Drāviḍa groups, generally there is no intermarriage among the Brahmins from Tamilnadu, Āndhra, Karnataka, and Maharashtra *due to differences of region and language*, *in spite of the fact that the Dharmaśāstra allows such marriages*. The same logic must have worked at an earlier period to create a *de facto* prohibition of intermarriage between Gauḍa and Drāviḍa groups, though such prohibitions are not seen in the earlier Dharmaśāstra sources. The Dharmasindhu of Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya (p. 113) makes an important statement regarding eligibility of a child for adoption:

> *viprādīnāṃ varṇānāṃ samānavarṇa eva tatrāpi deśabhedaprayuktagurjaratvāndhratvādinā samānajātīya eva.*
> (The adoption of a child) can occur for *varṇa*s like Brahmins within the same *varṇa*. Even within the same *varṇa*, it occurs only within the same *jāti*, such as Gurjara-ness and Āndhra-ness, differentiated on account of the region.

The significance of this passage lies in the emergence of regional distinctions within the same *varṇa* leading to distinct *jāti*s, and these *jāti*s were more important as determinants of social interaction, than the *varṇa*s.

The treatment of the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa classification in the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa and the Vedavicāra also shows that continuing migrations of Brahmins across the Gauḍa/Drāviḍa divide produced further complications in recognizing who was Gauḍa or Drāviḍa at a given point in time. The examples of the Gauḍa Sārasvata Brahmins and the Śukla Yajurvedin Brahmins of Maharashtra reveal these complications. The first community, claiming a Gauḍa descent, attempted to distinguish itself from the surrounding Drāviḍa Brahmin communities, while the other community, i.e. the Śukla Yajurvedins of Maharashtra, still exhibit northern kinship preferences, and yet do not claim a northern origin. However, as we have seen, Śāmaśāstrī treats all Śukla Yajurvedins of south India to be Gauḍas, and prohibits their intermarriage with other Drāviḍa communities of the region. More recent accounts show that this is no longer the case, and that, at least in Maharashtra, the Śukla Yajurvedins are not treated as Gauḍas any longer (cf. n. 6). The classifications such as the Pañca Gauḍa/Drāviḍa seem to have provided temporary settlements of complicated issues, but their fuzzy and porus boundaries leave enough scope for continuing inclusion and exclusion of various groups. An investigation of these shifting boundaries allows us a glimpse of the history of the formative social forces in action.

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ASKO PARPOLA

The Anupadasūtra of Sāmaveda and Jaimini: Prolegomena to a Forthcoming Edition and Translation

With the Text of Anupadasūtra I.1 and Its Translation Attained with the Help of Kiyotaka Yoshimizu

Introduction

Originally I planned to submit to this Festschrift of my esteemed friend and colleague Johannes Bronkhorst the third and final part of my article series "On the formation of Mīmāṃsā and the problems concerning Jaimini, with particular reference to the teacher quotations and the Vedic schools." This was started long ago, and has been waiting to be concluded. The reason for this choice of theme was that the first two parts of the article series (PARPOLA 1981, 1994) have interested Johannes very much – indeed, in some of his recent publications (especially BRONKHORST 2007a and 2007b: 279–308), he has devoted much place to an attempt to show that I am wrong in arguing for the original unity of a single Mīmāṃsāsūtra, which later split into two, the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra (PMS) ascribed to Jaimini, and the Uttaramīmāṃsāsūtra (UMS) ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa. I have been relieved of the difficult task of replying to Bronkhorst by Ashok AKLUJKAR (2009), who has defended the original unity of the two Mīmāṃsās in a comprehensive and exacting manner.

However, the file for part III concentrating on "the problems concerning Jaimini" was too bulky for publication *in toto,* and I also had too little time to process it properly, when I finally got rid of several other long delayed tasks on the eve of the very last deadline for this Bronk-

horst paper.[1] So, I am offering here material related to the unpublished Anupadasūtra of Sāmaveda that I happen to have at hand in a relatively ready form, something that I had planned to discuss in any case in the third part of my article series. In anticipation of the remaining portion of part III, I shall reveal one of the main "problems concerning Jaimini."

The Anupadasūtra: a publication plan

Ever since the 1960s, it has been one of my great ambitions once to publish a critical edition and tentative translation of the Anupadasūtra. Over the years I have been collecting material for this purpose, but other engagements have kept the realization of this goal at the stage of wishful thinking. The plan was suddenly activated at the 14th World Sanskrit Conference in Kyōto in August 2009, when I was approached by Nabanārāyaṇ Bandyopadhyāy, Director of the School of Vedic Studies, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata. Professor Bandyopadhyāy and Dr Bhāskar Nāth Bhaṭṭācārya, Reader at the same institute and a specialist in Sāmaveda and Pūrvamīmāṃsā, were interested in editing the text and asked if I would like to collaborate with them in this undertaking as the leader of the team. It had always been clear to me that I would never be able to accomplish the task alone, without the help of a good expert in Pūrvamīmāṃsā, and I welcomed Professor Bandyopadhyāy's challenge, yet suggesting that we should not only edit the text, but also try to understand it, difficult though it is without any commentary and the text in a bad state of preservation. Professor Bandyopadhyāy asked me to send a list of all the manuscripts and promised to try his best to obtain the missing ones. Authorized to seek the help of some additional colleagues, I approached Professors Kiyotaka Yoshimizu and Masato Fujii, who have kindly consented to participate in the work as it progresses. After these preliminary talks, I prepared the list of existing manuscripts and

1 This is so typical of me, writing a paper hectically in the last minute. I cannot suppress a memory from Ann Arbor in October 1996, when Johannes and I compared notes on this subject. Said he, "I am of the opposite type: I write my paper so well in advance that I have already forgotten what I have written when I deliver it."

the provisional text and tentative translation of the first chapter reproduced below, sending it to the team members for comment. I herewith make this and some other basic material relating to the Anupadasūtra available for a wider circle of colleagues, inviting their suggestions as well. In my opinion, such preliminary communications serve a purpose, as editing and especially translating may take a while.

Manuscripts of the Anupadasūtra

Cf. NCC 1949, I: 154b; 1968, I rev. ed.: 204a & 499b; and Siniruddha Dash, the present editor of the NCC, personal communications of 12–16 October 2009.

B1 = Berlin, Germany: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz – Orientalische Abteilung, Chambers collection no. 96. 58 leaves with 10 lines of 43 akṣaras per page. Folia 1–6 are in a different hand, and leaves 26–29 are missing. In the devanāgarī script.
Begins: oṃ namaḥ sāmavedāya | yajuṣāṃ karmasu…
Ends: …sapatnāṁ̐ś ca jayati sapatnāṁ̐ś ca jayati || 16 || ity anupadasūtre daśamaḥ prapāṭhakaḥ || samāptaṃ cedam anupadaṃ || tatra graṃthasaṃkhyā 1495 || saṃvat 1541 varṣe śrāvaṇavadi 13 some vya° śaṃghasutarāmacaṃdreṇa likhitaṃ ātmapaṭhanārthaṃ śubhaṃ bhavatu ||
Described: WEBER 1853: 75 as no. 301. Weber does not mention that the cover leaf has the following text: śrītripāṭhīpītāṃbarasūnoḥ sadāśivasyedaṃ pustakaṃ anupadasūtrasya svayaṃtrītaṃ raupyamudrayā pūritaṃ ca śivadattakr̥ṣṇadattayoḥ paṭhanārthaṃ ca ||

B2 = Berlin, Chambers collection no. 97. A copy of B1. 94 folia in the devanāgarī script. saṃvat 1841 bhādre śukle dvitīyāyāṃ bhaumavāreṇa saṃyutāṃ | śrīkr̥ṣṇalekhako nāma vārāṇasyāṃ ca svasthalaṃ || Empty pages 43a to 48b where B1 has a lacuna. Described: WEBER 1853: 75 as no. 302.

C = Willem Caland's handwritten copy of the mss B1 with (up to III,12) collations (in red ink) from K2, which is the basis from IV,1 onwards (K3 was known to Caland, but not used after the first pages, as it is closely related to B1). 90 neatly written pages in cursive Roman script. Caland collection no. 52, Utrecht University Library, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

J = Jodhpur, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute. Described in JINAVIJAYAJI 1976, IV: 47 or no. 47. On the basis of copies of a few leaves sent by Professor Nabanā-

rāyaṇ Bandyopadhyāy, I can give the following description. In the devanāgarī script, c. 26 x 11,5 cm, on ca. 8 lines per page, each line comprizing 25 to 35 akṣaras. Incomplete: originally 98 numbered folia, but some leaves are missing. The manuscript contain first (? parts of) the Khādira-Gṛhyasūtra and the Gāyatra-vidhānabhāṣya; then follows the Anupadasūtra, which seems to start from the beginning of the third prapāṭhaka and to continue to the end. Ends: (fol. 98a) ... sapatnāṁś ca jayati sapatnāṁś ca jayati || 16 || (fol. 98b) ity anupadasūtre daśamaḥ prapāṭhakaḥ || || samāptaṃ sūtram anupadaṃ || graṃthasaṃkhā 1500 [|| s]aṃvat 1706 varṣe mārgaśīrṣamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe paṃcamyāṃ puṇyatithau budha(in the mārgin: bhauma)vāsare [vā]rāṇasyāṃ ... ojhā dāmodareṇa likhāpitam idaṃ pustakam…

K1 = Kolkata, Royal Asiatic Society, accession no. (G) 996. Old country-made paper in the size 21 x 9,5 cm (8,5 x 3,75 inches). In the devanāgarī script. No date, but old and worn, perhaps from the 15th century? 39 folia, with 13 lines of 36 akṣaras per page. The leaves have been numbered consecutively (9–15 as 8–14), without taking into account the leaf missing between 34 and 35 (the text missing is from the middle of IX,6 to the beginning of IX,10). Extent in ślokas: 1170.
Mentioned (as Anupada) in TARKARATNA (1838: 111) among the manuscripts of the Library and College of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Mentioned on page 4 of "An alphabetical index of Mss. purchased up to 1891" at the end of SHĀSTRĪ 1895, XI.
Described: SHĀSTRĪ 1923 II: 1062 as no. 1340.
Described: VEDĀNTATĪRTHA 1971, I (2): 380–381 as no. 1323.

K2 = Kolkata, Calcutta Sanskrit College. 73 leaves. In the nāgarī script.
Described: ŚĀSTRĪ AND GUI 1895, I: 372 as No. 611.

K3 = Kolkata, Calcutta Sanskrit College. 38 leaves in the nāgarī script.
Described: ŚĀSTRĪ & GUI 1895, I: 372 as No. 612.

K4 = Kolkata, National Library of India. Thibaut collection, Sāmaveda 23. Paper manuscript in the devanāgarī script, 78 leaves, out of which fol. 70 missing – also fol. 61 in my copy; in addition, I have noted two unmarked lacunae, from the end of V,6 to near the end of VI,2 on fol. 38, and from the first part of VI,5 to near the end of VI,7 on fol. 39.
Begins: śr īgaṇeśāya namaḥ oṃ namaḥ sāmavedāya yajusāṃ karmasu… Ends: …sapannām̐ś ca jayati sapannaśm̐ś ca jayati 16 ity anupadasūtre daśamaḥ prapāṭhakaḥ samā<pta>ḥ
Mentioned as no. 161 in: *A hand list of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Imperial Library*, Calcutta.

O = Oudh. [In 1873] in the possession of Paṇḍit Śivagopāla, in the district (zillah) of Unao [about 50 km SW of Lucknow and about 20 km NE of Kanpur]. Country paper, 130 pages [= 65 leaves] with 10 lines per page. Extent in ślokas 1495. In the nāgarī script. Dated AD 1749 (i.e., saṃvat 1806).

Described: Oudh 1873, III: 4–5 as no. 2: "Anupada Sūtra (sacrificial ceremonies, of the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa)" in the group I. E (Vaidika sūtras, rituals, phonetics, etc.).
The present whereabouts of this manuscript, if it still exists, remains to be traced. Is it still in the possession of some Sāmavedic family near Unao, or in some public library? (According to a personal communication of Siniruddha Dash, it is not quoted in the catalogues of the Ganganatha Jha Institute in Allahabad, nor the libraries in Lucknow.)

V1 = Varanasi, Sarasvatī-Bhavana Library of the Sampūrṇānand Sanskrit University, accession no. 4104. Paper manuscript in the size 12,5 x 5,7 inches. In the devanāgarī script. Leaves numbered 3–38 (out of these, fol. 27 is missing), 12 lines of 52 akṣaras per page.
Described: Vivaraṇapañjikā 2000, I (1): 374–375.
Indira Gandhi National Centre of the Arts (New Delhi) microfilm roll no. 350.

V2 = Varanasi, Sarasvatī-Bhavana Library of the Sampūrṇānand Sanskrit University, accession no. 4269. Paper manuscript in the size 9,3 x 4,1 inches. In the devanāgarī script. Leaves numbered 1–95 (out of these, fol. 11 is missing), 8 lines of 29 akṣaras per page. Dated saṃvat 1638. Written by Puruṣottama, son of Gopīnātha, son of Gaṅgādhara.
Described: Vivaraṇapañjikā 2000, I(1): 390–391. Cf. also RĀMANĀTHA DĪKṢITAR 1972: 97–98.
Indira Gandhi National Centre of the Arts (New Delhi) microfilm roll no. 356.

W = Albrecht Weber's handwritten copy of B1, dated from 9 to 22 February 1858. 112 pages (pages 51–57 blank) in cursive Roman script, c. 22–23 lines per page. In the Weber collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Described: POLEMAN 1938: nos. 60–61.

Previous study of the Anupadasūtra

Albrecht Weber (b. 1825, d. 1901), a pioneer of Vedic studies with huge accomplishments especially in the field of the Yajurveda, was the first modern scholar to deal with the Anupadasūtra more extensively (WEBER 1849: 43–44). Weber knew the text from manuscript B1, which he catalogued and described (WEBER 1853: 75), and of which he made a complete copy for himself by 1858 (POLEMAN 1938: nos. 60–61). His main views concerning this text are included in his path-breaking history of Sanskrit literature (WEBER 1852: 79–80), its enlarged second edition

(WEBER 1876: 90), and its English translation (WEBER 1878: 80–81), which may be quoted at length:

> A fourth Sāma-Sūtra is the Anupada-Sūtra, in ten *prapāṭhakas*, the work of an unknown author. It explains the obscure passages of the Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, and, it would appear, of the Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa also, accompanying the text step by step. It has not yet been closely examined; but it promises to prove a rich mine of material for the history of Brahmanical theology, as it makes mention of, and appeals to, an extremely large number of different works. For example, of schools of the Ṛk, it cites the Aitareyins, the Paiṅgins, the Kauṣītaka; of the schools of the Yajus, the Adhvaryus in general; further, the Śāṭyāyanins, the Kālabavins, Bhāllavins, Śāmbuvis, Vājasaneyins; and frequently also *śruti*, *smṛti*, *ācārya*s, etc. It is a work which deserves to be very thoroughly studied.

In his earlier works mentioned above, Weber discussed in some more detail and with a few examples, the contents and divisions of the Anupadasūtra, the authorities quoted in it, its mention in other texts, and its possible date. As an example of the explanations of the unclear words of the Brāhmaṇa, he quoted Anupadasūtra V.4: *vipathaḥ phalakāstīrṇo* [PB XVII.1.14] *ratho liṅgāt*; *kṛṣṇabalakṣe ajine* [PB XVII.1.14] *iti kṛṣṇaśukle*, *śuklam balakṣākhyam* (WEBER 1849: 44). Occasional references to the Anupadasūtra are to be found also in Weber's other publications.[2]

The only other modern scholar who to my knowledge has copied the entire text for himself and studied it to some extent is another great pioneer of Vedic studies, Willem Caland (b. 1859, d. 1932). He drew upon manuscripts B1 and K2, but knew also K3. Caland published and translated many Sāmavedic texts, and he occasionally quotes, or refers to, the Anupadasūtra, particularly in his translation of the Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa (CALAND 1931). In his studies of the Vādhūla texts, CALAND (1922: 8) came across references to a Sauśārada Anupada, which gave him reason to suggest that Suśārada might have been the author of the Anupadasūtra. But although Caland acknowledged that the Anupadasūtra cites a great many authorities, in his opinion the text did not seem to be of great importance or worth a closer study, as it according to its style is a relatively young text and its text moreover is in a very bad state of preservation.[3]

2 For a catalogue of Weber's publications, see PARPOLA 2003.

3 "Was endlich die Anupada- und Kalpānupadasūtras betrifft, […] die erstgenannte Schrift scheint Erläuterungen zum Brāhmaṇa, die zweite zum Sūtra geben zu wol-

Caland's lack of interest influenced Louis Renou to the extent that in his great work on the formation of the Veda (RENOU 1947: 115, n. 1), practically all Renou says about the Anupadasūtra is that it is hardly anything but a discontinuous commentary of the PB: "l'Anupadasūtra […] n'est guère qu'un commentaire discontinu du PB." C. G. Kashikar in his survey of the Śrautasūtras (KASHIKAR 1968: 95) also merely repeats the laconic characterizations of the text by Caland, including the following: "The Anupadasūtra in 10 *prapāṭhaka*s, a kind of running commentary on the Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa. The text, in a rather bad state, is known to me from three mss. It cites a great many Vedic authorities" (CALAND 1931: v).

In my doctoral thesis on Sāmavedic Ś rauta literature (PARPOLA 1968: I.1 58–62 and 114–118, 120, 125, 136–138), I dealt at quite some length with the Anupadasūtra, publishing also longer extracts from it (II.4, II.9, V.12, VII.12 and X.14–16). Here I agreed with Weber about the importance of the Anupadasūtra for the history of the Vedic literature, and published a rough listing of all the numerous Brāhmaṇa texts (many of them lost) and other authorities quoted. But I also emphasized the extraordinary importance the Anupadasūtra has for the formation and early history of the Mīmāṃsā, especially as I could point to Kumārila ascribing the authorship of the Anupadasūtra to Jaimini. These points of view were summarized by Jan Gonda in his handbook on the ritual Sūtras of the Veda (GONDA 1977: 540–541).

An Indian authority on the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda, Mayūraṃ M. Rāmanātha Dīkṣitar, in his survey of the literature of this school written in Sanskrit (RĀMANĀTHA DĪKṢITAR 1972: 97–98), quotes the beginning and end of the Anupadasūtra from manuscript V2, regretting that its often unclear letters make a complete understanding of the text impossible.[4] Dīkṣitar also mentions that because the text of the Anupadasūtra is not available, its mention is nowadays omitted by the Chandogas at the *upākarman* rite.

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len. Ihrem Stil nach sind beide Texte verhältnismässig jung" (CALAND 1908: xx); "Ich habe diese Texte nur wenig untersucht, sie scheinen mir nicht von grossem Interesse und sehr schlecht überliefert zu sein. Ich kenne sie nur[…]" (CALAND 1908: xx n. 1).

4 "*nātisphuṭatvād akṣarāṇāṃ kr̥tsnaśaḥ boddhuṃ na śakyate*."

The name of the Anupadasūtra and its contents

The Anupadasūtra follows the Pañcaviṁśa- or Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa, and its supplement, the Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, "step by step" (*anu padam*), explaining the unclear expressions (cf. WEBER 1849: 43–44). CALAND (1908, p. xx; 1931: v) defined the Anupadasūtra as "a kind of running commentary on the Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa."

WEBER (1849: 44) has pointed out that the word *anupada-* and its derivatives occur in the Gaṇapāṭha that complements Pāṇini's grammar, and that they denote a work similar to the Anupadasūtra: *anupadāḥ* in *gaṇa upaka* on Pāṇini II.4.69, *ānupadika* in *gaṇa uktha* on Pāṇini IV.2.60. S. M. KATRE (1971: 15) distinguishes between two homophonous words *anu-padá-* in these two cases (1) "mn. N. of an *upāṅga* belonging to the Sāmaveda," whence *ānu-padiká-,* and (2) "m. N. pr. of a person (sg.) or his progeny (pl.)." V. S. AGRAWALA (1963: 337) while discussing these terms of the Gaṇapāṭha refers in addition to the Sāmavedic Anupadasūtra also to another work of its kind:

> Śaunaka mentions the Anupada work of the Yajurveda, which Mahidāsa defines as the work which explained the text word for word (*anupade anyapadam kartavyam*).

A work called Anupada and its author Anupadakāra are referred to as authorities on grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) in medieval times in Tantrapradīpa and by Kramadīśvara and Śaraṇadeva (cf. RENOU 1940: 61). The Anupada texts of the Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā (cf. CALAND 1922: 8) will be discussed below.[5]

In great lines, the contents are as follows (cf. PARPOLA 1968: 61; GONDA 1977: 540):

I.1–9: the Yajuḥsaṃhitā of PB I
I.10: the lustral bath (*avabhṛtha*) of ṢB III.1

5 Agnisvāmin in his commentary on the LŚS several times quotes from the Anupadasūtra while referring to it with the phrase *apara āha* "the other person says." This phrase does occur also elsewhere in commentarial literature as a way to make a reference without explicitly mentioning the author in question directly by name, but is it possible that Agnisvāmin also conceived it as an abbreviation of the name Anupadasūtra: A(nu)pa(dasūt)ra? Such abbreviations do occur in Tantric texts.

I.11 to VII.2: the *soma* sacrifices of PB VI–XXV (the *jyotiṣṭoma*, the *daśarātra* of the *dvādaśāha*, and the individual one-day rites, *ahīna*s and sacrificial sessions)
VII.3–11: the *gavām ayana* of PB IV–V
VII.12: the solo *sāman*s of the *pravargya* and the *agnicayana* (the latter in PB V.4)
VIII.1–3: the *subrahmaṇyā* litany and its variants
VIII.4 to X.13: miscellaneous topics
X.14–16: the accentuation of the different versions of the *subrahmaṇyā* litany

The textual divisions

The Anupadasūtra comprises ten *prapāṭhaka*s, each divided into twelve *kaṇḍikā*s.[6] There are four additional *kaṇḍikā*s (13–16) in the last *prapāṭhaka*, which appear to be a later addition, for there is a repetition of the last words at the end of X.12, cf. Caland (in his copy of the text): "oorspr. slot?" The last three *kaṇḍikā*s, moreover, deal with the accentuation of the *subrahmaṇyā* litany, a topic not discussed in the PB or ṢB, while the *subrahmaṇyā* litany has already been dealt with in Anupadasūtra VIII.1–3 and X.8. Agnisvāmin in the introduction to his commentary on the Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra cites the end of X.10 as the end of the work, and this place has indeed been marked as the end of a division by means of repeating the last word.[7]

6 Rāmanātha Dīkṣitar (1972: 97) mistakenly says that generally the ten *prapāṭhaka*s have 15 *khaṇḍa*s.

7 Some Kauthuma texts have a division into *daśati*s, and a division of the Anupadasūtra into 12 chapters each having ten parts would in some cases tally well with the contents. Thus the first ten *kaṇḍikā*s deal with the *yajuḥsaṃhitā* of PB I + (in I.10) the *avabhṛtha* in ṢB III, while I.11 starts with the *jyotiṣṭoma* discussed in PB VI–IX. Similarly, the treatment of the tenth day, discussed in PB XV.7–12 (cf. also PB IV.8.7–9.23) would start a new *daśati* at Anupadasūtra IV.5.

The Anupadasūtra as '*anubrāhmaṇiko vidhiḥ*'

Agnisvāmin, the author of the early, *bhāṣya* style commentary on the Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra, in his introduction notes that there are two kinds of rules in the Chāndogya school of Sāmaveda, namely, (I) rules which follow Brāhmaṇa texts only, i.e., the rules given in the Anupadasūtra, and (II) rules which are based on six authorities, these being (1) the Brāhmaṇa texts, (2) the Sūtra texts, (3) the Ārṣeyakalpa, (4) the collections of verses (i.e. the Ārcika texts of the Saṃhitā), (5) the collections of Sāmans (i.e. the Grāmegeya- and Āraṇyaka-Gānas of the Saṃhitā) and (6) the instructions concerning the modification (of the *sāman*s to be carried out when they are performed at the sacrifice, i.e., the Ūha- and Ūhya-Gānas of the Saṃhitā).[8]

Indeed, the Anupadasūtra quotes almost exclusively Brāhmaṇa texts as its authorities. The Brāhmaṇas of the Chāndogya (Kauthuma-Rāṇayanīya) school which are being explained in this text, the Pañcaviṁśa- and Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, are of course quoted very often, with bare *iti*. Other Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas quoted (altogether some 50 times!) are mentioned by name, usually in the genitive plural of the school name: Śāṭyāyaninām, Bhāllavinām (also Bhāllaveya), Kālabavinām (also Kālabavi), Agastinām: these are all lost Brāhmaṇa texts. Among the R̥gvedic Brāhmaṇas quoted by name (altogether also some 50 times!) are Aitareyiṇām, Kauṣītakinām (more often Kauṣītakam), and the lost Paiṅginām (also Paiṅgam), Śailālinām and Śāmbavinām, while the Yajurvedic Brāhmaṇas are quoted (again altogether some 50 times) usually with the general term *adhvaryūṇām*, but also specifically Vājasaneyinām, Taittirīyāṇām, Kāṭhakam, and the lost Khāḍāyaninām, Śyāmāyaninām, Vaidehakinām and Ārcabhin (for a more detailed listing, with references to other sources concerning the lost texts, see PARPOLA 1968: I.1, 61–62).

8 Agnisvāmin's introduction to Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra (ed. VEDĀNTAVĀGĪŚA 1872: 1): *iha hi cchāndogye dvividho vidhir anubrāhmaṇikaḥ ṣaṭprāmāṇikaś ca | tatrānubrāhmaṇiko* yajuṣāṃ karmasu liṅgato vidhānam arthagrahaṇād (Anupadasūtra I.1.1) *ity ata ārabhya* sādhāraṇaguṇavidhis tu sarvatra- (Anupadasūtra X.10) *iti yāvat | aparaḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ pramāṇair nirvartyate | kāni punas tāni ṣaṭ pramāṇāni | brāhmaṇasūtrārṣeyakalparksāmasamāmnāyohopadeśāḥ.*

In addition come quotations and references with such general terms as *iti śruteḥ*, *iti* (*ha*) *vijñāyate*, *ity hy āha*, *ity uktvā.*

Importance of the Anupadasūtra for the history of Mīmāṃsā

Both the Śrautasūtras (or the Kalpasūtras, to use a more comprehensive term) and the PMS aim at settling the correct ritual practice on the basis of injunctions given in the Śruti. The Śrautasūtras belong to a specific Vedic school and, as a rule, mainly follow the Śruti of their own school; but these texts rarely specify the reasoning by which their authors, or the authorities whose opinions are quoted in them, have arrived at their conclusions in dubious issues. Differing opinions are usually mentioned only as optional alternatives. The PMS, on the other hand, differs from the Śrautasūtras in giving detailed reasons why a specific view should be adopted and another not. But it does not deal with the entire ritual of one school in a comprehensive way, but instead concentrates on particularly difficult questions pertaining to many different schools. (Cf. GARGE 1952: 50.) I have already long ago (PARPOLA 1968 I.1: 58–62) called attention to the Anupadasūtra as an interesting 'missing link' between the Śrautasūtras and the PMS.

The Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra (LŚS), which belongs the Kauthuma school of Sāmaveda, is based on the Tāṇḍya- or Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (PB) of the Kauthumas, and has given a systematic description of the rituals of this school. The Anupadasūtra likewise follows the PB, not only explaining its problematic expressions, but often giving these explanations in *mīmāṃsā* terms. Indeed, the diction of the Anupadasūtra much resembles that of the PMS, including the use of specific vocabulary (for a sample, see the first chapter at the end of this paper). For a PMS-style work, it appears to be fairly old, just on the basis of its copious quotations from lost Brāhmaṇas, far outnumbering any other surviving single text. Yet it is hardly as old as the LŚS, which the author of the Anupadasūtra seems to have deliberately ignored. The reason for this appears to be that he approves of Brāhmaṇa texts alone as authoritative, and for this reason scarcely mentions authorities of the Sūtra period. The few exceptions occur in the *pariśiṣṭa*-like last books, following the first

seven books that follow the PB *anupadam:* Āśvalāyana is quoted in X.5 and X.6 (these sections deal with *prāyaścitta*s); Maśaka (mss *maśakara*) in IX.9 and Aitikāyana in II.8 and X.7. For the last mentioned authority, cf. the lost *Aitikāyanīyānām adhvaryūṇāṃ smr̥tisūtram* quoted in Upagrantha II.7.

Suśārada as the possible author of the Anupadasūtra

Willem CALAND (1922: 8) mentioned that the unpublished Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā often quotes a text called Anupada. He had no doubt that this Anupada has formed an appendix to the Vādhūlasūtra in the same manner as the Karmāntasūtra is an appendix to the Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra. In addition, the *vyākhyā* twice mentions a Sauśārada, i.e., a work written by Suśārada, and in one of these cases quotes an extract that is to be found *sauśārade 'nupade*, thus apparently distinguishing it from the regularly mentioned Anupada. As there has been a teacher called Suśārada who belonged to the Sāmaveda, Caland surmised that he might be the author of the Sāmavedic Anupadasūtra. (Caland's reference to Suśārada as a Sāmavedic teacher is undoubtedly based on the genealogy of the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, which in I.13–14 mentions Suśārada Śālaṅkāyana as the Sāmaveda student of Ūrjayann Aupamanyava and as the teacher of Śravaṇadatta Kauhala; cf. WEBER 1858: 372.) Caland noted, however, that he had not been able to trace the *vyākhyā*'s quotations in the Sāmavedic Anupada. The suggestion of Suśārada's possible authorship was recorded with a question mark by RENOU (1947: 115 n. 1).

Yasuke Ikari has collected many new manuscripts of the Vādhūla texts from the Vādhūla Brahmins and from libraries in Kerala, and has long been preparing them for publication; he has kindly sent me his provisional file of the Anupada or Anupadakāra quotations in Āryadāsa's Kalpāgamasaṃgraha alias Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā. Ikari notes that these 65 quotations are restricted to the commentary on books I to VII of the Vādhūlaśrautasūtra (i.e., description of the *śrauta* ritual from the *agnyādheya* up to the *agniṣṭoma*), none being found in the commentary on books VIII to XV (which deal with the *agnicayana* and the *vikr̥ti* type of *soma* sacrifice, from one-day rites to the sacrificial sessions). Ikari also

observes that references to Anupada and Anupadakāra are also found in Śivaśroṇa's Vādhūlaprayogakalpanā alias Prayogasandarbha, and in an anonymous *prayoga* (N253). There is no possibility nor, as the contexts are clearly Yajurvedic, any reason to reproduce Ikari's extensive list here.

Ikari has also provided me with the two Sauśārada quotations:

> (1) Āryadāsa on VādhŚS VII (2nd part of the *agniṣṭoma*), ms. T284,16: […] *samākhyābhakṣe save hotāraṃ hotrādhvaryuṃ hotrakā hotāram adhvaryuṃ ca | katham anujñāpanam | ṛtviññāmadheyena sambuddhyantenāsāv upahvayasveti praśāstar iti maitrāvaruṇaṃ brahmann iti brāhmaṇācchaṃsinam iti sauśārade 'nupada āmnātam | upahūta ity anujānanti.*

The mutual invitations of the priests to partake of the Soma drink is dealt with in the Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa (II.5–7, not commented upon in the Anupadasūtra), in the Sāmavedic Śrautasūtras (LŚS II.3.12–15; II.5.1–17; JŚS I.14–16) and in the Anupadasūtra (I.4–6), but the above quotation (which mentions non-Sāmavedic priests) cannot be traced there.

VādhŚS V deals with (*nīrūḍha*)*paśubandha*; in this context, many basic rites of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* recur, sometimes with a minor change of details, such as the arrangement of the *vedi*, the placement of the ritual utensils, the *patnīsaṃnahana*, etc. According to Ikari, Āryadāsa's commentary here discusses the amount of difference between the rites of *prakṛti* and *vikṛti* type, and then quotes Sauśārada (T180,4):

> (2) Āryadāsa on VādhŚS V *tathā ca sauśārada* (some mss: *cāsau śārada*) *uktam agnīṣomīyavikāreṣv aviśeṣaṃ kuryāt, na cāsminn arthāt kurvīteti.*

There is no literally identical passage in the Anupadasūtra, but one could think that Āryadāsa has given his own summary conclusion of such a passage as Anupadasūtra VIII.2:

> Anupadasūtra VIII.2 *sādyaḥkreṣv agnīṣomīyasya paśoḥ sthāne 'gnīṣomīyaṃ puroḍāśaṃ nirvapati | tatra pradhānāhuter anantare samāptyāhvāne paśuvad.*

In the basic *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice (the *prakṛti*), the *subrahmaṇyā* litany is called after the *omentum* of the goat sacred to Agni and Soma has been offered, but in the *sādyaḥkra* rites (which are *vikṛti*s), instead of an animal victim, Agni and Soma get a sacrificial cake (and hence there is no

offering of the *omentum*). In that connection, there should be two concluding callings of the *subrahmaṇyā* litany that immediately follow the principal oblation as in the animal sacrifice (cf. PARPOLA 1969 I.2: 62–63 on LŚS I.3.21 and DŚS I.4.1). The victim to Agni and Soma is mentioned in two further places in the Anupadasūtra, both also connected with the calling of the *subrahmaṇyā* litany:

> Anupadasūtra X.7 […] *padavikāras tv arthataḥ pratiṣedhābhyāṃ yāgnīṣomīyasyety upasatsu hetunā pratiṣedhān nānyasyā agnīṣomīyasyeti ced ūrdhvaṃ caivam̐ hetvaviśeṣāt* ||7||
> Anupadasūtra X.8 […] *sutyopalakṣaṇam̐ stutyāviśeṣādr̥ṣṭe hi kāle sutyā iti vā bahutvāt tasmim̐s tad ā<hu>r yac caturtha ity agnīṣomīyāṃte nu sādharmitvān nānākālaprasaṃkhyopasatsu tyaṃ vaikasam̐sthāṃ prakr̥tivad* [...]

Jaimini as the author of the Sāmavedic Anupadasūtra

While Suśārada's authorship of the Sāmavedic Anupadasūtra remains uncertain, there exists a different and more definite ascription of this text. Kumārila, the eminent commentator of the PMS, who lived in the 7th century CE (cf. POTTER 1995: I, 250), considers it the work of Jaimini, the author of the PMS (cf. PARPOLA 1968 I.1: 60). Taking into consideration the style and vocabulary of the Anupadasūtra, together with its above suggested position in the history of the Mīmāṃsā, this ascription to Jaimini does not look unreasonable. On account of its importance, I shall discuss this passage of Kumārila's Tantravārttika in detail.

Jaimini in PMS I.3.3 states that the injunction of a *smr̥ti* text is to be disregarded if it is in conflict with the *śruti*. As an example of such a conflict Śabarasvā min mentions the *smr̥ti* prescription that the whole pillar of *udumbara* wood should be covered with cloth, which would prevent the Udgātr̥ from touching the pillar while singing the *sāman*, as prescribed in the *śruti*:

> *atha yatra śrutivirodhas tatra katham | yathaudumbaryāḥ sarvaveṣṭanam | audumbarīṃ spṛṣṭvodgāyed ity śrutyā viruddham.*[9]

In his Tantravārttika (ed. Gaṅgādhara ŚĀSTRĪ 1882–1903 Vol. I: 106, line 20 to 107, line 1; ed. Gaṇeśa Śāstrī JOŚĪ 1981 Vol. II: 105), Kumārila states in this connection:

> *yac caitat sarvaveṣṭanasmaraṇaṃ sparśanaśrutiviruddhatvenodāhriyate etaj jaimininaiva cchāndogyānuvāde śāṭyāyanibrāhmaṇagataśrutimūlatvenaudumbarīprakaraṇe ca śāṭyāyaninām tām ūrdhvadaśenobhayatra vāsasī darśayatīti vaiṣṭutaṃ vai vāsaḥ śrīr vai vāsaḥ śrīr sāmeti darśite tatprasaṅgenaudumbarīveṣṭanavāsaso 'pi prakāśaśrutimūlatvam evānvākhyātam.*[10]

Paritoṣamiśra around 1150 CE composed a commentary called Ajitā on Kumārila's Tantravārttika (cf. POTTER 1995 Vol. I: 429). There this passage is explained as follows (text as edited by HARIKAI 1986: 33–34, with the *variae lectiones* of the two mss M1 and M2 underlined):

9 Śabara's quotation cannot be traced in any extant text, but in the *audumbarī* section (I.70–72) of the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa we read (I.71–72): *upaspṛśyā3ṃ nopaspṛśyā3m iti mīmāṃsante* […] *sāma devānām annam ūrg udumbaraḥ | yad udgātaudumbarīṃ śrayate sāmann evaitad devānām anna ūrjaṃ dadhāti* […] *prajāpatir udgātorg udumbaraḥ | sa eṣa ūrji śritaḥ prajāpatiḥ prajābhya ūrjam annādyaṃ vibhajati*. (According to the forthcoming new critical edition of Gerhard Ehlers, kindly made accessible to me by the author, the mss read *anna ūrjaṃ dadhāti* instead of *annam...* which is the sole reading in the edition of RAGHU VIRA & LOKESH CHANDRA 1954: 32.) Cf. also PB VI.4.13; Nidānasūtra I.11; LŚS II.6.2–3; DŚS V.2.5–8 (see PARPOLA 1968 I.1: 134–135; 1969 I.2: 210–212).

10 Gaṅgānātha JHĀ (1924 I: 155) has translated the passage as follows: "As for the Smṛti text enjoining the *covering up of the whole post,* which has been cited as an instance of a text contradictory to the Vedic text laying down *the touching* of the post, – this smṛti text is entirely corroborated by direct Vedic texts; as has been clearly shown by Jaimini himself in his work the '*Chandogyānupada*,' as also while dealing with the subject of the '*Audumbari yūpa*' as laid down by direct Vedic texts of the *Çākatāyani* [sic] Brāhmaṇa, – where it is pointed out that the people belonging to the *Çākatāyani* Rescenion [sic], should, in covering the post, have the '*thread-ends*' at the top; which distinctly shows the necessity of its being covered by cloth, as is also pointed out by the following text: 'the cloth is praised, the cloth is prosperity, the cloth is peace;' and in connection with this, Jaimini has (in the afore-said work) also explained the covering of the *Audumbarī* post by a piece of cloth as being based upon direct Vedic texts."

yac caitat sarvaveṣṭanasmaraṇam iti | sparśaṇaṃ (M2) śrutiviruddhatvena yad udāhṛtaṃ tatra (M1: etac) śāṭyāyan īya(M2:i)śākhāgataśrutimūlatvena svagranthe cchāndogyānuvā(M2:pa)de jaimininā eva (M1) udāhṛtam ity anuṣaṅgeṇa samāptiḥ | atha vā sparśanaśrutiviruddhatvena upalakṣitaṃ (M1) yad etat upalakṣitaṃ (M2) sarvaveṣṭanasmaraṇam ity uddiśyodāhṛtam etaj jaimininety āha jaimineḥ śrutimūlatvapratipādanaṃ darśayati audumbarīprakaraṇe ca iti | audumbarīprakaraṇe ca (M1:a) ityādi darśayatītyanto jaiminer (M1:i)granthaḥ | asyārthaḥ, śāṭyāyanīya(M2 :i)śākhinām audumbarīprakaraṇe tām ūrdhvadaśena vāsasā (emended by me: ūrdhvadeśena vāsanā HARIKAI's text) pariveṣṭayatīti śrutis tacchabdena (emended by me: tac chabdena HARIKAI's text) prakṛtāyām audumbaryām api vāso darśayatīti svagranthe vaiṣṭutavāsasaḥ prathamaṃ (M1: pūrvaṃ) darśitatvād ubhayaśabdo dvitīyasyaudumbarī(M2:a)vāsasaḥ prāptyarthaḥ | caśabdaś(M2:sya) caudumbarīprakaraṇe ceti samuccayo(M1:ā)rthaḥ | tad etad vyākhyāta(M2:na)m, śrīr vai vāsa ity arthavādapurassaraṃ sāmasādhanaviṣṭutisambaddhe vāsasi darśite 'nena granthenaudumbarīveṣṭana(M2)vāsaso 'pi prakāśa(M1:ra)śrutimūlatvam evānvākhyātam iti |[11]

11 I translate this commentary as follows: "'And as to the *smṛti* prescription of the complete wrapping (of the *udumbara* pillar) with cloth:' the touching that was mentioned as involving a conflict with the *śruti*, in this matter the mention was made (so one has to complete the sentence on the basis of the context) by Jaimini himself in his own work Chāndogyānupada, based on the *śruti* contained in the Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa. Or else, referring to the *smṛti* text concerning the complete wrapping (of the *udumbara* pillar), that has been perceived to involve a conflict with the *śruti*, (Kumārila) says that it was mentioned by Jaimini. Thus (Kumārila) shows that Jaimini propounds its being based on the *śruti*. 'And in the section dealing with the *udumbara* pillar': the passage starting with (the words) 'and in the section dealing with the *udumbara* pillar' and ending (in the word) 'shows' belongs to Jaimini's treatise (i.e., the Chāndogyānupada). The meaning of this (is as follows). In the section dealing with the *udumbara* pillar (in the Brāhmaṇa) of the followers of the Śāṭyāyani-school (of Sāmaveda it is stated): 'He wraps around it (i.e., the *udumbara* pillar) a cloth that has its fringe upwards.' By means of the word 'it,' this *śruti* text shows that there is a cloth also on the *udumbara* pillar that is the subject of discussion. Because (Jaimini) in his own treatise has first shown that there is a cloth on which the *viṣṭuti* sticks are placed, the word 'both' (is said by him) in order to obtain the second cloth of the *udumbara* pillar (implying that a different cloth is wrapped around it). And the word 'and' in the expression 'and in the section dealing with the udumbara pillar' has the conjunctive meaning. Therefore, the following is the explanation. Preceded by this explanatory statement: 'The cloth is glory,' this text by having first shown that there is a cloth connected with the *viṣṭuti* sticks, which are a tool for singing the *sāman*s (since these sticks are placed on it to count the *stotra* verses), has clearly told that there is an explicit *śruti* basis even for the cloth that is wrapped around the *udumbara* pillar."

The text quoted here is called Anuvāda or Anupada, and it is said to belong to the Chandogas, i.e., the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmavedins. As there is a comparable passage in the Anupadasūtra, there cannot be any doubt about the identity of the work which Kumārila in equally clear way ascribes to Jaimini himself (*eva*), obviously herewith meaning the author of the PMS.

In chapter V.12, the Anupadasūtra deals with the *viṣṭuti*s. At the end of this chapter, the author discusses the *kuśā* sticks used in counting the *viṣṭuti*s. He quotes the lost Brāhmaṇa texts of the Śāṭyāyanins and the Kālabavins, two Sāmavedic schools, and thereafter concludes with the topic mentioned by Kumārila. Most of the words quoted by Kumārila can be traced in this passage. (The *daṇḍa*s, punctuation and italics have been added by me):

> dravyānām aniyogaḥ | śāṭyāyaninām tv *audumbarā viṣṭutayo bhavanty*, *ūrg udumbara*, *ūrjam evāsmin dadhātīti* | kālabavināṃ ca mantravarṇo *vānaspatyā stha*, *tā mā pāta; śākh*(*y*)*ā stha*, *śaṃ me bhūyāstha*; *saṃkhyānyo sthāsaṃkhyānya*: *eṣa me 'riṣṭo yajño vāg aitu mām iyam* (emended by me, mss: *vaigvaitu mām ayam*) *imāś ca brahmasamidhaḥ sāmahavyā* iti | kuśāprakaraṇe ca *śrīr vai sāmnāṃ stomaḥ*, *śrīr vāsaḥ*, *śriyam eva tac chriyāṃ pratisthāpayatī*ti vāsasaḥ parāmarśaḥ śāṭyāyaninām | audumbarīprakaraṇe ca *tām ūrdhvadaśene*ty ubhayatra vāsasī darśayati || [12]

The lost Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa is an earlier version of the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, but the here quoted portions are not to be found in the JB. Compare, however, Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya on UMS III.3.26

12 I translate this as follows: "There is no instruction on the materials. But (the Brāhmaṇa) of the Śāṭyāyanins states: 'the *viṣṭuti* sticks are made of *udumbara* wood, for the *udumbara* represents nourishment, he places nourishment in him.' And the wording of the ritual formula of the Kālabavins (addressed to the sticks is as follows): 'you are coming from trees, as such protect me; you are coming from branches, be propitious to me; countable are you, uncountable; this my sacrifice (be) unhurt; may this voice come to me, and these sacred fuel sticks with which the sāmans are offered.' And in the section dealing with the *kuśā* sticks there is this consideration of the Śāṭyāyanins relating to the cloth (on which the *kuśā* sticks are placed): 'The *stoma* (i.e., the prescribed number of *stotra* verses) of the *sāman*s is glory, the cloth is glory, therefore he establishes glory on glory (when he places the *kuśā* sticks on the *viṣṭuti* cloth, counting the *stotra* verses).' And in their section which deals with the *udumbara* pillar (it is said): '(he envelops) it (i.e., the *udumbara* pillar) with (a cloth) that has its fringe upwards.' Thus (the *śruti*) shows that there are two cloths, (one) in both of these cases."

(*hānau tūpāyanaśabdaśeṣatvāt kuśācchandaḥstutyupagānavat tad uktam*), where the formula that the Anupadasūtra quotes as belonging to the Kālabavins (not preserved in any other Vedic text) is ascribed to Bhāllavins:

> kuśācchandaḥstutyupagānavad ity upamopādānam | tad yathā bhāllavinām *kuśā vānaspatyāḥ stha tā mā pāte*ty etasmin nigame kuśānām aviśeṣeṇa vanaspatiyonitvena śravaṇe śāṭyāyaninām *audumbarāḥ kuśā* iti viśeṣavacanād audumbaryaḥ kuśā āśrīyante |

Cf. also Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra I.15 (ed. GAASTRA 1906: 19):

> athāha *vaiṣṭutaṃ vāsa āharate*ti | śrīr vā eṣā sāmnāṃ yad viṣṭāvāḥ, śrīr vāsaḥ, śriyam evāsmiṃs tad dadhāty | audumbarāḥ prādeśamātrā viṣṭutayo bhavanty ūrg vā annam udumbara ūrja evānnādyasyāvaruddhyai |

This passage makes it likely that the *daṇḍa* in this passage of the Anupadasūtra is to be placed after and not before the second *śāṭyāyaninām*.[13]

Suśārada and Jaimini

In the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa (I.13–14), the Sāmavedic teacher Suśārada is called Suśārada Śālaṅkāyana. The followers of this Sāmavedic teacher, Śālaṅkāyaninaḥ, seem to be mentioned in the Sāmavedic Śrautasūtra of Lāṭyāyana (IV.8.20) and its later version by Drāhyāyaṇa (VIII.3.23–24), where they are said to have adopted a peculiar arrangement of the one-year rite *utsarginām ayanam* (their arragement is not mentioned in any other text describing this rite; for references, see CALAND 1931: 94–97).

It seems significant that the *gotra* names Śālaṅkāyana and Jaimini are mentioned one after the other in Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra XII.10.10, where they are among the ten sub-*gotra*s of the Bhārgavas who are de-

13 Cf. CALAND (1915:9): "Tweemaal worden de Śāṭyāyanins geciteerd in Anupada V.12, doch ik ben niet in staat uit te maken welke uitspraken hier aan hen ontleend worden." Caland counts these as quotations 48 and 49 of the lost Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa. They are not included in the *Collection of the fragments of lost Brāhmaṇas* by Batakrishna GHOSH (1935).

scended from the same three *ṛṣi* ancestors, namely Bhṛgu, Vītahavya and Savetas. Among the several other *gotra* names mentioned in this *sūtra* as having this *pravara* is also that of Vādhūla.[14] The passage is most likely the very earliest mention of the name Jaimini in our sources, and its co-occurrence with Śālaṅkā yana does not seem accidental, particularly as Āśvalāyana is among the very few Sūtra period authorities quoted in the Anupadasūtra. The Bhārgava Śā laṅkāyanas[15] and Jaiminis were so closely related that they could not intermarry, and such near relationship had its influence upon practical life as well, not least upon collaboration in rituals. Each *gotra* developed practices of its own, wearing the hair in its particular way, and so on, and sometimes it was not possible to harmonize the different variations in a sacrificial performance. In early times it was found necessary to enjoin that all participants of a sacrificial session should belong to the same *gotra* (cf. Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra XII.10.1–5). From the *vaṁśa*s one can notice that the textual tradition was often passed further from generation to generation within one and the same *gotra*: thus Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa III.5–13, for example, lists a series of nine Gobhilas. Moreover, each *gotra* was attached to a particular Veda and its subschool. The following things are traditionally mentioned in connection with a given *gotra*: *veda*, *upaveda*, *śākhā*, *sūtra*, *pravara*, *śikhā*, *pāda* and *devatā* (cf. FICK 1913: 354, 356). As both Suśārada Śālaṅkāyana and Jaimini belonged to the Sāmaveda, one could speculate that they were perhaps a teacher and a pupil who both contributed to the formation of the Anupadasūtra: one can compare the "Śaunaka-Āśvalāyana problem" in connection with the Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra (cf. KASHIKAR 1968: 80–82). The Sauśārada Anupada seems to have been preserved among the Vādhūlas in South India until medieval times, while the manuscripts of Jaimini's Anupada come from North India only.

14 Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra XII.10.10 (ed. VIDYĀRATNA 1874: 876; 12.10.8 in the ed. of OJHA *et al.* 1996 III: 410, and the translation of MYLIUS 1994: 471) *yaska-vādhaula*[*sic*]*-mauna-mauka-śārkarākṣi-sārṣṭi-sāvarṇi-śālaṅkāyana-jaimini-daiva-ntyāyānāṃ bhārgava-vaitahavya-sāvetaseti*.

15 Baudhāyana's Pravarapraśna 31 mentions Śālaṅkāyanāḥ as Kuśika Viśvāmitras, but they too seem to be Sāmavedins, as they are mentioned immediately after Lāmakāyanāḥ, and Lāmakāyana is an authority quoted in the Sāmavedic Sūtras of the Chandoga-śākhā.

Jaimini and Sāmaveda

If Jaimini was the author of the Chāndogya-Anupadasūtra, it is fairly certain that he belonged to the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya school of Sāmaveda. This is entirely in agreement with the fact that of all Vedic texts, it is the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad that is most frequently quoted in the UMS (cf. NAKAMURA 1983 I: 466–468), and according to Sureśvara (Sambandhokti commentary on Naiṣkarmyasiddhi I.91), it was Jaimini who wrote this text, or more exactly the Śārīrakasūtra, which in its two first *sūtra*s begins exactly like the UMS (cf. NAKAMURA 1983 I: 396–398, quoting Sureśvara's text). On the basis of Sureśvara, S. K. BELVALKAR (1927) suggested that Jaimini wrote not only the PMS but also the prototype of the UMS, which concentrated on the teachings of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.[16]

There are even other weighty reasons to suspect that the formation of the PMS has taken place specifically in Sāmavedic circles. According to GARGE (1952: 159), the PMS deals, in the *pāda*s II.1, V.3, IX.1–2 and X.5–6 "with matters arising out of the relation of the Sāmaveda to sacrificial ritual." In just one out of these altogether about 60 *adhikaraṇa*s, PMS IX.2.32–39 (which deals with the syllables to be taken as the basis of the melody when the *rathantara sāman* is to be sung on the verses of the Uttarārcika) do we find teacher quotations. One authority here is Jaimini, which supports his relation to the Sāmaveda.[17]

16 Louis RENOU (1953a: 8) found it possible to imagine "une Mīmāṃsā rudimentaire, élaborée peut-être dans les milieux sāmavédiques, qui aurait groupé une systématique rituelle et une systématique ontologique." Here Renou is backing the hypothesis of a unified Mīmāṁsā, which would have included not only Jaimini's PMS but also a basic UMS: "D'après Belvalkar, le noyau des [*Uttara-Mīmāṃsā-*]*Sūtra* serait une exégèse des textes *Chāndogya,* oeuvre de Jaimini. La *Chāndogya* joue, en effet, un rôle privilégié au premier *adhyāya,* et comme le nom de Jaimini se rattache à l'une des écoles du *Sāmaveda,* il y a peut-être là un fait à retenir" (RENOU 1953b: 19; cf. also RENOU 1960: 54 n. 4 on the central position of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad in the Vedānta, with references to WINDISCH 1888: 6 and THIBAUT 1904 I: xliii).

17 The other teacher quoted here is Bādari, who may have been associated with the Sāmaveda or with the White Yajurveda (cf. PARPOLA 1994: 294–297; 1981: 156–158). The latter school was in any case closely connected with the Kauthuma Sāmaveda. Thus Kātyāyana is credited with the authorship of works belonging to

If there was originally just only one Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra of Jaimini, which was divided into two parts called *pūrva* and *uttara*, this division can also be counted as a feature that points specifically to Sāmaveda (cf. PARPOLA 1981: 148–149).

But originally Jaimini as the author of the PMS was connected with the Sāmaveda because his name was associated with a *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. As early as 1805, H. T. COLEBROOKE in his pioneering essay "On the Védas or Sacred Writings of the Hindus" had already concluded that the Talavakāra school of the Sāmaveda, which is mentioned in the Caraṇavyūha and in the Purāṇas, "is extant, at least, in part." Colebrooke pointed out that in Śaṅkara's commentary on the Kena Upaniṣad it is stated that this text forms the ninth *adhyāya* of a larger work belonging to the Talavakāra *śākhā*. While describing his discovery of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, A. C. BURNELL wrote in 1879:

> The MSS. I have seen term it 'Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa,' and the well-known Upanishad of this name occurs in the last book but one. It is also termed by the Brahmans who study it 'Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,' after the Śākhā of the Sāma Veda that they follow.

(Cf. PARPOLA 1973: 6–7.) After Burnell's discovery of this and other texts of the Jaiminīya *śākhā*, it did not take long before this school was connected with the Jaimini to whom the PMS is ascribed. In his paper "Ueber das Nyāyabhāshya" (1888: 5–6), Ernst WINDISCH suggested that the main impetus to the résumé or elaboration of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine may have come from a man or a *caraṇa* belonging to a single Veda, and that one is to understand in this sense the name of its author, Jaimini. Windisch stated that there cannot be any doubt that the Jaiminīya school is an old school of the Sāmaveda. As the Mīmāṃsā does not go back to the oldest Vedic times, Windisch continued, one need not think so much of that Jaimini, who in the Purāṇas and in the Ṛgvedic Gṛhyasūtras is placed at the very beginning of the Sāmavedic tradition, but of the Jaiminīya school in the more restricted sense, which still has representatives in South India.

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both of these *śākhā*s (cf. PARPOLA 1994: 304–305). His Śrautasūtra, which is so closely related to the PMS, is also partly based on the Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra of Kauthuma Sāmaveda (cf. PARPOLA 1994: 297–305).

In his history of the Vedic schools (1947: 89 n. 3), Louis RENOU just refers to this attempt to connect the founder of the Mīmāṃsā with the Jaiminīyas. Yet one fundamental contradiction has remained unnoticed. The Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, which is connected with Jaimini in the UMS, is a work of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya school. The Anupadasūtra commenting upon the Pañcaviṁśa- and Ṣaḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇas is also very much a work of the Chāndogya school, and its ascription to the Mīmāṃsākṛt Jaimini is reinforced by its affinity with the PMS. But the Jaiminīya school of Sāmaveda is the other main school of this Veda, distinctly different from the Chāndogya school with which the author of the Anupadasūtra and the unified Mīmāṃsāsūtra is associated. Yet the followers of the Jaiminīya school insist that their eponymic *ācārya* is the author of the Mīmāṃsāsūtra. This discrepancy is one of the main problems connected with Jaimini, but its closer scrutiny must be left to another paper.

Here follows a provisional text of the first chapter of the Anupadasūtra (I have not been able to consult all existing mss) and a first draft of its translation.

Anupadasūtra I.1: Text with *variae lectiones* (part of the mss only)

śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ | K1,
śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ oṃ namaḥ sāmavedāya K4,
śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || oṃ namaḥ sāmavedāya || || B1

(I.1.1) yajuṣāṃ karmasu liṅgato vidhānam arthagrahaṇāl |

yajūṣāṃ K1; karmas tu K1, karmastu > karmasu B1; liṃgato K1, K4, B1; here and in the sequel, B1 alone has the *daṇḍa* marking division into *sūtra*s, added *secunda manu* over the line.
Agnisvāmin in his introduction to the LŚS quotes this *sūtra* in extenso as the beginning of the ritual rules that follow the Brāhmaṇa (*anubrāhmaṇiko vidhiḥ*) and paraphrases it as follows: *ṛgyajuḥsāmnāṃ ca samāmnāyaparipaṭhitānāṃ liṅgato 'nu vidhānam anārabhyakarmārthatāvyutpatteḥ*.

(I.1.2) liṅgatas tu saṃbandhena śabdaviśeṣo dravyavac codanā-

liṅgatas K1, K4, B1; sarvadhena K2 or K3; saṃbaṃdhena K1, saṃvaṃdhena K4, B1; śabdaviviśeṣo > śabdaviśe ṣo B1; dravyavavac ca codanauduṃbarīṃ K2, dravyadravya-vac codanauduṃbarīṃ K1, dravyavacanauduṃvarī K4, dravyavacanodgātauduṃbarīṃ (ga > gā corrected *sec. m.*) B1

(I.1.3) *udgātauduṃbarīṃ prathamena-* (PB VI.4.1) iti ca pūrvabhāve ’narthakam̐

see (I.1.2); śathameneti K1; avagraha not in the mss; narthakaḥ K2

(I.1.4) hiṃkārastomayogavacanāc ca

hiṃkārastome yoga- K2 or K3, hikārastobhayoga- K4, hiṃkārastomayoga- K1, B1

(I.1.5) vidhiviśeṣayāmnānāt tv anyaśabdavaidharmyaṃ

vidhiviṣayānmānāt tv anyaśabdavaitarmyaṃ K2, vidhiviśeṣayāmnāt tv anyaśabdavai-dharmyaṃ (corrected into rmmaṃ in the margin) K1, vidhiviśeṣayānmānā tv anya-śabdavaidharma K4, vidhiviśeṣayānmānā tv anyaśabdavaidharmyaṃ B1

(I.1.6) yajuś ca yajñārthatvād

(I.1.7) yajur eva yajuṣo brāhmaṇaṃ

(I.1.8) *brāhmaṇaṃ te vakṣyāmi-* (PB XV.5.24) iti ca |

vakṣyāmiti ca K4, B1; K1, K2 omit brāhmaṇaṃ; the *daṇḍa* (*sec. m.*) in B1 only

(I.1.9) punargrahaṇam arthavādārtham auśanavat

(I.1.10) prāyād vā cakrīvadvat

(I.1.11) prāthamyam̐ hastakāryāṇām auḍumbarīkarmaṇāṃ vā

prāthamya K2; -kāryā | ṇām K4; -karmāṇaṃ vā K1

(I.1.12) stomayogasamuccayo nānārthatvāt

somayogasamuccayo K2 or K3, stomayogaṃ samuccayo K1, stomayoga na samuccayo K4, somayogaṃ na samuccayo B1

(I.1.13) sarve kuryur aviśeṣāt

iti viśeṣāt K2 or K3, iti (with ti added in the margin) viśeṣāt K4, aviśeṣāt K1, B1

(I.1.14) parasaṁskāraṃ tv ekaḥ kr̥tārthatvāt

parasaṁskārā tv ekaḥ kr̥tārthatvāt K2 or K3; parasaṃskā tv ekaḥ kr̥tārthatvāt K1, parasaṃskāraikaḥ tatvārthatvāt K4, parasaṃskā tv ekaḥ tatvārthatvāt B1

(I.1.15) sarvaprāpiṇaś ca karmaiva śiṣṭaṃ phalitvād

sarvaprāpiṇaś ca karmmaiva śi ṣṭatvāṃ (tvāṃ erased) phalitvād K2, sarvapāyiṇaś ca karmaiva śi ṣṭaivāśabdaiḥ palitvād K3, sarvaprāpiṇaś ca karmaiva śi ṣṭaḥ phalatvād K1, sarvapāyiṇaś ca karmaiva śiṣaivāśabdaiḥ palitvād K4, sarvapāyiṇaś ca karmaiva śiṣṭaiva śiṣṭaḥ phalitvād B1

(I.1.16) r̥tvijas tu vedasaṃyogād

(I.1.17) *yāṃ vai kāṃ ca-* (ŚBM I.3.1.26 = ŚBK II.2.4.19) iti ca |

gāṃ K4, K2, K1, gāṃ > kāṃ *sec. m.* B1; the *daṇḍa* in B1 (*sec. m.*) only. Cf. ŚBM I.3.1.26 = ŚBK II.2.4.19 *yāṃ vai kāṃ ca yajña r̥tvija āśiṣam āśāsate yajamānasyaiva sā.*

(I.1.18) *caturo mahartvijo vr̥ṇīta* ity avachede prastotr̥varaṇaṃ na syāt

carturo mahartvijā K4

(I.1.19) punas tv ābhāvo |

ābhāvā K2 or K3, K1, ābhāvā ṃ K4, ābhāvā ṃ | (here the *daṇḍa* is long and *prima manu*) B1

(I.1.20) naimittikaṃ tu sarvahavirvat

naimittikaṃs tuṃ tu K1; sarvahaviṣṭāt (or -haviṣyat) K2 or K3, sarvahavirva K4, sarvahavirvat K1, B1

(I.1.21) syāt tv aviśeṣaśruteḥ *sa etān* (ṢB II.10.3) iti

syā tv K2, K1, K4, B1; sa etānīti K1. Cf. ṢB II.10.2–3 *sa etān daivān r̥tvijo vr̥ṇītāgnir me hotāditYo me 'dhvaryuś candramā me brahmā parjanyo ma udgātākāśo me sadasya āpo me hotrāśaṁsino raśmayo me camasādhvaryavaḥ | sa etān daivān r̥tvijo vr̥tvāthaitān mānuṣān vr̥ṇīta ya enam abhirādhayeyuḥ.*

|| 1 ||

Translation with Notes: A First Draft

(I.1.1) The prescription of (the use of) the *yajus* formulae (recorded in PB I.1–8) in ritual acts (is given in each case) by means of (its) indicative mark (only), because the purpose (of the formula) is understood (from [or: mentioned by] its indicative mark).

arthagrahaṇa in Śabara on PMS I.1.2 means 'the mention of (the word) *artha* (in this *sūtra*).' Agnisvāmin's paraphrase of this *sūtra* seems to mean: "and the prescription of (the use of) the *ṛk* verses, the *sāman*s and the *yajus* formulae which have been completely taught in the traditional collections (of the Ārcikas, Gānas and the Yajuḥsaṃhitā of PB I) is according to their indicative marks, because they produce meaningfulness in detached sacrificial acts."

(I.1.2) But in connection with the indicative mark, the specific word becomes a command, like the sacrificial substance (becomes a command) [or: as in the case of the sacrificial substance],

The first part of this *sūtra* seems to be related to PMS I.1.1–5 (where *codanā, śabda* and *saṃbandha* are discussed) and PMS VIII.1.1 *atha viśeṣalakṣaṇam*, 2 *yasya liṅgam arthasaṃyogād abhidhānavat*. Is the latter part connected with PMS II.2.15? The term *dravyavat* is found in the PMS, cf. III.4.15.

(I.1.3) and (because) it is meaningless (to say in PB VI.4.1): "In that through his first act the Udgātṛ takes hold of the pillar of *udumbara* wood," if there is (some act prescribed) before (it),

(I.1.4) and because the *stomayoga* formulae and the *hum* sounds have been told.

The *stomabhāga* formulae of PB I.9–10 and the *viṣṭuti*s (which begin with the sound *hum*) of PB II–III (taught immediately after the *yajus* formulae as similar detached collections) seem to be meant, as *sūtra* I.1.8 definitely refers to the *stomabhāga* formulae, which are used at the 'yoking of the stoma' by the Brahman priest. Alternatively, the *stomayoga* formulae used by the Udgātṛ are meant; on them see PB I.3.5; I.5.11; I.5.14; VI.6.17; Anupadasūtra I.3; LŚS I.12.2; II.1.1–3; II.5.20–27.

(I.1.5) But because a specific prescription has been handed down (in the keywords of the formulae), other words are not relevant.

(I.1.6) And the *yajus* formula, because it has the sacrifice as its purpose,

(I.1.7) for the *yajus* formula itself is the *brāhmaṇa* (explanation) of the *yajus* formula,

(I.1.8) and (indeed) it is said (of the *stomabhāga* formulae of PB I.9–10): "I will tell you a *brāhmaṇa*" (PB XV.5.24).

This *sūtra* points out that the *stomabhāga* formulae themselves are called *brāhmaṇa*.

(I.1.9) The repeated mention (of a *yajus* formula in later portions of the PB, such as PB I.2.4 quoted *in extenso* in PB VI.5.3) is for the sake of an explanatory statement, as in the case of the *auśana* (*sāman*).

That the term '*punargrahaṇa*' refers to the repeated mention of a *yajus* belonging to the *yajuḥsaṃhitā* later in the PB is clear from Anupadasūtra I.3.2. The expression '*auśanavat*' possibly refers to PB XI.3.11 *auśanaṃ yad auśanasya*, which states that the *brāhmaṇa* of the *auśana sāman* given earlier in PB VII.5.16–20 is valid here as well. The *auśana sāman* is mentioned in the PB also in VIII.5.16, XIV.12.4–5 and XXIV.11.7, but the wording is not repeated in any of these places.

(I.1.10) or mostly as in the case of the expression *cakrīvat* 'wheeled wagon.'

PB XVI.15.4 *cakrīvān vā eṣa yajñaḥ kāmāya yaṃ kāmaṃ kāmayate tam etenābhyaśnute yatra hi cakrīvatā kāmayate tad abhyaśnute*: this is partially repeated in PB XX.13.2 […] *cakre vā ete sākaṃvr̥tī yat trivr̥tpañcadaśau stomau yaṃ kāmaṃ kāmayate tam etenābhyaśnute yatra yatra hi cakrīvatā kāmayate tat tad abhyaśnute*; the expression *cakrīvat* occurs in addition in PB XXV.10.5 *cakrīvat sadaś cakrīvad dhavirdhānaṃ cakrīvad āgnīdhram*. The expression *prāyāt* is found in the PMS, cf. I.2.11.

(I.1.11) Its being the first (in PB VI.4.1, quoted in Anupada I.1.3) concerns acts performed using hands, or acts connected with the pillar of *udumbara* wood.

The term *hastakārya* is used in PB VI.6.12 of the spreading of the strainer, which in this case is moreover said to be "a manual performance (that falls to the share) of the Chanters": "otherwise it [is] the Adhvaryus only, to whose share fall the manual performances" (CALAND 1931: 115). The raising of the *udumbara* pillar is also a manual performance, and at the same time it is the first of the acts that the Chanters perform with this pillar (cf. LŚS I.7.1–19; II.3.10; II.4.6–9; II.6.1–3).

(I.1.12) At the yoking of the *stoma*, there is a (separate) collection (of the *stomabhāga* formulae) (in PB I.9–10), because they have a different purpose (since they are to be muttered by the Brahman priest in case he is a Sāmavedin, but they do not belong to the office of a chanter priest).

(I.1.13) Everybody may perform (the sacrifical act), because there is no specification.

Compare *sūtra*s 13–15 to PMS VI.1.4 *phalārthatvāt karmaṇaḥ śāstraṃ sarvādhikāraṃ syāt*. Śabara completes this by adding the reason as: *aviśeṣāt* "because there is no specification," which is actually found in the corresponding passage of the KŚS: I.1.1 *athāto 'dhikāraḥ*, 2. *phalayuktāni karmāṇi*, 3. *sarveṣām aviśeṣāt*, 4. *manuṣyāṇāṃ vārambhasāmarthyāt*, 5. *aṅgahīnāśrotriyaṣaṇḍhaśūdravarjam* […]

(I.1.14) Yet (only) one (person should perform) the sanctifying rites of others, because (then) the object has been accomplished,

The expression *kṛtārthatvāt* is found in the PMS, cf. IV.2.27.

(I.1.15) and the sacrificial act has been ordained for everyone who has arrived at it, because he obtains the fruit of it.

(I.1.16) Yet (it is only) the officiating priests (who should perform it), on account of their connection with the Veda,

Cf. PMS VI.1.5 *kartur vā śrutisaṃyogād vidhiḥ kārtsnyena gamyate*. Also the expression *vedasaṃyogāt* is found in the PMS, cf. III.4.22.

(I.1.17) and because it is said (in the holy writ): "Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke during the sacrifice that is for the benefit of the sacrificer alone" (ŚBM I.3.1.26 = ŚBK II.2.4.19).

Only the reading *kāṃ* implying the quotation from the ŚB is meaningful here; the reading *gāṃ* is due to the phrase *yāṃ vai gāṃ* that is found in PB XIII.5.25, but this passage does not make any sense here: "The cow they wish to praise, they praise saying: 'she is a *dāśaspatya.*'" The ŚB quotation must be considered in its context: ŚB I.3.1.26 "He then looks down on the butter. Here now some make the sacrificer look down. Yājñavalkya, however, said in reference to this point, – 'Why do not (the sacrificers) themselves become (i.e., act as) Adhvaryu priests? and why do not they (i.e., the sacrificers) themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for? How can these (people) possibly have faith in this? Whatever blessing […] alone.' The Adhvaryu should accordingly look down on it." (Transl. EGGELING 1882 I: 77.)

(I.1.18) In case the distinction is made that "he chooses four principal officiating priests," there should be no election of the Prastotṛ.

caturo mahartvijo vṛṇīte could be an abbreviated quotation of Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra X.1.3 *caturo vṛṇāno mahartvijo vṛṇīte 'dhvaryuṃ brahmāṇaṃ hotāram udgātāram iti*.

(I.1.19) But on the other hand (his) presence (is necessary).

(I.1.20) Yet (the Prastotṛ's election may take place) if there is a special reason, in the manner of any (special) oblation (due to a special reason).

(I.1.21) However, (the election of the Prastotṛ) should take place, because there is a passage in the sacred scripture that states without specification: "After electing these divine officiating priests (as prescribed in ṢB II.10.2), he should elect these human officiating priests who should make him succeed (in accomplishing the sacrifice)" (ṢB II.10.3).

Translation with Notes: Revised Version, attained with the help of Kiyotaka Yoshimizu

It has seemed useful to me to keep the foregoing tentative first draft on record, since it clearly shows that familiarity with the Sāmaveda alone is quite insufficient in dealing with the difficulties of the Anupadasūtra. One needs good knowledge of the Mīmāṃsā as well. I was very happy to receive brilliant and perceptive comments on my first attempt from Professor Kiyotaka Yoshimizu (KY). His initial comments and our subsequent correspondence have caused both of us to reconsider several issues. The following revised version of the translation and comments incorporates our present joint understanding of this first chapter, which seems now essentially decoded. Comments on the first version that remain valid are not repeated, but a reference is made to them, while some others are simply ignored here, as KY has shown them to be irrelevant. For instance, on I.1.2, I referred to PMS I.1.1–5 and VIII.1.1: the former passage deals with the authority of injunction in defence against heterodoxy and here therefore come into being relatively late, and the latter deals with the transfer (*atideśa*) of the prescriptions of a *prakṛti* to its *vikṛti*s. As to the provisional Sanskrit text of Anupadasūtra I.1, KY suggests changing *vidhiviśeṣayāmnānāt* into *vidhiviśeṣasyāmnānāt* in I.1.5.

Chapter I.1 of the Anupadasūtra is an introduction to chapters I.2–9, which deal with the *yajus* formulae handed down in PB I.1–8. It discusses in logical order three general problems to be solved before taking up PB I.1.1 in Anupadasūtra I.2:

(1) Does the utterance of these *yajus* formulae involve physical action?
(2) Do all the participants in the sacrifice utter these *yajus* formulae or only the priests?
(3) If the Udgātṛ is elected, is the Prastotṛ (and the Pratihartṛ) to be elected or not?

The particle *tu* indicates ‘change of position’(*pakṣavyāvṛtti*) in the PMS as well as in the UMS. By means of *tu,* we can assign the *sūtra*s of this chapter to two parties (A and B) who confront each other in their argumentation as follows:

A:	B:
(topic 1)	
1	
	2–4
5–12	
(topic 2)	
	13–15
16–17	
(topic 3)	
	18
19	
	20
21	

In topic 1, the proponent (A), whose views represent the *siddhānta*, argues that at each uttering of a *yajus,* even the Sāmavedic priest performs a physical action, whereas the opponent (B), whose views represent the *pūrvapakṣa*, restricts his physical action to a few special cases only.

[Proponent A:]
(I.1.1) The prescription of (the use of) the *yajus* formulae (recorded in PB I.1–8) in (physical) ritual acts (is given in each case) by means of the indicative mark (only), because the purpose (of the formula) is understood (from [or: mentioned by] its indicative mark).

KY suggests that the author of the Anupadasūtra conceives the function of *mantra* in a way that differs from that of the classical Mīmāṃsā, that is, the Yajurveda-Mīmāṃsā. The Mīmāṃsakas strictly distinguish *mantra* from *vidhi*, and consider *mantra* as subsidiary to 'injunction, prescription' (*vidhi*). They only exceptionally admit cases in which a *mantra* carries out the function of enjoinment, i.e., gives the command to do an action, in addition to the denotation of its meaning by utterance. A however asserts that the *yajus* formula should be considered as carrying out an enjoinment only by virtue of the indication (*liṅga*) of its meaning by a certain word it contains. It does not need a *vidhi* that prescribes what to do at its utterance. The opponent party B may reflect the influence of contemporary Yajurveda-Mīmāṃsakas, but it is also possible that the Anupada was composed before the predominance of *vidhi* over *mantra* was established in the classical Mīmāṃsā.
On Agnisvāmin's paraphrase of this *sūtra*, see the comment in the first draft (p. 395).

[Opponent B:]
(I.1.2) But (only) a specific word, if it has (a special) connection (with words other than the *yajus* at issue), (can be regarded as) a command (to physical action) by virtue of its indication, as in the case of the sacrificial substance.

According to Ś abara, PMS III.4.15 (*prakaraṇaviśeṣād vā tadyuktasya saṃskāro dravyavat*) deals with TS II.5.2.4: *tasmāj janjabhyamāno brūyān* mayi dakṣakratū *iti*. Against an opponent (PMS III.4.14) who insists that one who has given yawn should utter the spell *mayi dakṣakratū*, no matter whether it is during the performance of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* or not, the *sūtra* 15 restricts the uttering of this spell to the yawning made during the sacrifice, on the grounds that this *vidhi* is embedded in a particular context (*prakaraṇa*). With regard to *dravyavat,* Śabara simply says *yathā yavādidravyaṃ prokṣaṇādinā,* and Kumārila paraphrases it in a verse *vrīhīṇāṃ prokṣaṇaṃ yadval laukikānām anarthakam | tadvad etad apīty evaṃ phalāya prakṛtaṃ gatam.* When following the *vidhi "vrīhīn prokṣati,"* we have to sprinkle water only on rice-grains poured out as a sacrificial oblation. They are brought into the context (*prakṛta*) of the sacrifice for the purpose of realizing the result (*phala*). Sprinkling water on rice-grains stored in kitchen would be nonsense (*anarthaka*)! In the same way we should take only the yawning during the sacrifice into consideration. Because the expression *dravyavat* in PMS III.4.15 states that the connection of a substance with an action is established only if the former is given in a particular context, we might be able to hold Anupadasūtra I.1.2 to say that the utterance of a *yajus* can prompt one to make a physical action only if it is given in a particular context described by other sentences. That being the case, the *anyaśabda* in I.1.5 may not be identical with the *śabdaviśeṣa* that is said in I.1.2 to have the power of indication (*liṅga*). Instead, it may refer to the words of a *vidhi* that syntactically remains outside of the *yajus* at issue but is contextually connected (*sambandha*) with it. In short, a *mantra* contains a particular *vidhi* within itself (*vidhiviśeṣasyāmnānāt*).

(I.1.3) and (because) it is meaningless (to say in PB VI.4.1): "In that through his first act the Udgātr̥ takes hold of the pillar of *udumbara* wood," if there is (some physical act prescribed) before (it),

(I.1.4) and (the chanter priests begin to chant the *stotra* after having heard the *yajus* formula of PB I.3.5 or I.5.11 or I.5.14 uttered) because (in PB VI.8.6–7) there is (a *vidhi* prescription contained in the phrase *yad dhiṅkr̥tya prastauti*) that expresses the joining of the *hiṃkāra* with the *stoma.*

KY: The argument of the opponent party B here seems to be as follows. All the three *yajus* formulae to be uttered by the Udgātr̥ at the beginning of a *stotra*, namely, PB I.3.5; I.5.11 and I.5.14, have the same phrase in the imperative "let him join you" (*tvā yunaktu*). But these *yajus* formulae themselves, even if uttered, do not carry out enjoinment. What prompts the chanter priests to chant the *stotra* in accordance with each *viṣṭuti* is not these *yajus* formulae but the phrase *yad dhiṅkr̥tya prastauti* in PB VI.8.6 (and 7). In other words, having heard the *yajus* given in PB I.3.5; I.5.11 or I.5.14 uttered, the chanter priests recollect this phrase, which then, in the capacity of a *vidhi*, prompts them to begin each *stotra* by uttering *hum* first.
On the *stomayoga*, cf. Anupadasūtra I.3; LŚS I.12.2; II.1.1–3; II.5.20–27. The *viṣṭuti*s, which begin with the sound *hum*, are taught in PB II–III as a detached collection similar to the Yajuḥsaṃhitā of PB I.

[Proponent A:]
(I.1.5) But because a specific prescription has been handed down (in the keywords of the formulae), (the demand for) other words (is) not relevant.

On *anyaśabda* see at the end of the note on I.1.2.

(I.1.6) And the *yajus* formula (is sufficient as a command), because it has the sacrifice as its purpose,

(I.1.7) for the *yajus* formula itself is the *brāhmaṇa* (explanation) of the *yajus* formula,

(I.1.8) and (indeed) it is said (of the *stomabhāga* formulae of PB I.9–10): "I will tell you a *brāhmaṇa*" (PB XV.5.24).

The s*tomabhāga* formulae used at the 'yoking of the *stoma*' by the Brahman priest are taught immediately after the *yajus* formulae as a similar detached collection in PB I.9–10. This *sūtra* points out that the *stomabhāga* formulae themselves are called *brāhmaṇa*.
KY: I.1.8 alludes to the *stomabhāga* in order to demonstrate that a certain *mantra*, even if not a *yajus,* explicitly holds the power of enjoinment. PB I.9–10 is a collection of the

*stomabhāga-mantra*s to be uttered by the Brahman priest of Sāmaveda, and each formula contains a *vidhi* element in *prasūtā bṛhaspataye stuta* that, if uttered, causes chanter priests to begin the action of chanting a *stotra*. Since a *brāhmaṇa* consists of a *vidhi* and its *arthavāda*, I.1.8 quotes PB XV.5.24 in order to present *śruti* evidence, according to which long time ago Indra guaranteed to Vasiṣṭha that the *stomabhāga* is a *brāhmaṇa* that has the power to inaugurate one who utters it as a royal chaplain. (An interesting *arthavāda* traceable back to the *dāśarājña* in the ṚV!)

(I.1.9) The repeated mention (of a *yajus* formula in later portions of the PB, such as PB I.2.4 quoted *in extenso* in PB VI.5.3) is for the sake of an explanatory statement, as in the case of the *auśana (sāman)*,

See the comments in the first draft (p. 388).

(I.1.10) or mostly as in the case of the expression *cakrīvat* 'wheeled wagon.'

See the comments in the first draft (p. 388).
KY: It seems to me that I.1.9 and 10 do not deal with the original topic 1 on the function of *yajus* in general. They may be a short *excursus* that vindicates why PB XV.5.24 has the *punargrahaṇa*. Here the proponent party A asserts that PB XV.5.24 is not a tautology, but an *arthavāda* that explains the great benefit to be expected from the utterance of the *stomabhāga*.

(I.1.11) Its being the first (in PB VI.4.1, quoted in Anupada I.1.3) concerns acts performed using hands, or acts connected with the pillar of *udumbara* wood.

See the comments in the first draft (p. 388).
KY: I.1.11 evidently refutes I.1.3 by pointing out that the *vidhi* element in PB VI.4.1 does not prohibit chanter priests to make a physical action at the utterance of each *yajus* before the erection of the *audumbarī* pillar.

(I.1.12) (The PB as referred to in I.1.4) mentions 'the yoking of *stoma*' in both (a *mantra* section and a *brāhmaṇa* section) because these (sections) have a different purpose (since the former gives the *yajus* that enjoins the *stomayoga* whereas the latter gives its *arthavāda*).

KY: I.1.12 evidently refutes the argument presented in I.1.4. A has to explain why VI.8.6–7 is given in the PB insofar as he maintains that PB I.3.5; I.5.11 and I.5.14 have the power of enjoinment by themselves. Otherwise he would be accused of making PB VI.8.6 a redundant repetition of what has already been enjoined by these *yajus* formulae. Hence he states that PB VI.8 does not enjoin that one should begin the *stotra* with *huṃ*, thinking that it first explains the origin of the name *stomayoga* by *eṣa vai stomasya yogo yad dhiṅkāraḥ* […] *yuktenaiva stomena prastauti* (VI.8.6) and then the benefit to be

gained if one joins *huṃ* with *stoma*s by the last one *eṣa vai sāmnāṃ raso yad dhiṅkāraḥ* […] *rasenaivaitā abhyudya prastauti* (VI.8.7). The middle phrase *yad dhiṅkṛtya prastauti* merely presents the condition on which the *stoma*s are joined with each other and become effective. In Mīmāṃsā, as well as in grammar, the term *samuccaya* means 'conjunction' (A and B) (cf. PMS XII.3.17; XII.4.17; Śabara on XII.3.1) in contrast to *vikalpa* that means 'disjunction' (A or B).

[Topic 2: As a rule, who should utter the *yajus* formulae of PB I.1–8?]

[Opponent B:]

(I.1.13) Everybody (including the sacrificer) may perform (the sacrificial act, in this case utter the *yajus* formula), because there is no specification.

See the comments in the first draft (p. 389).

(I.1.14) Yet (only) one (person should perform the act of) sanctifying (substances) for others, because (then) the object has been accomplished.

KY: The following *sūtra* I.1.15 is in agreement with 13 (cf. also PMS VI.1.4 and KŚS I.1.2–3 quoted in the comment on I.1.13 on p. 397), thus *tu* indicates an exception to the preceding general rule of I.1.13 and not *pakṣavyāvṛtti* as in I.1.16. In Yajurveda Mīmāṃsā, *saṃskāra* is used of the act of purifying substances (*dravya*) by making them fit for sacrifice step by step. AP: In the *śrauta* ritual, the Udgātṛ purifies (*pavayati*) the *droṇakalaśa* and *pūtabhṛt* vessels by putting the *pavitra* grasses over them with the *mantra* beginning *pavitraṃ te vitatam*[…] (cf. JŚS I.9 and I.18). In JB II.270, the term *saṃskṛta* refers to the ghee poured into fire after it has been purified with the two *pavitra* grasses (*ājyam* […] *pavitrābhyām utpūya juhavāṃ cakāra*). (JGS I.2.1–3 describes the preparation of the *pavitra*, which consists of two grasses taken from the *prastara,* and I.2.6–10 the way of purifying the ghee, *praṇīta* water, offering substance (*havis*) and the *sruva* ladle.) KY: The meaning of I.1.14 is that nobody needs to purify again what has already been purified by someone else (*ekaḥ*), because the object of the act has already been accomplished. AP: If the uttering of *yajus* can also be considered as sanctification, this means that the Udgātṛ alone (*ekaḥ*) can do it for the others. There seems to be no disagreement about the validity of I.1.14 between the opponent and the proponent.

(I.1.15) and the sacrificial act has been ordained for all who have arrived at it, because they share the fruit of it.

KY: The word *sarva* applied to persons is used only in the plural, whereas Vedic *viśva* can be used in the singular in the sense of 'every'. The singular *sarva* means only 'the whole (universe)'. So *sarva* in s*arvaprāpiṇas* may stand for the nominative plural, not for the genitive singular, insofar as it is a *karmadhāraya* and not a *tatpuruṣa* compound. The *karma* and *śiṣṭam* should be in the accusative, and we need to supply the verb *kuryur* by *anuvṛtti* from I.1.13. The claim that *sarvaprāpiṇaḥ* should share the fruit of the *karma* shows that this statement cannot belong to the proponent.

[Proponent A:]
(I.1.16) But (it is only) the officiating priests (who should perform it), on account of their connection with the Veda,

KY: Here *tu* expresses *pakṣavyāvṛtti*, and this *sūtra* explicitly rejects I.1.13, restricting the persons qualified to ritual act (including the utterance of *yajus* formulae) to the *ṛtvijaḥ*. The expression *vedasaṃyogāt* is found in PMS III.4.22.

(I.1.17) and because it is said (in the holy writ): "Whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke during the sacrifice that is for the benefit of the sacrificer alone" (ŚBM I.3.1.26 = ŚBK II.2.4.19).

See the comments in the first draft (p. 389).
KY: I.1.17 quotes a *śruti* text, which excludes the *yajamāna* from the rite of looking down on clarified butter. The quoted *śruti* passage asserts that the officiating priests work for the sake of the sacrificer and denies the possibility that the *ṛtvijaḥ* share the fruit of the sacrifice (*phalitva*), as claimed in I.1.15. With the help of this testimony, I.1.16 successfully excludes the *yajamāna* from the participants entitled to the ritual act including the utterance of *yajus*. Thus the *sarve* in I.1.13 comes to include all the participants in a sacrifice including the *yajamāna*. Hence this section does not deal with the question of whether all the chanter priests or only the Udgātṛ should utter the *yajus*.
AP: This latter question seems to be dealt with in I.1.14.

[Topic 3: if the Udgātṛ is elected, is the Prastotṛ (and the Pratihartṛ) to be elected or not?]

[Opponent B:]
(I.1.18) In case the distinction is made that "he chooses four principal officiating priests," there should be no election of the Prastotṛ.

AP: If *caturo mahartvijo vṛṇīte* is a *śruti* quotation, it has not been preserved in our texts, but Bharadvāja-Śrautasūtra X.1.3 quoted in the comment of the first draft (p. 397) may have preserved a more extensive quotation of this lost *śruti*. In any case it would be a relatively late text, for the term *mahartvij-* is not known from any Saṃhitā text; of the Brāhmaṇas it is attested in ŚBM XIII.1.1.4 and TB III.8.2.4. This quotation implies that the Udgātṛ is elected, and thus makes it necessary to deal with topic 3. According to older sources, the Udgātṛ is not elected by the *yajamāna*, but, representing Prajāpati who is the ultimate creator and first actor, he elects himself through his first ritual act. Cf. PB VI.4.1 "[…] Related to Prajāpati, forsooth, is the *udumbara*, related to Prajāpati is the Udgātṛ. In that through his first act the Udgātṛ takes hold of the pillar of *udumbara* (wood), he chooses by means of his own deity himself for the function of officiating priest" (transl. CALAND 1931: 104). JB I.70 runs similarly except that it adds the following explicit statement: "One chooses for oneself the other officiating priests but not the Udgātṛ (*vṛṇute 'nyān ṛtvijo nodgātāram*) (cf. CALAND 1931: 105); cf. also JB I.327. In fact the same applies to the other chanter priests as well, cf. PB VI.5.18: "To Prajāpati belong the

Chanters, to Prajāpati belongs the *droṇakalaśa*; it is the *droṇakalaśa* that elects them for their priestly function" (transl. CALAND 1931: 110); cf. also PB VI.5.19–20. The Yajurvedic Samhitās dealing with the *r̥tvigvaraṇa* speak of the election of other priests but not the chanters, MS III.9.8 mentioning the Hotr̥, the Adhvaryu, the Acchāvāka, the Agnīdh, KS XXVI.9 the Hotr̥, the Agnidh, the two Adhvaryus, the Maitrāvaruṇa, the Brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, the Potr̥, the Neṣṭr̥. Indeed, TS VI.4.11.3 states: "The Adhvaryu taking the Āgrayaṇa, commencing the sacrifice, utters his speech; thrice he utters 'Him'; verily thus he chooses the Udgātr̥s; the Āgrayaṇ a is Prajāpati […]" (transl. KEITH 1914: II, 538). KS XXVII.9 even explicitly mentions in this connection the Prastotr̥, the Udgātr̥ and the Pratihartr̥: *prajāpatir vā āgr ayaṇaḥ prājāpatyā eta r̥tvijas trayo vr̥tā yuktā yajñe bhavanti prastotodgātā pratihartā yad dhiṅkaroty udgātr̥̄n eva vr̥ṇīte te 'sya vr̥tā yuktā yajñe bhavanti.*

[Proponent A:]
(I.1.19) But on the other hand (his) presence (is necessary).

[Opponent B:]
(I.1.20) But (the Prastotr̥'s election may take place only) if there is a special reason, in the manner of any (special) oblation (due to a special reason).

[Proponent A:]
(I.1.21) But (the election of the Prastotr̥) should take place (in any case), because there is a passage in the sacred scripture that states without specification: "After electing these divine officiating priests (as prescribed in ṢB II.10.2), he should elect these human officiating priests who should make him succeed (in accomplishing the sacrifice)" (ṢB II.10.3).

AP: The opponent in I.1.18 seems to argue that if the Udgātr̥ is elected (and does not elect himself), as seems to be implied by the fact that the divine Udgātr̥ is elected in ṢB II.10.2–3, the Prastotr̥ is not to be elected, because the Prastotr̥ is not explicitly mentioned among the divine priests. Sāyaṇa's commentary on the ṢB also seems to imply that only the priests explicitly mentioned should be elected. The same considerations apply in the case of the Pratihartr̥ as well. The proponent, on the other hand, seems to negate this in I.1.21 by pointing out that the *śruti* is not explicit in regard to the human priests, so the absence of the Prastotr̥ and the Pratihartr̥ among the divine priests is not an obstacle. See the ṢB text quoted under the Sanskrit text of I.1.21 on p. 394, and note that ṢB II.10.2–3 in EELSINGH's edition (1908: 88–89) corresponds to ṢB II.3.2–3 in B. R. SHARMA's edition (1967: 103–104).

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JGS = Jaiminīya-Gr̥hyasūtra.

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LŚS = Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-Sutra.
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PMS = Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra.

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ŚBK = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇvīya recension.

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PETER M. SCHARF

Vedic Accent: Underlying versus Surface

Motivated perhaps to reveal the correspondence between Vedic and Greek accent and to establish the accentuation system of Proto-Indo-European, modern scholars have generally described graphic accent marks in Vedic texts as various methods of indicating underlying accents. Romanizations of Vedic texts in various Indian scripts that purport to be faithful transcriptions mark only underlying high pitches and independent *svarita*s. In the common system known in the Śākalasaṃhitā of the R̥gveda, for instance, a horizontal line below a syllable is taken to indicate only that a following unmarked syllable has underlying high pitch, and a vertical line above a syllable is taken to indicate that the preceding unmarked syllable has high pitch; it is the intervening high-pitched syllable that is marked in the Roman transcription. Although there is an indirect relation between the marks and the underlying accent, such a procudure ignores the relation between the accentual writing system and the accentual phonetics, obscures special features of surface tone in the text represented, and obliterates the linguistic variety of various Vedic traditions. In contrast, certain recent scholars, Cardona and Witzel in particular, have articulated the correspondence between graphic accent marks and surface pitch and have argued that accentual details are valuable evidence for the linguistic and general history of India. In the current paper, I demonstrate that ancient linguistic treatises describe at least two distinct Vedic tonal patterns that correspond closely to distinct methods of marking accents in manuscripts and also correspond to modern recitation.

I. Modern Descriptions of Vedic Accentuation

Several prominent Vedic scholars have portrayed the systems of marking accents in Indic manuscripts merely as various techniques of indicating the same three underlying tones: *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita*, even though aware of variant tonal descriptions in ancient linguistic treatises. As CARDONA (1997: lix–lx) points out, WHITNEY (1889: 30 §87a–c) viewed the horizontal substroke placed under a syllable (*akṣara*) as serving merely as a 'preparatory stroke' to introduce a following acute and considered syllables so marked to have the same tone as unmarked syllables following a *svarita*. WHITNEY (1889: 30 §87a) writes, "the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a short horizontal stroke below," as if the horizontal stroke were merely an indication of the following *udātta* or independent *svarita*. He gives the examples:

अ॒ग्निम् *agním*; जु॒होति॑ *juhóti*; त॒न्वा॑ *tanvā̀*; क्व॑ *kvà*.

His use of the term 'preparatory stroke' makes it clear that the horizontal stroke, in his opinion, just indicates the tone of the following syllable and does not differentiate the tone of the syllable on which it occurs from those that precede it. He (*op. cit.* p. 30, §87c) continues,

> All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below.

Of this he provides the following examples:

सु॒दृशी॑कसंदृक् *sudṛ́śīkasaṃdṛk*;

but सु॒दृशी॑कसंदृ॒ग्गवा॑म् *sudṛ́śīkasaṃdṛg gávām*.

His (*op. cit.* p. 31, §88b) use of the phrase "besides its surroundings" in his description of the accentuation system of the Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā confirms that he considers the marking of the preceding *anudātta* and following dependent *svarita* primarily to serve to mark the *udātta* in the Ṛgvedic system. He (*op. cit.*, p. 31, §88b) writes,

> In most manuscripts of the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā, the acute syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked – namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the RV. method).

According to Whitney, the acute syllable in the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā does not have a tonal relation to its neighboring sounds that differs from the tonal relation of the acute to its neighboring sounds in the Ṛgvedic system; the acute is just marked differently in two different systems of annotation of the same acentual system. Dismissing (*op. cit.*, p. 32, §90) the phenomena ancient Indian linguistic treatises describe as "added features, of a much more questionable character," Whitney considered that, in the common Ṛgvedic system of accentuation, all syllables that were neither *udātta* nor *svarita* were alike grave. He fails to understand the significance of the account of the Ṛkprātiśākhya which he aptly describes on the following page (*op. cit.*, p. 32, §90a):

> The unmarked grave syllables following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute) are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute.

Whitney fails to understand that a change in tone is provided for low pitch sounds in a certain context, even though it is explicitly stated by the Ṛkprātiśākhya, because he has not understood that different linguistic treatises describe different tonal systems. He believes instead that Vedic accent is uniform and only the annotation systems differ.

Unfortunately, other prominent scholars followed Whitney's example in ignoring the significance of the ancient Indian accentual descriptions. They too describe real tonal differences as if they are mere annotational differences. RENOU (1952: 68–69) describing "The system the most established is that of the RS, which the VS, AS, TS follow and to which they are related" states,

> It consists in surrounding the syllable carrying the acute (udātta) with two marks, one horizontal beneath the preceding (anudātta 'grave'), the other vertical above the following ('enclitic' svarita).: अ॒ग्नये॑ = *agnáye*. Logically, the 'independent' svarita (or svarita resulting from sandhi [§92]) is noted in the same manner, वी॒र्यँ॑म् *vīryàm*.

Here Renou speaks of 'the acute' as if it is uniform, and of the marks on syllables surrounding it as if they bear relevance to it rather than to the

tone of the syllables on which they appear. He closes his description remarking that the horizontal line below

> is lacking […] in the interior anudāttas (except those that precede, as one comes to see, an udātta or an independent svarita): thus अ॒ग्निम् ई॑ळे पु॒रोहि॑तम् = *agním īḷe puróhitam* I 1 1.

The 'lacking' horizontal line below, he considers merely a missing mark, as if by some negligence in the system of marking tones, rather than indicitave of a tone that differs from that of a syllable with the horizontal line below.

Acceding to the unjust claim of prominent Vedic scholars that standard Romanization captures all that is necessary regarding Vedic accentuation, the most prominent Indological journals in Europe and the U.S. require Romanization of Vedic citations. The *Journal of the American Oriental Society* alerts authors to this limitation in its "Guidelines for submission of manuscripts" as follows:

> The *Journal* is able, at the present time, to print Chinese and Japanese characters, and Greek, Cyrillic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac scripts in their standard orthographies. Transliteration is also acceptable. Other scripts must be transliterated in a standard and consistent way.

Worse yet, editors of prominent European Indological journals forbid close Roman transcription of Vedic. In 1995, the editor of the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde der Südasiens* insisted that close transcription of Śatapathabrāhmaṇa accent be abandoned as a condition for acceptance of a submission, and the editor-in-chief of the *Indo-Iranian Journal* refused to print a submission, even after it had already been accepted, as long as it included such close transcription. By requiring standard Romanization of Vedic passages, these journals fail to provide a venue for serious discussion of Vedic accentuation.

There is no excuse, however, for continuing the ignorance of Vedic accentuation, since many of its subtleties have been known since the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896 in the first volume of his *Altindische Grammatik* concerned with phonetics, Jakob WACKERNAGEL described four principal types of Vedic accentuation, and the manner of indicating them in manuscripts and remarked on correspondences with modern Vedic recitation. Opening his brief summary of these types of accentua-

tion with the comment, "the accentuation of the ancient texts bears no uniform character," he described two systems, namely, the system of accentuation of the R̥gveda, and the system of the Maitrāyaṇī and Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā as follows:[1]

> 1. The manner of accentuation of the R̥V, which especially the TS, TB, and TA also follow: Here the so-called *svarita* syllable has the highest tone and is marked with a vertical stroke over the syllable, while the *udātta* syllable has middle tone height and accordingly has no mark in the script. (WACKERNAGEL 1896: 284–285)
> 2. The manner of accentuation of the MS. and of the K. [Kāṭhaka], with which also manuscripts of the R̥V and AV go […]: Here the *udātta* syllable always has an accent mark and indeed a vertical stroke over the syllable; it seems to be therefore the highest-toned syllable. These texts likewise differ from 1. in the valuation of the various types of *svarita* […] (*op. cit.* p. 285)

The two other principal types of accentuation he summarized, but with which I will not deal here, are that of the Sāmaveda and that of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. He went on to point out that Pāṇini's instruction of *udātta* as the high tone corresponds with the second system, and that this contrasts with the instruction of the R̥kprātiśākhya which accurately describes the first system. In the first system, the *svarita* has the high tone, and the *udātta* has middle tone, the same as syllables following the *svarita* that were originally *anudātta*. He continues,

> This follows from the unanimous testimony of the Prātiśākhya (Weber Ind. Stud. 10, 432), the modern recitation (Haug Wed. Akzent 14f.) and the script, which leaves the *udātta* syllable unmarked thus assigning middle tone to it. (WACKERNAGEL 1896: 285)

Wackernagel concludes (1896: 286) that the correspondence of the *udātta* with accents in cognate languages, especially with the high tone in Ancient Greek, demonstrates that the *udātta* is the original high tone as in the second method of accentuation, and that the first method introduces an innovation.

Wackernagel's summary of the knowledge of Vedic accentuation at the close of the nineteenth century describes the various accentual systems as linguistic variants that are accounted for by ancient Indian linguists, that are represented by particular methods of marking suitable to

1 All citations of Wackernagel's work are translated from the original German by the article author.

each system, and that have reflexes in modern recitational traditions. It is unfortunate that his concise and accurate representation of Vedic accentuation at that time did not prevent confusion of the issue in the twentieth century.

Even some authors who have recently added enormously to our knowledge of Vedic accentual systems, such as Gray, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, and Madhav Deshpande have nevertheless contributed to obscuring the variant systems of Vedic accentuation. In addition, Gray fails to comprehend the linguistic descriptions of accentuation provided by Indian linguists, and Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka fails to believe a variant description. GRAY (1959b: 516) translates Pāṇini's term *sannatara*, glossed by the Kāśikā as *anudāttatara* "lower toned than an anudātta," as "more constricted." While his transcriptions of Vedic recitation surely must prove useful, his analysis is filled with irrelevant factors inspired by his misunderstanding of ancient phonetic descriptions. He virtually confesses his misunderstanding after he presents Pāṇini's rules regarding accentuation. Doubtless deferring to the denigration of philology in vogue in the latter half of the twentieth century, he (1959b: 516) remarks,

> Such is the evidence afforded by Pāṇini. There is scant need to remark that not even the most astute philologer could hope to reconstruct anything from the sūtras as they stand, although many have tried, and this is just one more attempt.

He (1959b: 516) hopes that field methodology will fill the gap of philology, continuing:

> It remains to be seen whether the recitations of Vedic hymns provide any indication which might prove helpful in the effort.

On the contrary, the diversity of ancient descriptions, manuscript evidence, and modern recitation requires clear comprehension of and respect for the ancient descriptions in order to successfully correlate and contrast the systems they describe with those indicated in the manuscripts and used in modern recitation.

Although Yudhiṣṭhira MĪMĀṂSAKA cannot be faulted for misunderstanding and has provided great assistance in comprehending various methods of marking accent in Vedic literature in his *Vaidika-vāṅmaya meṃ prayukta vividha svarāṅkana prakāra*, he (1964: 44 n. 1) dismisses

the evidence for the system of accentuation of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa provided in the Bhāṣikāsūtra on the grounds that is it contrary to proper instruction (*śāstraviruddha*). He fails to understand, as Wackernagel did in describing it as a fourth major type, that the accentuation in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa differs significantly from the accentuation of the R̥k, Sāman, and Yajurvedas. Since then, CARDONA (1993) demonstrated that the graphic marks that identify accents in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa correspond to the tonal levels accounted for in the Bhāṣikāsūtra, and that the rules of the Bhāṣikāsūtra transform the underlying accent to the surface accent so marked. He argued that the surface accent represents dialectal change from the underlying accent. WITZEL has similarly articulated the correspondence between graphic accent marks and surface pitch. He (1974: 27) attempted to identify graphic accent marks with specific tones "on the basis of the general coincidence of symbol and pitch level," and suggested that close attention to accentual transcription in manuscripts could contribute to the history of Vedic literature and to Indian history generally.

Following the direction of Wackernagel, Cardona, and Witzel, the current paper argues that rules in various *prātiśākhya*s and other linguistic treatises similarly transform underlying accent to surface accent that is accurately represented by graphic symbols in received manuscripts of the *saṃhitā*s that these *prātiśākhya*s describe. In particular, I confirm the distinction between the two systems of accentuation described by Wackernagel and adduce the evidence for them in the R̥k, Vājasaneyi, [and Taittirīya] Prātiśākhyas, in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, and in the Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā of the Atharvaveda. Findings support Witzel's and Cardona's arguments concerning the value of accentual details for the linguistic and general history of India.

While explaining particular rules in the Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā of the Atharvaveda in his masterly edition, translation, and commentary on this important work, Madhav Deshpande adduces evidence from other linguistic treatises in an attempt to clarify passages in the Caturādhyāyikā. Unfortunately, some of the adduced evidence concerning accent belongs to a system of accentuation foreign to the Caturādhyāyikā and obscures the difference between the two distinct systems. DESHPANDE (1997: 441–442) assumes that the last *anudātta* before an *udātta* or independent *svarita* sinks lower than an *anudātta* and becomes *sannatara* in the system of accentuation described in the Caturādhyāyikā as it

does according Pāṇini. He therefore proposes a theory of how *svarita* tones higher than an *udātta* (*udāttatara*) and tones lower than low (*sannatara*) become prominent and the unmarked *udātta* and *anudātta* merge. Yet there is no mention of this phenomenon in the Caturādhyāyikā. In fact, he himself recognizes that the theory is not directly supported by the Caturādhyāyikā text. For he (1997: 442) writes,

> Strictly speaking, according to the CA description, the first part of the dependent *svarita* is not higher than *udātta*, and the *anudātta* before an *udātta* or a *svarita* remains an *anudātta*, and does not become *sannatara*.

Although aware that the Caturādhyāyikā itself does not directly support the thesis, he defends it writing (1997: 442),

> […] there may indeed be a strong RV influence on the AV recitational tradition, driving it somewhat farther away from the description of the accents as given in the CA.

In fact, as I will show, the system of accentuation described by the Caturādhyāyikā fully agrees with that of the R̥kprātiśākhya, but this system does not include a tone lower than *anudātta*, a feature that belongs to a different system of accentuation described by Pāṇini, and by the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya (see Table 1; the Taittirīyaprātiśākhya expresses many views but primarily follows the R̥kprātiśākhya).

Two distinct accentual systems

R̥Pr. and CA:

- No tone lower than *anudātta*.
- Tone higher than *udātta*.

Pāṇini and VPr.:

- Tone lower than *anudātta* (*sannatara*, *anudāttatara*)
- No tone higher than *udātta*.

Table 1

II. Ancient Indian Phonetic Descriptions of Accent

A1. Ṛkprātiśākhya

The system of accentuation described and approved by the Ṛkprātiśākhya is as follows (see Table 5, no. 1):

> The *svarita* is a mixed pitch. Its first half is higher than the *udātta*. [If the vowel is short, half a *mātrā* attains the higher pitch; if the vowel is long, half the length of the vowel attains the higher pitch (ṚPr. 3.4).] The remainder of the vowel is *udātta* (3.5) unless the following vowel is *udātta* or *svarita*, in which case the remainder is *anudātta* (3.5–6). A *svarita* preceded in the same word by an *udātta* originates in an *anudātta* (3.7) (it is a dependent *svarita*); one that is not, is a *jātya svarita* (3.8). One or more *anudātta* syllables following a *jātya* or dependent *svarita* is *udātta* (3.9) (termed *pracita*) unless followed by an *udātta* or independent *svarita*, in which case it remains *anudātta* (3.10). *pracaya* (*pracita*) is described as being heard like the *udātta* (*udāttaśruti*), that is, the same pitch as the *udātta*.
>
> An *anudātta* preceded by an *udātta*, whether a consonant or hiatus intervenes, is made (dependent) *svarita* (3.17). *anudātta* syllables that follow a *svarita* have *pracaya* accent; they are heard *udātta*, whether one, two, or many (3.19). But an *anudātta* syllable followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* remains *anudātta* (3.21). An independent *svarita* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* undergoes *kampa* (3.34). An independent *svarita* before *udātta* or *svarita* must rise in pitch from *anudātta* to higher than *udātta* and decline again to *anudātta* within a single syllable hence producing tonal modulation (*kampa*). But one should not make a *svarita* too low (*nātinirhanyāt*) (3.32).

This description distinguishes the following three surface pitches:

- high-pitch (*udātta*); *pracaya* is high-pitched; latter part of *svarita* not followed by high pitch or *svarita* is high-pitched.
- higher-pitch (beginning of *svarita*).
- low-pitch (*anudātta*); latter part of *svarita* followed by high pitch or *svarita*.

Accents are marked as follows:

- higher pitch is marked with a vertical line above.
- low pitch is marked with a horizontal line below.
- high pitch is unmarked.

A2. Caturādhyāyikā

The description in the Caturādhyāyikā fully accords with that in the R̥kprātiśākhya (see Table 5, no. 2):

> [High (*udātta*), low (*anudātta*), and *svarita* (mixed) are introduced (1.1.16). The first half of a *svarita* is high-pitched (1.1.17).]
>
> As elsewhere (in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, R̥Pr., VPr., and TPr.), a low-pitched syllable after a high-pitched syllable becomes (dependent) *svarita* (3.3.18), unless followed by a high-pitched syllable (3.3.21) (in which case it remains low-pitched per 3.3.25). An *anudātta* after a *svarita* is heard high-pitched (*udāttaśruti*, 3.3.22). Followed immediately by a high-pitched or *svarita* syllable, a low-pitched syllable remains low-pitched (3.3.25).

B1. Pāṇini

The system of accentuation described by Pāṇini is as follows (see Table 5, no. 3):

> Pāṇini distinguishes vowels of three pitches: *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* (1.2.29-31). A *svarita* vowel is high-pitched for half a *mora*, regardless of its length, or for half its length, and low-pitched for the remainder (1.2.32).
>
> A low-pitched vowel after a high-pitched vowel is replaced by a *svarita* vowel (8.4.66), which is high at its beginning and low at its end (1.2.32), unless followed by a high-pitched or *svarita* vowel (8.4.67). [But Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava allow replacement by a *svarita* vowel even if it is followed by a high-pitched or *svarita* vowel (8.4.67).] After a *svarita* one or more *anudātta* vowels is monotone (1.2.39). Since the end of the *svarita* is low-pitched, it is likely that monotone continues at the same level, i.e. low-pitched. But a low-pitched vowel followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* vowel is replaced by a lower-pitched vowel (1.2.40).

Therefore there are three pitch levels: high, low, and lower. High pitch qualifies *udātta* vowels and the first part of *svarita* vowels; low pitch qualifies monotone and the latter part of *svarita* vowels; and lower pitch qualifies originally low pitched vowels prior to *udātta* and *svarita* vowels. All *svarita*s are characterized in the same way (unless 1.2.40 is meant to characterize the low-pitched sub-segment comprising the latter part of a *svarita* vowel; if so, an independent *svarita* will be high-pitched at the beginning and lower-pitched at the end and so have a steeper descent than a dependent *svarita*).

According to the Ṛkprātiśākhya, a *svarita* is higher than a high pitch at its beginning and *pracaya* is high-pitched. A low-pitched vowel before an *udātta* or *svarita* remains low-pitched. Therefore, a dependent *svarita* declines from higher pitch at its beginning to high pitch at its end, and an independent *svarita* with *kampa* declines from higher pitch at its beginning to low pitch at its end. In contrast, according to Pāṇini, a *svarita* is high-pitched at its beginning and low-pitched at its end, and monotone is low-pitched. A low-pitched vowel before an *udātta* or *svarita* is replaced by a lower-pitched one. Therefore, a dependent *svarita* declines from high pitch at its beginning to low pitch at its end, (and, if 1.2.40 means to characterize the low-pitched sub-segment comprising the latter part of a *svarita* vowel as well as a low-pitched vowel, then an independent *svarita* declines from high pitch at its beginning to lower pitch at its end).

The minimally distinctive surface pitches according to Pāṇini are:

- monotone (*ekaśruti*) is the same level as the preceding. Since the preceding is always a *svarita* (1.2.39) and the second half of a *svarita* is low-pitched, *ekaśruti* is low-pitched (*anudātta*).
- *svarita* has its first half *mora udātta* (1.2.32), the rest *anudātta* (1.2.32, Kāśikā).
- lower-pitched (*sannatara*). An *anudātta* followed by a *svarita* or high-pitched vowel is lower-pitched (1.2.40). No explicit statement in the Aṣṭādhyāyī or the Kāśikā has this apply to the latter part of a *svarita*, so there is no statement supporting *kampa*, no statement distinguishing an independent *svarita* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* from any other *svarita*, hence all *svarita*s are the same.
- high-pitched vowel remains high-pitched.

B2. Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya

The system of accentuation described and approved by the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya is as follows (see Table 5, no. 4):

> An *anudātta* preceded by an *udātta* becomes *svarita* (4.135[137 in Tripāṭhī 1985]) unless followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* in which case it becomes lower-pitched (*nihita*) (4.136[138]). The last part of an independent *svarita* followed by *udātta* or *svarita* becomes lower-pitched (*praṇihanyate*) (4.138[140]) [*kampa*]. An *anudātta* preceded by a *svarita* remains *anudātta* (*anudāttamaya*) as do those following it, even many of them [*pracaya*] (4.139–140[141–142]), unless followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* (in which case it is lower-pitched, *nihita* 136[138]).

There is no mention of the first part of a *svarita* being higher-pitched as it is according to the R̥Pr. On the other hand, *pranihaṇyate* (4.138[140]) and *nihitam* (4.136[138]) can be interpreted to mean that low-pitches become lower-pitched before *udātta* or *svarita* as they do according to Pāṇini. Just as the end of a *svarita* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* becomes lower-pitched (*praṇihanyate*), an *anudātta* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* becomes lower-pitched (*nihitam*). *pracaya* is not high-pitched here as according to R̥kprātiśākhya but low-pitched as according to Pāṇini.

> [Interpreted otherwise, contradictions arise. *pracaya* should continue the same pitch as at the end of a *svarita*. If *svarita* began at high-pitch and ended at high-pitch equal to the following high-pitched *pracaya*, it would not differ from *udātta* since its beginning is not higher and its end is not lower.]
>
> [(4.141[143]) Uvaṭa attributes the view that the last part of an independent *svarita* followed by *udātta* or *svarita* becomes lower-pitched (*praṇihanyate*) (4.138[140]) [*kampa*] to some teachers (Ananta, to the Taittirīyas) and holds that *anudātta* occurs here in the opinion of the Vājasaneyins (Ananta, according to the Kāṇvas). Uvaṭa has an *anudātta* preceded by a *svarita* become high-pitched (reading *udāttamaya*), unless followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* (in which case it remains low-pitched). He confuses the system described here with that of the *RPr.*]

This description (which, except where noted, is the same as in the Aṣṭādhyāyī) distinguishes the three surface pitches: high (*udātta*), low (*anudātta*), and lower as follows:

- monotone (*ekaśruti*) is the same level as the preceding. Since the preceding is always a *svarita* (4.135[137]) and the second half of a *svarita* is low-pitched, *ekaśruti* is low-pitched (*anudātta*).
- *svarita* begins *udātta* (1.112) and ends *anudātta* (1.113).
- lower-pitched (*nihita*, *praṇihan*). An *anudātta* followed by a *svarita* or high-pitched vowel is lower-pitched (*nihita*) (4.136[138]). Not mentioned by Pāṇini, the latter part of an independent *svarita* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* is lower-pitched (*praṇihan*) (4.138[140]).
- high-pitched vowel remains high-pitched.

Table 2 briefly compares the two basic accentual systems described.

Comparison of surface tones described in the Ṛkprātiśākhya and Caturādhyāyikā with surface tones described in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya

ṚPr., CA	vs.	**Pā., VPr.**
	Higher	
Beginning of svarita		
	High	
Udātta		Udātta
End of svarita		Beginning of svarita
Pracaya		
	Low	
Anudātta		Anudātta
End of indep. svarita with kampa		End of svarita
		Pracaya
	Lower	
		Sannatara (Anudāttatara)
		End of indep. svarita with kampa

Table 2

III. Correlation of Phonetic Description, Graphic Symbols, and Recitation

Section two has described the phonetics of two fundamentally different systems of Vedic accentuation. The current section demonstrates the correlation of the ancient Indian phonetic descriptions with graphic signs marking accent in Vedic texts, and with modern recitation. The more common system of accentuation described by the Ṛkprātiśākhya (with which the Caturādhyāyikā agrees) correlates with the system of graphic signs used to indicate the accentuation of the Śaunakīyasaṃhitā of the Ṛgveda, and with its modern recitation. The system of three surface tones described in the Ṛkprātiśākhya is indicated in a very simple, straightforward manner by the use of two marks: a vertical line above a syllable to indicate the higher tone, a horizontal line below to indicate

the low tone, and the absence of any mark to indicate the high tone that falls between (see Table 3).

Ṛkprātiśākhya surface tone marking

- higher tone is marked with a vertical line above.
- low tone is marked with a horizontal line below.
- high tone (= the middle tone) is unmarked.

Table 3

Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya surface tone marking

- high tone is marked with a vertical line above.
- lower tone is marked with a horizontal line below.
- low tone (= a middle tone) is unmarked.
- dependent *svarita* (= a middle tone) is marked with a horizontal stroke at mid-height in the character.

Table 4

The use of these two graphic signs to mark the highest and lowest tones in the constrasting accentual system described by Pāṇini, and the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya, is similar. The vertical line above is used to indicate the high tone, a horizontal line below is used to indicate the lower tone, and the absence of any mark is used to indicate the low tone that falls between. In some systems of graphic signs a horizontal line through the syllable at mid-height is used to indicate mixed tones between (See Table 4; cf. Table 2).

Additional graphic marks, not described here, are used to indicate tonal variations in syllables containing mixed tones. Brief descriptions of the use of these and other graphic signs to mark Vedic accentuation can be found in EVERSON & SCHARF's (2007) proposal to the Unicode Standard to add characters necessary for the proper presentation of Vedic texts. In the fall of 2009, some 68 characters used in Vedic texts and Indic manuscripts became part of version 5.2 of the Unicode Standard in two blocks: Devanagari Extended, and Vedic Extensions. The two code pages are published under South Asian Scripts at <http://www.unicode.org/charts>, and the documents proposing the additions are available at <http://sanskritlibrary.org/> [both links accessed January 2012]. Correlation of some of these graphic signs with phonetic descriptions is repre-

sented in the Vedic Unicode Character Phonetic Value Table at <http://sanskritlibrary.org/> under Reference. It associates the signs used in fourteen different Vedic traditions with the Sanskrit Library Phonetic basic encoding (SLP1). Signs added to the Unicode Standard include those used in the Kauthuma and Rāṇāyanīya traditions of Sāmagāna, though these, and a few signs that are clearly typographic imitations or confusions of more genuine written characters, are excluded from the SLP1-correspondence table.

IIIA. The common system of graphic marks and recitation

Table 6 presents the correlation of graphic accent marks in Devanāgarī script with tones in the recitation of Pandit, Upadhyay, and Damle in five passages of the Śaunakīyasaṃhitā of the R̥gveda. The tonal pattern is laid out in a staff of four horizontal lines corresponding to the four tones, higher, high, low, and lower, described in the previous section. In accordance with the phonetic description of the R̥kprātiśākhya, primarily three tones, higher, high, and low, are distributed over the top three horizontal lines. Throughout in the Devanāgarī, the vertical line above marking the *svarita* corresponds with the higher tone in the recitation, the horizontal line below corresponds with the low tone in the recitation, and the unmarked tone corresponds with the high tone that lies between. The recitation departs from the description in the R̥kprātiśākhya and what is indicated by the graphic marks in the utterance of dependent *svarita* on a long vowel. The reciters raise the tone in mid-vowel from high to higher as shown by two connected circles, for example over the *ā* in इन्द्रा॑य (9.1.1), and म॒घोना॑म् (9.1.3), the last *ā* in म॒हानां॑ and दे॒वानां॑ (9.1.4), and the *o* in राधों॑ (9.1.3). Correlating closer with this mode of recitation, a southern tradition of marking accents in writing uses twin vertical strokes instead of a single vertical stroke to mark *svarita* in a long vowel.

The R̥kprātiśākhya describes that underlying low-pitched vowels (*anudātta*) remain low. Consistent with this description is that initial low-pitched vowels remain low-toned. Correspondingly, initial low-tones are recited low in recitation and the syllables are marked with a horizontal stroke below, for example in R̥gveda 9.1.3, as shown in grey in Table 6, no. 2. Like the dependent *svarita*, the independent *svarita* begins at a higher tone, according to the phonetic description in the R̥k-

prātiśākhya, reaching this tone just after a low tone and falling to a high tone at its end. The inependent *svarita* is marked with a vertical line above in the same manner as the dependent *svarita*, for example in अ॒भ्य॑र्ष in R̥gveda 9.1.4, shown in Table 6, no. 3.

When an independent *svarita* is followed by a high-pitched or *svarita* vowel, however, it undergoes greater modulation: it falls sharply from a higher tone to a low tone rather than to a high tone. The graphic marks show the rise to higher tone and fall to low tone by a vertical stroke above and a horizontal stroke below a numeral following the vowel. If the syllable is short, the numeral is *1*, as in R̥gveda 10.125.7b, shown in Table 6, no. 4; if the syllable is long, the digit is *3*. The *3* indicates prolongation of the vowel to three *morae*, or three times the length of a short vowel. The addition of a horizontal stroke below the vowel as well as below the *3* indicates that the tone goes from low to higher to low again in a sequence of three notes, for example in R̥gveda 10.125.2b, shown in Table 6, no. 5. The recitation of the short independent *svarita* with *kampa* does not reach the extra high tone at its beginning described by R̥kprātiśākhya 3.4. The tone ranges from high to low, not from higher to low. The recitation of the long independent *svarita* with *kampa* shows the same degrees of modulation as the graphic marks, but lowered. The prolonged independent *svarita* with *kampa* descends to lower tone before rising to high tone and descending again to low tone. This lowering of the independent *svarita* seems to be a mode of recitation known by, yet disapproved by, R̥kprātiśākhya 3.32; for it states, "one should not make a svarita too low" (*nātinirhanyāt*).

IIIB. The northern system of accentuation

Medieval Vedic manuscripts from the far north of India use a system of graphic accentuation marks that corresponds closely with the accentual phonetics described in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya and contrasts with the system of graphic accentuation marks that corresponds with the accentual phonetics described in the R̥kprātiśākhya and Caturādhyāyikā. Figure 1 shows the same *mantra* in two texts, each marked in accordance with one of the two traditions. R̥gveda 1.3.11 occurs also as Vājasaneyisaṃhitā 20.85. The latter appears in a wooden manuscript of the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā, c. 1150–1200 CE, Nepal, now in the private col-

lection of Michael Witzel. The manuscript uses a vertical stroke above to indicate *udātta*, a vertical stroke below to indicate *anudātta*, and a mid-height, horizontal stroke at the right edge of a character to indicate dependent *svarita*. The location of the marks precisely accords with the relative position of surface tones described in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya. The the high tone (*udātta*) is marked above, the low tone (*anudātta*) is marked below, and the middle tone (*svarita*) is marked in the middle.

The printed edition of R̥gveda Śākalasaṃhitā 1.3.11, in contrast, shows the common system of graphic marks described and shown to correspond in most respects with modern recitation in section IIIA. As the figure shows, the tones of the two recensions of the *mantra* do not agree. The Devanāgarī of the two texts shows the contrast in their system of accentuation. The Roman transcription is identical for both. By obliterating the contrast between the two systems of accentuation, the Roman transcription discards valuable phonetic and graphic information. Moreover, by doing so it deprives scholars of access to information that may be valuable for the linguistic and ethnic history of India.

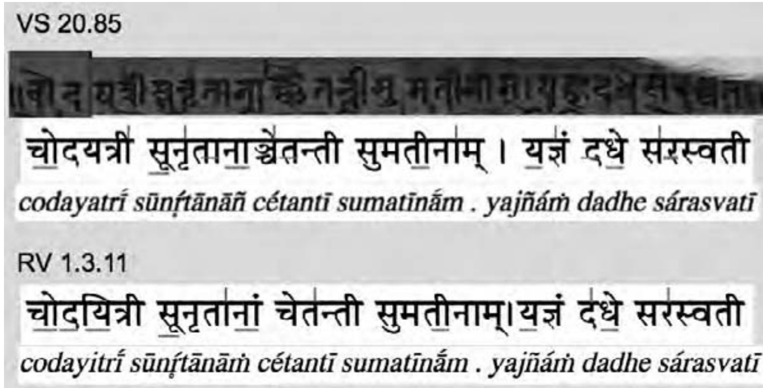


Figure 1: Contrast of two different systems of Vedic accentuation

IV. Closing Remarks

CARDONA (1997: lxii) aptly concludes his discussion of Whitney's and Renou's unjustified dismissal of Vedic accentual desriptions in ancient Indian linguistic treatises by noting that the standard Romanization fails to capture the tones those treatises describe. He writes as follows:

> In sum, the claims which scholars like Whitney make about the accentuation of Vedic texts, in so far as they contradict early descriptions of prātiśākhya authors without foundation, are not justified, and the transliteration which reflects these claims is misleading.

The ancient Indian linguistic treatises describe real differences in the tonal systems of various recitational traditions. The systems of marking accent in manuscripts of texts in these traditions employ simple methods that show reciters the tonal relations. A mark on a syllable concerns the tone of the syllable on which the mark appears and indicates its pitch relative to its environment; it is not part of a complicated method of indicating accentuation that requires readers to infer the tone of a syllable from the marks on its preceding and following syllables as Whitney and others have claimed. These marks correspond closely with actual recitation both as described in the ancient Indian linguistic treatises and as witnessed in modern recitation. There is no excuse for perpetuating the error made by Whitney since the real accentual differences were accurately described by Wackernagel in 1896. As his name indicates, Wackernagel hit the nail on the head. Nor is there any excuse, given the technology available, for Indological journals to fail to provide the facility for the publication of Indic scripts that accurately indicate Vedic accentual differences. There is certainly no excuse for disallowing the correct indication of Vedic accentuation.

1. Surface tone according to the Ṛkprātiśākhya

- Higher pitch (beginning of *svarita*) (3.4).
- High pitch (*udātta*); *pracaya* is high-pitched (3.9, 3.19); latter part of *svarita* not followed by high pitch or *svarita* is high-pitched (3.5).
- Low pitch (*anudātta*) (3.21) or latter part of *svarita* (3.5–6), followed by high pitch or *svarita*. But one should not make a *svarita* too low (*nātinirhanyāt*) (3.32).

2. Surface tone according to the Caturādhyāyikā

- Higher pitch (beginning of *svarita*)?
- High pitch: An *anudātta* after a *svarita* is heard high-pitched (*udāttaśruti*) (3.3.22).
- Low pitch: Followed immediately by a high-pitched or *svarita* syllable, a low-pitched syllable remains low-pitched (3.3.25).

3. Surface tone according to Pāṇini

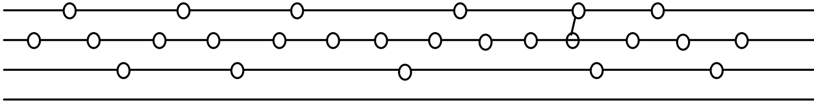
- High pitch: High-pitched vowel remains high-pitched. *svarita* has first half *mora udātta* (1.2.32).
- Low pitch: *svarita* has the rest (after the first half *mora*) *anudātta* (1.2.32 Kāśikā). Monotone (*ekaśruti*) is the same level as the preceding. Since the preceding is always a *svarita* (1.2.39) and the second half of a *svarita* is low-pitched, *ekaśruti* is low-pitched (*anudātta*).
- Lower pitch (*sannatara*): an *anudātta* followed by a *svarita* or high-pitched vowel is lower-pitched (1.2.40).

4. Surface tone according to the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya

- High pitch: high-pitched vowel remains high-pitched (*udātta*). *svarita* begins high-pitched (1.112).
- Low pitch monotone (*ekaśruti*) is the same level as the preceding. Since the preceding is always a *svarita* (4.135) and the second half of a *svarita* is low-pitched, *ekaśruti* is low-pitched (*anudātta*). *svarita* ends low-pitched (1.113).
- Lower pitch (*nihita*, *praṇihan*). An *anudātta* followed by a *svarita* or high-pitched vowel is lower-pitched (*nihita*) (4.136). Not mentioned by Pāṇini, the latter part of an independent *svarita* followed by an *udātta* or *svarita* is lower-pitched (*praṇihan*) (4.138).

Table 5: Phonetic descriptions of systems of Vedic accentuation

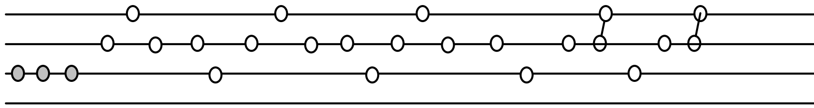
1. R̥V 9.1.1



स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया पवस्व सोम धरया। इन्द्राय पातवे सुतः ।१।

svā́diṣṭhayā mádiṣṭhayā pávasva soma dhárayā, índrāya pā́tave sutáḥ. |1|

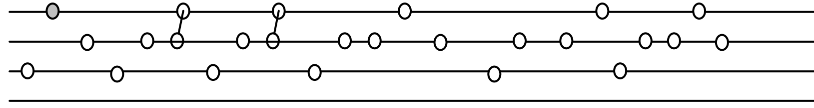
2. R̥V 9.1.3: initial *anudāttas*



वरिवोधातमो भव मंहिष्ठो वृत्रहन्तमः। पर्षि राधो मघोनाम् ।३।

varivodhā́tamo bhava máṃhiṣṭho vr̥trahántamaḥ, párṣi rā́dho maghónām. |3|

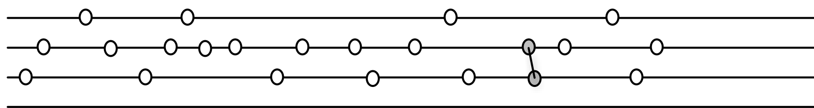
3. R̥V 9.1.4: independent *svarita*



अभ्यर्ष महानां देवानां वीतिमन्धसा। अभि वाजमुत श्रवः।४।

abhyàrṣa mahā́nāṃ devā́nāṃ vītím ándhasā, abhí vā́jam utá śrávaḥ. |4|

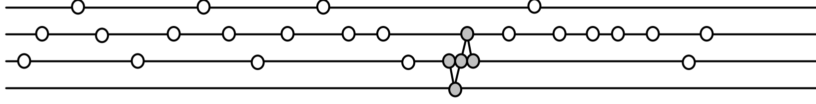
4. R̥V 10.125.7ab: short independent *svarita* with *kampa*



अहं सुवे पितरमस्य मुर्धन् मम योनिरप्स्व१न्तः समुद्रे।

ahám̐ suve pitáram asya mūrdhán máma yónir apsv à1ntáḥ sámudré.

5. R̥V 10.125.2ab: long independent *svarita* with *kampa*



अहं दधामि द्रविणं हविष्मते सुप्राव्ये३ यजमानाय सुन्वते।२।

aháṃ dadhāmi dráviṇaṃ havíṣmate suprāvyè3 yájamānāya sunvaté. |2|

Table 6: Correlation of recitation with graphic accent marks

References and Abbreviations

AS = Atharva-Saṃhitā (= Atharva-Veda).

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MS = Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā.
RENOU, Louis
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RS = Ṛk-Saṃhitā (= Ṛg-Veda).
TA = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.
TB = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa.
TRIPĀṬHI, Jagannātha
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TS = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
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Buddhism and Jainism

VINCENT ELTSCHINGER

Debate, Salvation and Apologetics On the Institutionalization of Dialectics in the Buddhist Monastic Environment*

Introduction

In several publications,[1] Johannes Bronkhorst has drawn our attention to the possibility that debate may have been instrumental in the rise of doctrinal systematicity, philosophy and more generally "rational inquiry"[2] in ancient India. According to him, the "rationalization of Sarvāstivāda teaching"[3] that took place in Northwestern India during the second century BCE (at the latest) might be due to the fact that these Buddhists "lived in a milieu in which Greek culture played an important role."[4] One important feature of Hellen(ist)ic culture is the importance accorded

* Most sincere thanks are due to Jan Nattier for her many insightful remarks, and to Masamichi Sakai who took the trouble of reading the *incipit* of the *UH$_{CH}$ with me. Needless to say, all interpretations and especially mistakes are mine. Let me take this opportunity to express a twenty-years long indebtedness to Johannes Bronkhorst, my first teacher in Sanskrit, who awakened me to things Indian, historical as well as philosophical. Johannes Bronkhorst has always been a sensitive teacher who made it its ethic to listen to his students, to share his reflections, his enthusiasms and his vision of ancient India as an organic whole. He belongs to those very few scholars whose provocative views give us a chance to go beyond ready-made assumptions, doxographies and unquestioned interpretative traditions – both academic and civilizational.

1 See BRONKHORST 1999: 17–26, BRONKHORST 2009a: 109–114 and BRONKHORST 2009b: 47–49.

2 BRONKHORST 1999: 13 and *passim*. A tradition of rational inquiry consists of "free and uninhibited discussion of all issues even in areas which might encroach upon other sources of authority" (BRONKHORST 1999: 13) and is "manifested by critical debate and attempts to create coherent views of reality" (BRONKHORST 1999: 24).

3 BRONKHORST 2009a: 112.

4 BRONKHORST 2009b: 48.

to the open and often public discussion of political as well as philosophical ideas, and it is well established that "the Hellenistic kings used to cultivate philosophy and liked to be surrounded by wise men at their courts, with whom discussions took place."[5] Now according to Bronkhorst, "[i]t is not adventurous to conclude that the Greeks may have exerted an influence on the Sarvāstivāda Buddhists, quite simply by engaging them in debates,"[6] an influence plausibly testified to by a text such as the Milindapañha.[7] In short, the Gandhāran Sarvāstivāda Buddhists learned "the art of rational discussion from the Greeks," i.e., "learned to present their positions in such a manner that an outsider could not reject them as incoherent."[8] According to Bronkhorst, then, what "may be considered the first indigeneous philosophical system of the Indian subcontinent […] was a Buddhist system, created in Northwestern India under the influence of Greek culture."[9]

The aim of the present paper is certainly not to assess Bronkhorst's controversial hypothesis, but to address questions pertaining to the institutionalization and legitimation of dialectics in the Buddhist monastic environment: How did the Buddhists establish a discipline that clearly ran counter to strong canonical prohibitions? For this at least seems beyond doubt: the Pali canon – and the remark can safely be extended to the Gandhārī and Sanskrit canons that are now in the process of being unravelled – is replete with scenes and statements to the effect that disputes, quarrels and debates, all of which originate in (false) views and result in ethically transgressive forms of speech, are to be avoided. But it is no less certain that the Buddhists engaged in internecine quarrels and doctrinal debates from an early date. Now as the first extant Buddhist dialectical treatises – the Hetuvidyā section of the Yogācārabhūmi, one section of the Abhidharmasamuccaya and the *Upāyahr̥daya – testify, the third- to fourth-century (CE!) Buddhists were still clearly aware of the canonical prohibitions. And indeed, each of these digests develops a self-legitimation strategy, thus strongly suggesting that debate and dia-

5 BRONKHORST 1999: 21.

6 BRONKHORST 1999: 22.

7 See BRONKHORST 1999: 22 and BRONKHORST 2009a: 114.

8 BRONKHORST 2009a: 113. As BRONKHORST (1999: 23–25 and 2009a: 111–112) insists, the Vedic and especially Upaniṣadic debates have little or nothing to do with rational exchanges in the sense he intends.

9 BRONKHORST 2009b: 48–49.

lectics continued to be held in low esteem by disciplinary rigorist segments of the Buddhist communities. Moreover, close scrutiny of these important documents reveals that these legitimations reflect fairly different understandings of the function (didactic/catechetic, polemical/apologetic, prozelytizing) and addressees/targets (Buddhists vs. non-Buddhists) of dialectics. This raises interesting questions regarding the nature of Buddhist doctrinal and philosophical polemics between, say, 200 BC and 450 CE at least. Following later hagiographical accounts and Frauwallner's influential historiography of the Buddhist dialectical tradition, most specialists of Indian Buddhist philosophy are indeed inclined to consider, in a somewhat romantic vein, *hetuvidyā* and *vāda* as directed primarily against ill-tempered outsiders challenging the Buddhist views. In my opinion, however, this is to overlook a significant feature of the 'Middle Period' of Indian Buddhism (0 to 450/500 CE), viz. the Buddhists' obsession with sociopolitical compromise and avoidance of overt contention with their non-Buddhist environment. And indeed, the overwhelming majority of the pre-fifth-century Buddhist polemical rhetoric seems to address fellow Buddhists in the form of Abhidharmic disputation. Moreover, the early Mahāyāna literature (*sūtra*s and *śāstra*s alike) pays only marginal attention to the outsiders, concentrating its arguments on the inferiority of the Śrāvakayāna and directing its acrimony against 'mainstream' Buddhism. In other words, and notwithstanding the *exception* of the Mādhyamika scholar Āryadeva, the opponents most regularly contended with by the Buddhists were coreligionists. Everything changed toward the end of the fifth century with the rise of the so-called epistemological school of Buddhism, whose self-legitimations consistently target the outsiders and their fallacious, hence soteriologically harmful accounts of human cognition. At that time, one of the earlier legitimation strategies (polemical/apologetic, against the outsiders) overshadowed the other (didactic/catechetic, Abhidharmic and intrabuddhistic), due probably to historical circumstances on which I shall not expatiate here.[10] The present paper aims, then, at bringing to light some continuities and discontinuities in the Buddhists' attitudes toward dispute and their legitimations of dialectics as a discipline to be established within the monastic *curricula*.

10 See ELTSCHINGER 2010 and ELTSCHINGER forthc. a.

Of Views, Disputes and Incorrect Forms of Speech[11]

1.1 According to the dominant picture of the Buddha's religious *milieu* (a picture recently challenged by Bronkhorst), 'Greater Magadha' was home to various forms of ascetic and speculative experiments, most of them "inspired by [a] wave of dissatisfaction with the system of orthodox Brāhmaṇism."[12] The śramaṇic culture involved a multitude of sect founders (Pali *titthakāra*) and religious leaders (*gaṇācariya*) respected as saints (*sādhusammata*) and holding a

> mass of mutually contradictory theories about the universe and man's place therein, some verging on the bizarre in their fancifulness, others more capable of a logical justification.[13]

And indeed, the Pali canon repeatedly alludes to the representatives of the most various creeds and philosophical attitudes: deniers of a cause (*ahetuvādin*), creationists (*issarakāraṇavādin*), fatalists (*pubbekatavādin*), annihilationists (*ucchedavādin*) and experts in the "political science" (*khattavijjavādin*);[14] some of these teachers were traditionalists (*anussavika*) while others were rationalists (*takkin*) and sceptics/agnostics (*amāravikkhepika*, the famous Eel-Wrigglers of DN I.24–28).[15] As is well-known, the early Buddhists' awareness of this religious fermentation came to crystallize in the literary topos of the six 'heretic'

11 Parts of this section are indebted to insightful remarks by Steven Collins (see COLLINS 1982: 127–131 and 139–141).

12 BASHAM 1951: 10. As BRONKHORST (2007a: 261) argues, "the desire to see [the ascetic movements] as protest movements has been very persistent in modern scholarship, partly on account of the comparison of Buddhism with Protestantism in Christianity." There seems to be little or no evidence for Buddhism, Ājīvikism and Jainism being reactions against Vedic-brahmanical literature (especially the so-called early Upaniṣads), ideas and practices (as well as their representatives, since many *sūtra*s involving brahmins can be shown to be of later origin, or, at least, to have undergone a revision process). As Bronkhorst strongly suggests, these religions reflect the beliefs (rebirth and karmic retribution) and practices (funerary habits, medicine) that were proper to Greater Magadha as an original and as yet poorly brahmanized culture.

13 BASHAM 1951: 12.

14 Jāt V.228.

15 See MN I.520–521.

teachers and alleged rivals of the Buddha: Pūraṇa Kassapa and his antinomianism, Makkhali Gosāla's determinism, Ajita Kesakambalī and his materialism, Pakudha Kaccāyana and his doctrine of the seven indestructible substances, Sañjaya Velaṭṭhiputta's scepticism or agnosticism, and finally Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta and his four restraints.[16] From a Buddhist point of view, what these groups and their representatives have in common is to hold "views" (*diṭṭhi*, Skt. *dṛṣṭi*). The most famous and detailed typological account of views is certainly to be found in the Brahmajāla Sutta, which presents us with sixty-two views regarding the past and the future.[17] Although this typology pursues no purely descriptive, doxographical ambition, its intention is certainly not polemical in the sense we might expect, for the text never goes to the trouble of adducing ad hoc arguments against any of these views. Rather, the Brahmajāla Sutta criticises these views *qua* views, i.e., not as true or false statements about empirical or non-empirical states of affairs, *but as opinions that are clung to, craved for and vehemently defended by their proponents, and hence detrimental*. As the Buddha declares,

> here someone does not understand as it really is the rise and fall of view, the satisfaction and danger in view, and the escape from view; not knowing (all this) he is obsessed by the lust for view, the delight in it, the love, infatuation, thirst, and fever for it, the cleaving to it, and the craving for it.[18]

In sharp contradistinction to this, the Buddha says that the

> viewpoints thus grasped and adhered to will lead to such-and-such destinations in another world. This the Tathāgata knows, and more, but he is not attached to that knowledge. And being thus unattached he has experienced for himself perfect peace.[19]

16 See DN I.52–59 and BASHAM 1951: 11–26. The Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra alludes to ninety-five "heretic teachers" (see YAMAMOTO 1973: 257 and 268).

17 See DN I.12–38 and ANĀLAYO 2010. Note that Sn 538 mentions sixty-three views current in the debates among the *śramaṇa*s.

18 AN II.10 *idha* […] *ekacco diṭṭhīnaṃ samudayañ ca atthagamañ ca assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇañ ca yathābhūtaṃ nappajānāti* […] *appajānato yo diṭṭhīsu diṭṭhirāgo diṭṭhinandī diṭṭhisneho diṭṭhimucchā diṭṭhipipāsā diṭṭhipariḷāho diṭṭhi-ajjhosānaṃ diṭṭhitaṇhā sānuseti*. Translation COLLINS 1982: 127.

19 DN I.16–17 *ime diṭṭhiṭṭhānā evaṃgahitā evaṃparāmaṭṭhā evaṃgatikā bhavissanti evamabhisamparāyā ti. tañ ca tathāgato pajānāti, tato ca uttaritaraṃ pajānāti*, *tañ*

1.2 Two *sūtra*s present us with a fairly homogeneous genealogical account of the views. In the Brahmajāla Sutta itself, the sixty-two views are held to express the mere feelings (*vedayita*) of various speculators (*kappika*) described as lacking the necessary knowledge and vision and immersed in craving (*taṇhāgata*).[20] These opinions are further said to proceed from contact (*phassa*) through the six sensory bases (*āyatana*)[21] – the causes or conditions of feeling/sensation (*vedanā*) in the twelvefold chain of dependent origination. In the Madhupiṇḍika Sutta, Kaccāna provides a similar explanation of the origin and psychological outcome of the views:

> Dependent on the eye and forms, eye-consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as condition there is feeling. What one feels, that one perceives. What one perceives, that one thinks about. What one thinks about, that one mentally proliferates. With what one has mentally proliferated as the source, perceptions and notions (born of) mental proliferation beset a man with respect to past, future, and present forms cognizable through the eye.[22]

But of course, the chain of dependent origination does not stop with the rise of feeling and the concomitant psychological events, for the ascetic and brahmin speculators

> experience these feelings by repeated contact through the six sense-bases; feeling conditions craving; craving conditions clinging; clinging conditions becoming; becoming conditions birth; birth conditions ageing and death, sorrow, lamentation, sadness and distress.[23]

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ca pajānanaṃ na parāmassati, *aparāmassato c'assa paccattaṃ yeva nibbuti viditā* […]. Translation WALSHE 1987: 75.

20 See DN I.39–41.

21 See DN I.42–43.

22 MN I.111–112 *cakkhuñ-c' ā vuso paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuviññāṇaṃ, tiṇṇaṃ saṅgati phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti, yaṃ sañjānāti taṃ vitakketi, yaṃ vitakketi taṃ papañceti, yaṃ papañceti tatonidānaṃ purisaṃ papañcasaññāsaṅkhā samudācaranti atītānāgatapaccuppannesu cakkhuviññeyyesu rūpesu.* Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 203.

23 DN I.45 *sabbe te chahi phassāyatanehi phussa phussa paṭisaṃvedenti, tesaṃ vedanāpaccayā taṇhā, taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanass'-upāyāsā sambhavanti*. Translation WALSHE 1987: 89.

In short, views are feelings, and inasmuch as they are craved for and clung to, these feelings bring about entanglement in the miseries of *saṃsāra*.

1.3 However, these unhappy consequences are by no means the only evil that views are responsible for. As we have seen above, one "is obsessed by the lust for view, the delight in it, the love, infatuation, thirst, and fever for it, the cleaving to it, and the craving for it."[24] And one's love and fever for one's own views inevitably give rise to the feeling that others' opinions are defective and must be criticised and belittled. This is indeed the point made by several stanzas of the Suttanipāta.

> There are not indeed many various truths, (which are) eternal in the world, except by reason of (mistaken) perception. Devising a speculation in respect of their views, they say there are two things, truth and falsehood.[25]

Or else:

> When a man in the world, abiding in views, esteems something especially [as] 'the highest,' then he says that all others are inferior; in this way he is not beyond disputes.[26]

Disparaging, quarrelling with and arguing against others is the natural outcome of the addiction to views:

> The man who holds opinions, defining (things) for himself, comes to further quarrels in the world; [only] when a man renounces all opinions, does he make no quarrel with the world.[27]

A good example of this kind of contention is provided by the Brahmajāla Sutta:

24 See above, n. 18.

25 Sn 886 *na h'eva saccāni bahūni nānā aññatra saññāya niccāni loke*, *takkañ ca diṭṭhīsu pakappayitvā saccaṃ musā ti dvayadhammam āhu*. Translation NORMAN 1992: 102.

26 Sn 796 '*paraman*' *ti diṭṭhīsu paribbasāno yad uttariṃkurute jantu loke*, '*hīnā*' *ti aññe tato sabba-m-āha: tasmā vivādāni avītivatto*. Translation COLLINS 1982: 130.

27 Sn 894 *vinicchaye ṭhatvā sayaṃ pamāya uddhaṃ so lokasmiṃ vivādam eti*, *hitvāna sabbāni vinicchayāni na medhakaṃ kurute jantu loke ti*. Translation COLLINS 1982: 130. See also Sn 895–896 and COLLINS 1982: 139–140.

> Whereas some ascetics and Brahmins remain addicted to disputation such as: "You don't understand this doctrine and discipline – I do!" "How could *you* understand this doctrine and discipline?" "Your way is all wrong – mine is right!" "I am consistent – you aren't!" "You said last what you should have said first, and you said first what you should have said last!" "What you took so long to think up has been refuted!" "Your argument has been overthrown, you're defeated!" "Go on, save your doctrine – get out of that if you can!" the ascetic Gotama refrains from such disputation.[28]

While ordinary people contend about the objects of sensual pleasures (*kāma*) due to their lust for sensuality (*kāmarāga*), ascetics quarrel about views due to their lust for view (*diṭṭhirāga*), as the following dialogue between the brahmin Ārāmadaṇḍa and Mahākaccā(ya)na teaches us:

> Pray, master Kaccāna, what is the reason, what is the cause why nobles quarrel with nobles, brāhmins with brāhmins, and householders with householders? They do so because of their bondage and servitude to sensual lusts, their greed for sensual lusts; because they are possessed by attachment to the lusts of sensuality. But pray, master Kaccāna, what is the reason, what is the cause why recluses quarrel with recluses? They do so because of their bondage and servitude to opinion, their greed for opinion; because they are possessed by attachment to the lust of opinion.[29]

The following excerpt gives insight into the spirit in which the ascetics and brahmins could engage in debate:

28 DN I.8 *yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā te evarūpaṃ viggāhikakathaṃ anuyuttā viharanti – seyyathīdaṃ: na tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānāsi, ahaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayam ājānāmi, kiṃ tvaṃ imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ ājānissasi? – micchāpaṭipanno tvam asi, aham asmi sammāpaṭipanno – sahitam me, asahitan te – pure vacanīyaṃ pacchā avaca, pacchā vacanīyaṃ pure avaca – aviciṇṇan te viparāvattaṃ – aropito te vādo, niggahīto 'si – cara vādappamokkhāya, nibbeṭhehi vā sace pahosīti – iti vā iti evarūpāya viggāhikakathāya paṭivirato samaṇo gotamo ti*. Translation WALSHE 1987: 71.

29 AN I.66 *ko nu kho bho kaccāna hetu ko paccayo yena khattiyā pi khattiyehi vivadanti brāhmaṇā pi brāhmaṇehi vivadanti gahapatikā pi gahapatikehi vivadantī ti? kāmarāgavinivesavinibandhapaligedhapariyuṭṭhānajjhosānahetu kho brāhmaṇa khattiyā pi khattiyehi vivadanti brāhmaṇā pi brāhmaṇehi vivadanti gahapatikā pi gahapatikehi vivadantī ti. ko pana bho kaccāna hetu ko paccayo yena samaṇā pi samaṇehi vivadantī ti? diṭṭhirāgavinivesavinibandhapaligedhapariyuṭṭhānajjhosānahetu kho brāhmaṇa samaṇā pi samaṇehi vivadantī ti*. Translation WOODWARD 1979: 61.

> [T]here are ascetics and Brahmins who are wise, skilful, practised debaters, like archers who can split hairs, who go around destroying others' views with their wisdom, and they might cross-examine me, demanding my reasons and arguing.[30]

Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that the Pali canon is replete with instances of internecine quarrels within the Buddhist community itself, as, e.g., the *incipit* of the Kosambiya Sutta testifies:

> Now on that occasion the *bhikkhu*s at Kosambī had taken to quarrelling and brawling and were deep in disputes, stabbing each other with verbal daggers. They could neither convince each other nor be convinced by others; they could neither persuade each other nor be persuaded by others.[31]

Due to their attachment (*vinivesa*), bondage (*vinibandha*), greed (*paligedha*), obsession (*pariyuṭṭhāna*) and cleaving (*ajjhosāna*) to the lust for sensuality (*kāmarāga*) or views (*diṭṭhirāga*), ordinary persons and ascetics alike engage in dispute (*vivāda*, *viggaha*), quarrel (*bhaṇḍana*, *kalaha*), hostile and quarrelsome speech (*vipaccanīkavāda*,[32] *viggāhikakathā*) and debate (*vāda*), which are all sinful (*pāpaka*) and unwholesome (*akusala*) factors (*dhamma*). While so doing, they resort to false, malicious, harsh and idle speech (*musāvāda*, *pesuñña*, *pharusavācā*, *samphuppalāpa*), all of which are bad courses of action,[33] and bring to light their being under the sway of cankers (*āsava*) and defilements (*kilesa*) such as ignorance (*avijjā*, *moha*, lack of *ñāṇadassana*[34]), desire, views, and hostility (*paṭigha*). Briefly put,

30 DN I.26 *santi hi kho pana samaṇabrāhmaṇā paṇḍitā nipuṇā kataparappavādā vālavedhirūpā vobhindantā maññe caranti paññāgatena diṭṭhigatāni – te maṃ tattha samanuyuñjeyyuṃ samanugāheyyuṃ samanubhāseyyuṃ*. Translation WALSHE 1987: 80.

31 MN I.320 *tena kho pana kosambiyaṃ bhikkhū bhaṇḍanajātā kalahajātā vivādāpannā aññamaññaṃ mukhasattīhi vitudantā viharanti*; *te na c'eva aññamaññaṃ saññāpenti na ca saññattiṃ upenti, na ca aññamaññaṃ nijjhāpenti na ca nijjhattiṃ upenti*. Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 419.

32 See DN I.2 (dispute between the *paribbājaka* Suppiya and his pupil Brahmadatta).

33 On the ten *akuśalakarmapatha*s, see AKBh 243,10–248,1.

34 Such is the Buddha's first reaction to the contending Kosambiya monks (MN I.321–322): *atha kiñ-carahi tumhe moghapurisā kiṃ jānantā kiṃ passantā bhaṇḍanajātā kalahajātā vivādāpannā aññamaññaṃ mukhasattīhi vitudantā viharatha* "Misguided men, what can you possibly know, what can you see, that you take to quarrelling and brawling and are deep in disputes, stabbing each other with verbal daggers?" Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 420.

> [f]rom [what is] dear arise quarrels, disputes, lamentations and grief, together with avarice also, pride and arrogance, together with slander also. Quarrels [and] disputes are joined with avarice, and there are slanders too, when disputes have arisen.[35]

No need to say, views, dispute and evil speech are to be avoided.

1.4 In sharp contrast with the various interlocutors (*parivrājaka*s; *śramaṇa*s and brahmins; householders; Buddhist monks) mentioned in the texts quoted above, the Buddha abstains from lying and harsh, malicious and idle speech: he is a truth-speaker, one to be relied on, trustworthy, dependable, not a deceiver (*saccavādī saccasandho theto paccayiko avisaṃvādako*); he is a reconciler of those at variance and an encourager of those at one (*bhinnānaṃ va sandhātā sahitānaṃ na anuppādātā*); he speaks whatever is reaching the heart and urbane (*yā sā vācā* […] *hadayaṃgamā porī*); his words are reasoned, well-defined and connected with the goal (*vācaṃ bhāsitā* […] *sāpadesaṃ puroyantavatiṃ atthasaṃhitam*).[36] To the monks quarrelling in Kosambī, he preaches six "principles of cordiality that create love and respect and conduce to cohesion, to non-dispute, to concord, and to unity."[37] Elsewhere, the Buddha claims to teach

> in such a way that one does not quarrel with anyone in the world […] (and) that perceptions no more underlie that brahmin who abides detached from sensual pleasures (and) […] free from craving for any kind of being.[38]

And indeed, according to Kaccāna's account in MN I.112, the Buddha proclaims a path that leads beyond eye (*cakkhu*), visible things (*rūpa*) and eye-cognition (*cakkhuviññāṇa*), hence beyond contact, feeling, perception, thinking (*vitakka*) and mental proliferation (*papañca*). For

35 Sn 863 *piyā pahūtā kalahā vivādā paridevasokā sahamaccharā ca mānātimānā sahapesuṇā ca, macchariyayuttā kalahā vivādā vivādajātesu ca pesuṇāni*. Translation NORMAN 1992: 99.

36 DN I.4–5. Translations are WALSHE's (1987: 68–69).

37 According to MN I.322 *cha h' ime bhikkhave dhammā sārāṇīyā piyakaraṇā garukaraṇā saṅgahāya avivādāya sāmaggiyā ekībhāvāya saṃvattanti*. Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 420.

38 MN I.108 *yathāvādī* […] *loke* […] *na kenaci loke viggayha tiṭṭhati*, *yathā ca pana kāmehi visaṃyuttaṃ viharantaṃ taṃ brāhmaṇaṃ* […] *bhavābhave vītataṇhaṃ saññā nānusenti*. Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 201.

> if nothing is found there to delight in, welcome and hold to, this is the end of the underlying tendency to lust, of the underlying tendency to aversion, of the underlying tendency to views, of the underlying tendency to doubt, of the underlying tendency to conceit, of the underlying tendency to desire for being, of the underlying tendency to ignorance; this is the end of resorting to rods and weapons, of quarrels, brawls, disputes, recrimination, malicious words, and false speech; here these evil unwholesome states cease without remainder.[39]

In brief, the Buddha is he who has destroyed the cankers (*khīṇāsava*) of sensuality, (continued) existence (*bhava*), ignorance and – according to the fourfold list of the cankers – views. And inasmuch as his dispensation is nothing but the path leading to *nirvāṇa*, it is aimed at eliminating these cankers and – as a preliminary point of ethics – all kinds of bodily, verbal and mental misbehaviour. There can be no point in longing for liberation while indulging in views, dispute and verbal misdeeds.

Excursus: Contentious Rhetoric during the "Middle Period" of Indian Buddhism

2.1 The Buddhist monastics can hardly be said to have shown anything like blind adhesion to these principles. Whatever their partisanship, the narratives of several councils testify to dispute and contention in disciplinary (Vaiśālī) as well as doctrinal matters (Pāṭaliputra, with no fewer than 60'000 heretics – and not outsiders – in the Aśokārāma). The traditional accounts of the "schisms" (*saṃghabheda*) that gave rise to the numerous sects or ordination lineages (*nikāya*) provide even better examples of internecine quarrels and fractionalism. To be sure, the gradual fragmentation of the Buddhist order owed to deeper causes than mere controversies over moral laxity or the status of the *arhat*. Let me men-

39 MN I.109–110 *ettha ce na-tthi abhinanditabbaṃ abhivaditabbaṃ ajjhositabbaṃ, es' ev' anto rāgānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto paṭighānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto diṭṭhānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto vicikicchānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto mānānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto bhavarāgānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto avijjānusayānaṃ, es' ev' anto daṇḍādānasatthādānakalahaviggahavivādatuvantuvapesuññāmusāvādānaṃ, etth' ete pāpakā akusalā dhammā aparisesā nirujjhantīti*. Translation ÑĀṆAMOLI & BODHI 2001: 202.

tion, with Bareau,[40] the absence of any centralized authority and the numerous local identities that arose on account of Buddhism's missionary spirit, economic pressure and (maybe) political arbitration. But in nearly all the above-mentioned cases, the fragmentation was either caused by, or involved, or resulted in intrabuddhistic controversies, a fact that was soon given apocalyptic significance, as the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the many recensions of the "Prophecy in Kauśambī" testify.[41] Before I turn to the earliest extant Buddhist dialectical treatises, I would like to present a few reflections concerning the broad historical environment in which these treatises are most likely to have originated, i.e., what has come to be known as the "Middle Period" of Indian Buddhism. In the following, I shall address the question of the targets of the Buddhists' polemical and/or contentious rhetoric between the turn of the first millenium and, say, 400–450 CE. My aim is to suggest that, contrary to what most of the later hagiographies and an enduring romantic prejudice seem to presuppose, the Buddhists of this period only exceptionally addressed non-Buddhist opponents on a philosophical level and beyond stereotypes, and that the rise of the Buddhist dialectical traditions should be read first against the background of intrabuddhistic controversies. Needless to say, given the truly prodigious amount of texts produced during this period and the lack of any research on the subject, the reflections presented below remain speculative.

40 See BAREAU 1955: 42–51.

41 AN III.180 *puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave saṅgho samaggo sammodamāno avivadamāno ekuddeso phāsu viharati, saṅghe kho pana bhikkhave samagge na c'eva aññamaññaṃ akkosā honti na ca aññamaññaṃ paribhāsā honti na ca aññamaññaṃ parikkhepā honti na ca aññamaññaṃ pariccajanā honti. tattha appasannā c'eva pasīdanti pasannānāñ ca bhīyobhāvo hoti. ayaṃ bhikkhave pañcamo dhammo saddhammassa ṭhitiyā asammosāya anantaradhānāya saṃvattati* "Moreover, monks, the Order is broken; then there is reviling between one another, accusation between one another, quarelling between one another, repudiation between one another; and they of no faith do not find faith there and the faithful become otherwise. This, monks, is the fifth thing that leads to the confounding, the disappearance of Saddharma." Translation HARE 1934: 134; see also NATTIER 1991: 123. On internecine quarrels and the demise of Buddhism, see NATTIER 1991: 45, 52, 53, 55 and ELTSCHINGER 2010: 454–470. On the Kauśambī prophecy, see NATTIER 1991: 143–286.

2.2.1 Let me start with Daniel Boucher's summary of recent research on the Middle Period of Buddhism:

> What Gregory Schopen has termed the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism, roughly the first half of the first millenium, can be characterized by a highly organized, sedentary Buddhism with a complex administration governed by an equally complex legal system. Monks living in these monasteries were bound in a tangled web of relationships to lay donors and their fellow monks, relationships that required the constant negotiation of property rights and ritual obligations. The monastic disciplinary codes give every indication that the monks governed by them were fully entrenched in the socioeconomic milieu of contemporary society and were "preoccupied – if not obsessed – with avoiding any hint to social criticism and with maintaining the status quo at almost every cost."[42]

In my opinion, such is the institutional background against which the two most productive areas of Buddhist doctrinal creativity during this period should be interpreted, viz. Mahāyāna and Abhidharma (which, to be sure, had already a centuries long history at the turn of the first millenium). This historical matrix, dominated as it is by issues of social compromise and patronage, makes it rather unlikely that the Buddhist monastics ever engaged in large-scale polemics against their non-Buddhist environment. True, they never lost sight of the outsiders either by keeping informed of their works and ideas[43] or by construing stereotyped

42 Boucher 2008: 67, quoting Schopen 2004[1995]: 96[478].

43 The Mahīśāsaka and the Sarvāstivāda Vinayas (resp. T. 1421, 174b7–12 and T. 1435, 274a25–b11) allow a monk to study/memorize heterodox books "for the purpose of refuting other sects" (Walser 2005: 310 n. 23). According to the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya: "The Buddha said. 'In order to subdue heretical paths it is permissible to chant heretical books. However, one may not follow a book (if it) gives rise to views.'" Translation Walser 2005: 133. This is likely to account for the discovery of Mīmāṃsā manuscript fragments in Afghanistan (Schøyen collection, see Franco 2002) and of a text discussing Vaiśeṣika positions in Qizil (Spitzer manuscript, see Franco 2003). Certain monks' possession of non-Buddhist books is made clear by the inheritance procedures laid down in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (see Schopen 2004[1995]: 104–105[485–486] and 117–119[498–500] and Walser 2005: 142, and n. 46, p. 312). The Mahāvibhāṣā (T. 1545, 885b9–13) also allows the study of non-Buddhist works: "One should keep and read the Sūtras, Vinayas and Abhidharmas, and, versed in their meaning, discriminate and explain them. Moreover, one can learn secondary secular sciences, namely, grammar, logic, politics, medicine, technology and so on. Or one may study heretical doctrines, namely, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Veda, Lokāyata, Nirgrantha and so on." Translation Ikuhisa Takigawa in

images in practical (rites and ethics), philosophical (types of insight and the issue of the self) and cosmological (types of Buddha-fields, which include outsiders or not) matters. But while the Abhidharma literature reflects purely intrabuddhistic, intersectarian controversies, the Mahāyāna was, first and foremost, busy promoting its precarious identity by contrasting itself with mainstream and *śrāvakayāna* Buddhism.[44] In short, I believe that the targets of these Buddhists' contentious and/or disparaging rhetoric are overwhelmingly *Buddhist*, so that we ought not to expect, notwithstanding notable exceptions,[45] the outsiders to be much

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KRASSER 2004: 138 n. 26. This is likely to form one of the many rationales behind the scholastic *topos* of the five branches of knowledge (*vidyāsthāna*s). The sixth-century polymath Sthiramati, while providing examples of works connected with medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*) and the arts-and-crafts (*śilpakarmasthānavidyā*), has nothing more buddhistic to refer to than… the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Mahābhārata* (see MSAVBh *Tshi* D92a4–5). The Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra (T. 374) also contains interesting materials in this connection. In an apocalyptic vein, the Buddha complains, in chapter 22f, that after his *parinirvāṇa*, "there will be *sravaka* disciples who are ignorant and violate the precepts and take pleasure in disputation. They will cast away the [twelve] types of *sūtra* and recite and copy the documents of the various schools of the *tirthika*s." Translation YAMAMOTO 1973: 645. These books are likely to be those referred to in chapter 22a: the four Vedas (which, of course, cannot have been "copied" at this early date), the Vyākaraṇa, the Sūtras of the Vaiśeṣikas and Kāpilas, the works referring to charms, medical arts, handicrafts, the eclipses of sun and moon, the changes in the cycles of the constellations, etc. (see YAMAMOTO 1973: 502). LAMOTTE (1976: 435–436, and *Traité* I.137–140) has also attracted attention to the Buddhists' familiarity with early brahmanical theology.

44 As was pointed out by HARRISON (1995: 67), *śrāvaka* is not synonymous with "mainstream practitioner": the *śrāvaka* "is a spiritual category, not a social one."

45 Chapters 20 and 25 of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra contain elaborate critiques of the outsiders' *ātman* (according to the same text, e.g. in chapter 12 [see YAMAMOTO 1973: 181ff.], the *tathāgatagarbha* is the only real self). The LAS (182,7–187,2) discusses twenty-five (?) views on *nirvāṇa* (LAS 182,11–12: *yathā tīrthakarā nirvāṇaṃ vikalpayanti*; on the views themselves, see LAS 182,15–185,6). This passage of the LAS, or an earlier version of it, seems to be the source of a short treatise (T. 1640, translated by Bodhiruci between 508 and 535 CE) presenting, without refuting them, twenty Buddhist (Hīnayānist) and non-Buddhist (Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Vaiṣṇava, Māheśvara, etc.) views on *nirvāṇa*, and ascribed to Āryadeva. On this treatise, see TUCCI 1926, NAKAMURA 1983: 165–180 and SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 54. Of course, the (pseudo-)Nāgārjuna and (pseudo-)Āryadeva *corpus* is the most obvious exception to this picture (see below, §§2.2.4 and 3.6).

more than background characters and, say, limit-cases[46] (when issues of orthodoxy and orthopraxy were at stake).

2.2.2 In the absence of in-depth studies on the Mahāyānists' representations of the outsiders and their non-*bodhisattva* counterparts, any pronouncement on these topics must, of course, remain tentative. Despite its uncomplimentary and defensive rhetoric

> excoriating the detractors of the new teaching, usually portrayed as idle and perverse monks who, when they are not busy spreading base calumnies and lies about the Mahāyāna, are out breaking the precepts[47]

the early middle Mahāyāna – the minority movement that finds expression in Lokakṣema's Chinese translations – seems not to have been as hostile to the *śrāvaka*s as later layers and/or tendencies within Mahāyāna literature might have us expect. Two reasons at least account for this. On the institutional level, the two "religious vocations" (notwithstanding the fact that the Mahāyānists continuously argued for the superiority of their ideal) cohabited in the same and/or neighbouring monasteries (as the most recent Gandhāran manuscript findings seem to confirm[48]), a situa-

46 By "limit-case," I understand a kind of asymptotic horizon against which issues of orthodoxy can be judged. A *sūtra* text oft-quoted in the controversy over the *pudgala* provides a good example: *tathoktam*, *pañcādīnavā ātmopalambhe*, *ātmadr̥ṣṭir bhavati sattvadr̥ṣṭir jīvadr̥ṣṭiś ca*, *nirviśeṣo bhavati tīrthikaiḥ sārdham*, *unmārgapratipanno bhavati*, *śūnyatām asya cittaṃ na praskandati na saṃtiṣṭhate na vimucyate*, *āryadharmā asya na vyavadāyanta iti* "(In the *Pañcaka*s, the Blessed One has) spoken thus: 'There are five evils in the perception of a self. (First,) the (false) view of a self, the (false) view of a (substantial) living being (and) the (false) view of a soul [*jīva*] arise. (Second, he who indulges in the perception of an *ātman*) is not different from the outsiders. (Third, he) engages himself in a wrong path. (Fourth,) his mind does not penetrate into emptiness, is not intent (upon it), is not liberated. (Fifth,) he does not purify his noble factors.'" The text is quoted, e.g., in MSABh 158,22–25 and AKBh 466,14–17/LE 76,6–9.

47 HARRISON 1987: 80.

48 The Gandhāran Mahāyānists are likely to have been "fully ordained and active resident members" (ALLON & SALOMON 2010: 13) of Mahāsāṃghika and Dharmaguptaka communities, whereas the Mahāyānists whose scriptures have been unravelled along the northern silk routes were in all likelihood Sarvāstivādins. See ALLON & SALOMON 2010: 13–16. In both cases, a handful of Mahāyānist scriptures coexist with a significant majority of non-Mahāyānist, mainstream/nikāyic materi-

tion that, on the part of an "embattled minority community" (Schopen, Walser)[49] or elite movement (Nattier), recommended low profile and respect in spite of a "a truly prodigious degree of polemical 'overkill.'"[50] On the doctrinal level, "[t]he job description of a Buddha […] is to ensure that others will succeed in following the *śrāvaka* path to Arhatship."[51] In other words, the *bodhisattva*s had to admit that those they at times so hyperbolically belittled were those they would have, as perfectly enlightened Buddhas, to help achieve *nirvāṇa*. According to Nattier, what we see in early texts such as the Ugraparipṛcchā is "a community in tension, but not yet in fission, struggling to accommodate this new religion in its midst."[52] What about this minority movement's attitude towards the non-Buddhists? If allusions to the outsiders and their ways (*lokāyata*, *dṛṣṭikṛta*, *dṛṣṭigata*, *parapravādin*, *anyatīrthyaparivrājaka* according to HARRISON 1987: 85) do appear in early middle Mahāyāna literature, they remain extremely peripheral. The non-Buddhist faiths should be "rejected and overcome […] their followers ideally being brought within the Buddhist fold."[53] Victory over them is "often closely linked with the defeat of Māra."[54] These *sūtra*s "urge the followers of the Bodhisattvayāna not to sacrifice to or worship the gods, but go only to the Triple Gem for refuge."[55] According to Harrison, only one text[56]

als. For an early Mahāyāna textual reflection of this situation, see NATTIER 2003: 81.

49 SCHOPEN 2005[2000]: 14[19] and WALSER 2005: 58.

50 HARRISON 1987: 86. This characterizes the *sūtra*s translated by Lokakṣema, but not the (probably earlier) Ugraparipṛcchā, where the *bodhisattva*s are rather admired.

51 NATTIER 2003: 88. For a similar observation, see HARRISON 1987: 83.

52 NATTIER 2003: 102.

53 HARRISON 1987: 85.

54 HARRISON 1987: 85.

55 HARRISON 1987: 85. Besides the Chinese references provided by Harrison, note ASPP 161,13–19 *punar aparaṃ subhūte 'vinivartanīyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo nānyeṣāṃ śramaṇānāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ vā mukham ullokayatīme bhagavantaḥ śramaṇā brāhmaṇā vā jñeyaṃ jānanti*, *dṛśyaṃ paśyantīti*. *na cānyān devān namaskaroti*, *na cānyebhyo devebhyaḥ puṣpaṃ vā dhūpaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā mālyaṃ vā vilepanaṃ vā cūrṇaṃ vā vastraṃ vā chattraṃ vā dhvajaṃ vā ghaṇṭāṃ vā patākāṃ vā dīpaṃ vā dātavyaṃ manyate*, *na cānyaṃ devaṃ vyapāśrayate* […] *sa khalu punaḥ subhūte 'vinivartanīyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo nāpāyeṣūpapadyate*, *na ca strībhāvaṃ parigṛhṇāti* "Moreover, O Subhūti, a *bodhisattva*, a great being who is incapable of turning back, does not look up to the face of other *śramaṇa*s or brahmins, (thinking) that these blessed *śramaṇa*s or brahmins know what is to be known and see what is

"goes into any detail on any non-Buddhist religious practices – in this case brahmanical ritual."[57] The outsiders are also referred to in the cosmological and soteriological framework of early Pure Land and mahāyānistic representations of the *buddhakṣetra*s: while the outsiders are entirely lacking in Akṣobhya's Abhirati world-system,[58] they are listed first among the eight items most frequently encountered in impure Buddha-fields such as ours (the Sahā world-system).[59] Note also that, in this world, it is the women who are predominantly "addicted to heretical practices."[60] In other and/or later layers of Mahāyāna literature, mainstream and śrāvakayānist Buddhisms remain at the centre of the focus, but with unambiguously hostile overtones: here, the tensions turn to fissions, and this is especially the case of the strongly anti-mainstream Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, a "sectarian product at the level of intramonastic tension and fractionalization"[61] whose authors "reject accommodation with the socioeconomic milieu by insisting on a rigorist interpretation of monastic discipline."[62] And notwithstanding a form of *ekayāna* doctrine, this is also the case of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, in which all the great disciples of the Buddha (Maudgalyāyana, Śāriputra, Kātyāyana, Upāli, etc.) are ridiculed; here, the Vehicle of the Disciples is said to be wrong,[63] the

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to be seen. He does not pay homage to other gods; he does not believe that he should offer flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, unguents, aromatic powders, covers, parasols, banners, bells, flags or lamps to other gods; he does not rely on another god […] O Subhūti, this *bodhisattva*, a great being who is incapable of turning back, is not reborn in the bad destinies and does not obtain a female condition."

56 T. 458, 438a10ff. See HARRISON 1987: 70.

57 HARRISON 1987: 85.

58 See NATTIER 2000: 82.

59 See LAMOTTE 1987: 397. The inferior Vehicles (*hīnayāna*) are also included in the list provided by the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra (T. 676, 711b).

60 HARRISON 1987: 78, referring to the *Akṣobhyatathāgatavyūhasūtra (T. 313, 756b). While women are absent from the Candravimala *buddhakṣetra*, they are incomparably more beautiful and virtuous in Akṣobhya's Abhirati than in ours. Note also ASPP 166,20–22 *sa yānīmāni strīṇāṃ vaśīkaraṇāni mantrajāpyauṣadhividyābhaiṣajyādīni, tāni sarvāṇi sarveṇa sarvaṃ na prayojayati* "This (*bodhisattva*) makes no use at all of all the subjugating means (that are the work) of women, such as *mantra*s, muttered prayers, herbs, magic and remedies."

61 BOUCHER 2008: 80.

62 BOUCHER 2008: 78.

63 VkN 27,7 (§3.22) *kaṣṭaṃ hi śrāvakayānam*.

*śrāvaka*s themselves (among whom Śā riputra and Kāśyapa) being repeatedly presented as blind from birth (*jātyandha*), eyeless (*cakṣurvihīna*) and with severely impaired (sense) faculties (*atyantopahatendriya*).[64] And the (very early) Kāśyapaparivarta goes so far as to deny the *śrāvaka*s the title of "sons of the Buddha/Tathāgata."[65] Whatever the right interpretation of many Mahāyāna *sūtra*s' belittling of the Disciples and their attainments (sheer hostility or superiority of the *bodhisattva* Vehicle as a path enabling the *śrāvaka*s to achieve arhatship), it is perhaps not exaggerated to suggest that the *śrāvaka*s and mainstream Buddhism are by far the most important targets of the Mahāyāna's contentious rhetoric during the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism – a rhetoric that only rarely impinges on philosophical controversy proper.[66] And this is easily understandable granted that, until the fifth century, the Bodhisattvayāna "was institutionally located within the larger, dominant, established monastic orders as a marginal element struggling for recognition and acceptance."[67]

2.2.3 A similar impression arises from the mahāyānistic – especially Yogācāra – *śāstra* literature: the outsiders are conspicuously absent from the Maitreyanātha/Asaṅga corpus (for reasons entirely parallel to those observed in non-Mahāyānist Abhidharma literature), and the same can be reasonably hypothesized concerning the mahāyānistic sections of the daunting Yogācārabhūmi. Here, the Buddhist scholars are busy demonstrating doctrines such as the *ālayavijñāna*, the three natures/characteristics and the three bodies, or refuting misunderstandings concerning emptiness, but this they do against *śrāvaka* and maybe early Mādhyamika[68] coreligionists only. This attitude culminates in the Mahāyāna-

64 See VkN 27,7 (§3.22) and 62,1–10 (§5.19).

65 See KP no. 80 and no. 81.

66 As Harrison has also pointed out, magic played a "pivotal role" (HARRISON 1995: 63) in early Mahāyāna, with a "strong and positive emphasis on the *dhuta-guṇas* (extra ascetic practices) and *araṇya-vāsa* (dwelling in the forest or jungle)" and, "above all [...] on *samādhi*" (HARRISON 1995: 65). Now "in a situation of competition for resources between religious groups, what counted was not so much the philosophical cogency of one's ideas, or even the purity of one's moral observances, but the power perceived to have been generated by one's ascetic practices, especially one's meditation" (HARRISON 1995: 64).

67 SCHOPEN 2005[2000]: 15[20].

68 See BoBhD 32,6–23/BoBhW 47,8–48,8.

sūtrālaṅkāra, an apologetic work on behalf of the Mahāyāna and its many superiorities. No need to say, the outsiders occupy a more than marginal place in these treatises.[69] On the whole, the Mahāyāna *śāstra*s' view of the outsiders is hardly less stereotyped than the early Mahāyāna sūtras'. The outsiders are known to be staunch advocates of the self – a view they share with all ordinary persons and animals – but which they construct (*vi-* or *pari-KḶP*) and vehemently defend in their treatises.[70] The *tīrthika*s' religio-philosophical systems are all tainted with the false view of a self, and such are their soteriological practices too: how can someone beset with the idea of a self, hence caught in desire (*rāga*), conceit (*abhimāna*) and views (*dr̥ṣṭi*), claim to achieve detachment by the practice of *dhyāna*? Moreover, according to the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (T. 1509) some among the outsiders' *sūtra*s allow the taking of life (most notably in the context of sacrifice), theft (with the exception of gold), illicit sex (except with the wife of one's *guru* and king), lying (even in the interest of one's cattle) and intoxicating beverages (especially in cold weather). In short, the non-Buddhists' insight (*prajñā*) may well look very similar to the Buddhists', still it is deceiving in the long run, just like a she-ass's milk when compared to a cow's: once pressed, a cow's milk produces butter, while a female donkey's milk turns to urine.[71] The *tīrthika*s' systems generate defilements (*kleśa*).[72] And whatever is well-said in the world and the outsiders' scriptures can but have

69 E.g., concerning the voice (*vāc*) of the Buddha in MSABh (quotation from the Guhyakādhipatinirdeśa [see Lévi 1911: 79 n. 6]) *ad* MSA 12.9. MSABh 80,4 *valguḥ sarvatīrthyakumatidr̥ṣṭivighātabalaguṇayuktatvāt* "(The Buddha's voice is) attractive because it possesses the strengths and qualities that destroy the views of all the outsiders and (persons) of weak intelligence[/vile sentiment]." MSABh 80,17 *siṃhasvaravegā sarvatīrthyasaṃtrāsakatvāt* "(The Buddha's voice) has the violence of the lion's roar because it frightens all the outsiders."

70 See Kritzer 2005: 292–293. VinSg *Zi* P112b7–113a1 *kun brtags pa ni gźan mu stegs can rnams kyi yin par blta ba bar bya'o* "As for (the personalistic view in its) speculative [*parikalpita*] (form), it must be seen as being (that) of the outsiders [*bāhyatīrthya*]." According to AKVy 463,17–18, these outsiders are Kapila and Ulūka, i.e., the founders of the Sāṃkhya and the Vaiśeṣika. See, e.g., Eltschinger 2009: 172–173.

71 See *Traité* II.1070–1074 and Lamotte 1987: 420.

72 See *Traité* II.1074.

the Buddhist law for its ultimate source – a rhetoric that foreshadows later Mīmāṃsaka anti-Buddhist polemics.[73]

2.2.4 But, one will ask, what about the early Madhyamaka? As far as the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā is concerned, Nāgārjuna is certainly no exception to the above picture, for this work overwhelmingly targets Buddhist Abhidharma thought – trying to demonstrate, again in a mainstream (Mahāsāṃghika?) and ill-disposed monastic environment, that the Mahāyāna provided a powerful dialectical tool in order to defeat rival schools and/or sects (mainly the Sarvāstivāda).[74] The real exception consists in a set of works ascribed either to Nāgārjuna or to the third-century Mādhyamika scholar Āryadeva: the Vigrahavyāvartanī and the VPr (attributed to Nāgārjuna and criticising (what was to become) the Nyāya,[75] especially its sixteen "relevant topics" (*tattva*)),[76] and the Catuḥśataka (CŚ),[77] the *Śatakaśāstra[78] and the *Akṣaraśataka[79] (ascribed to Āryadeva and polemicizing against Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika opponents). Āryadeva's CŚ divides itself into two parts: while chapters 1–8, which deal with a *bodhisattva*'s provision of merit (*puṇyasambhāra*), lack any piece of polemics against the outsiders, chapters 9–16 are dedicated to the provision of knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*) and include important attacks on the non-Buddhists' systems (*pāṣaṇḍa* in CŚ 12.3, *tīrthika* in

73 See *Traité* I.83–84.

74 See WALSER 2005: 188–263. In the Ratnāvalī, Nāgārjuna "[t]actfully, although mercilessly […] advises the king against honouring and praising the *allodoxes* (*mu stegs gźan*, **anya-tīrthika*), since the effect will be that unwise people will adhere to error (*skyon daṅ bcas la chags 'gyur dga'*)" (SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2007: 772). Note that the "unadvisable heretics" include groups of co-religionists (see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2007: 772). Here as elsewhere, the allodoxes (Nāgārjuna mentions the Sāṃkhyas, the Aulūkyas and the Nirgranthas) as well as the heterodoxes (*pudgalaskandhavādin*, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 2007: 786) are characterized as clinging to the false view of a self.

75 On the designations of the early Nyāya, see BRONKHORST 1985: 124 and PIND 2001: 158–160.

76 See BRONKHORST 1985.

77 On the CŚ, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 51–53 and LANG 1986.

78 On the *Śatakaśāstra (T. 1569), see TUCCI 1929a, SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 50–51, BRONKHORST 1985: 123–124, LANG 1986: 10–14, LANG 1988 and PIND 2001: 154–155, 164–172.

79 On the *Akṣaraśataka (T. 1572, "an epitome of the Ś[ataka]ś[āstra]," PIND 2001: 170), see LANG 1986: 14–15.

CŚ 12.18; mainly Sāṃkhyas and Vaiśeṣikas, and maybe even Jainas and Ājīvikas). As demonstrated by PIND (2001), formal, structural and doctrinal considerations make it very likely that the VPr (which, since it accepts the Sautrāntika(/Yogācāra) idea of *svasantānapariṇāmaviśeṣa*, cannot be a work of Nāgārjuna), the *Śatakaśāstra and the *Akṣaraśāstra originated in a common intellectual milieu, either Mādhyamika but with strong Sautrāntika if not Yogācāra leanings, or Yogācāra. They might be works by *Vasu (to whom is ascribed the commentary on the *Śatakaśāstra), an author possibly identical to Vasubandhu I, and must have been in circulation during the second half of the fourth century CE.[80] As we can see, the Madhyamaka's contribution to the controversy with the non-Buddhist philosophical systems, even though it has been generally overemphasized, is as important as it is complex, since it also clearly points to an intellectual environment that shared non-Mādhyamika, Sautrāntika and/or Yogācāra doctrinal assumptions.

2.3 Let me turn briefly to (mainstream) Abhidharma literature, and especially to its Sarvāstivāda (including Vaibhāṣika) expressions. According to its most authoritative exponents, Abhidharma ultimately consists in an immaculate insight (*amalā prajñā*)[81] defined as an investigation of the factors (*dharmapravicaya*).[82] On the conventional level, Abhidharma consists in those treatises that are instrumental in one's attainment of this insight.[83] The development of Abhidharma and Abhidharma-style speculation cannot be separated from the process of sectarian[84] differentiation and fragmentation that began during the third century BCE. This is the reason why the numerous texts in which it found expression "provided the means by which the position of one group could be defined and de-

80 See PIND 2001: 167–172. The *UH might be another representative of this milieu: see PIND 2001: 165 and n. 56. See below, §3.6.

81 According to AK 1.2a *prajñā 'malā sānucārā 'bhidharmaḥ*. On the traditional understanding of Abhidharma, see COX 1995: 3–19 and WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 13–15 (Dessein).

82 According to AKBh 2.4 *tatra prajñā dharmapravicayaḥ*.

83 According to AK 1.2b *tatprāptaye yāpi ca yac ca śāstram*.

84 For useful conceptual distinctions regarding the notion of 'sect' in early Buddhism as well as the relationship between *nikāya* and ordination lineages (*upasampadā*), see WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 50–51 n. 72 (Dessein) and 1998: 53 (Dessein).

fended against the divergent interpretations and criticisms of others."[85] And from, say, the first century CE, "Abhidharma exegesis undoubtedly functioned as an expression of sectarian self-consciousness and as an instrument of sectarian identity."[86] Whatever its pre-sectarian origin (categorizing lists – *mātr̥kā* – or catechetical exposition – *abhidharma-kathā*), Abhidharma literature can be subdivided into four groups of texts according to chronology, style and sectarian self-consciousness.[87] To consider but the last criterion, the first group does neither "present self-consciously sectarian positions" nor "give indication of rival opinions or doctrinal factionalism."[88] The second group of texts testifies to a "greater awareness of differences of doctrinal interpretation and factional alignments" but still lacks "overt sectarian self-consciousness."[89] The third group, written in an "encylopedic intention to catalog all positions," mainly consists of the Vibhāṣā compendia, i.e., "polemical texts […] that recognize and enumerate the position of contending groups without controverting these rival positions in debate fashion."[90] Besides the development of new methods of argument and the refinement of doctrinal positions, these texts "reflect their birth in an environment of intense inter- and indeed intra-sectarian debate" and mark "the emergence of full sectarian self-consciousness."[91] As for the fourth group of texts, it consists of

85 COX 1995: 23.

86 WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 143 (Cox).

87 See COX 1995: 30–37, WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 18–19 (Dessein) and 171–176 (Cox).

88 Respectively COX 1995: 30 and WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 171 (Cox). This group is composed of the Saṅgītiparyāya (T. 1536) and the Dharmaskandha (T. 1537), and may be extended to works such as the Pali Vibhaṅga and the first two chapters of the *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra (T. 1548).

89 Respectively WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 173 (Cox) and COX 1995: 32. This group comprises the Prajñaptiśāstra (T. 1538), the Vijñānakāya (T. 1539), the Dhātukāya (T. 1540), the Prakaraṇapāda (T. 1541 and 1542), and the Jñānaprasthāna (T. 1544).

90 Respectively WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 174 (Cox) and COX 1995: 30. The extant Vibhāṣā *compendia* are the *Mahāvibhāṣā (T. 1545), the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā (T. 1546) and the *Vibhāṣāśāstra (T. 1547).

91 Respectively WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 240 and 173 (Cox). Note also COX 1995: 34 = WILLEMEN, DESSEIN & COX 1998: 230 (Cox): "The Vibhāṣā *compendia* constitute a determinative stage in the development of Indian Buddhist sectarian consciousness and doctrinal analysis."

> dialectic expository treatises or pedagogical digests that attempt to cogently summarize salient doctrinal positions and yet also to refute, point by point, positions thought to represent rival groups.[92]

According to Cox, "the overtly polemical character of [these] texts testifies to an environment of increasing sectarian identity and competition."[93] And this fundamentally intrabuddhistic stance is made particularly clear by the Ābhidharmikas themselves while expliciting the purpose guiding the composition of their works. Consider, e.g., the closing statement of Vasubandhu's AKBh:

> The Teacher, the eye of the world, has disappeared[/closed], and the direct witnesses (to his teaching) are generally gone. (Now,) this teaching is getting (ever more) confused by (the agency of) self-willed [*niravagraha*] bad reasoners who fail to see the true nature (of things).[94]

And this is even more obvious in the opening stanza of Saṅghabhadra's *Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā: "By means of extensive explanations that conform to correct principle, I will counter the accepted positions of other schools and manifest the fundamental meaning."[95] It is hardly surprising, then, that the outsiders (as well as 'supersectarian' self-designations such as *bauddha*, *saugata* and *śākyaputrīya*) are nearly absent in the overwhelming majority of the Abhidharma works, a feature that characterizes this literature well into the fifth century CE (with a slight inflection in Vasubandhu's AKBh, especially its ninth "chapter"). Interestingly enough, the Abhidharma never broadened its polemical scope so as to include the outsiders (AKBh 9 being only an apparent exception). Rather, Abhidharmic controversies strongly declined towards the end of the fifth century. To be sure, Abhidharma scholarship did not disappear, but came to exhaust itself in the commentarial exegesis of Vasubandhu's AKBh. As I have argued elsewhere, this is hardly surprising provided

92 COX 1995: 31. Representatives of this group are the three Hr̥daya treatises (T. 1550–1552), the *Tattvasiddhiśāstra (T. 1646), the Abhidharmāmr̥tarasa (T. 1553), the *Abhidharmāvatāra (T. 1554), the AKBh, the *Nyāyānusāra (T. 1562), the *Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā (T. 1563) and the Abhidharmadīpa.

93 COX 1995: 36. See also WALSER 2005: 188–223.

94 AK 8.41 *nimīlite śāstari lokacakṣuṣi kṣayaṃ gate sākṣijane ca bhūyasā, adr̥ṣṭatattvair niravagrahaiḥ kr̥taṃ kutārkikaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam.*

95 T. 1563, 777a10ff. Translation COX 1995: 55.

one acknowledges that by the turn of the sixth century, the addressees of many Buddhist intellectuals' polemics shifted from coreligionists to outsiders, a turn that is reflected in both the decline of Abhidharmic creativity *and* the exactly concomitant rise of the Buddhist epistemological school (where the supersectarian self-designations and the allusions to *tīrthika* philosophical schools are as frequent as the references to Buddhist coreligionists are rare).[96]

2.4 From the early days of Buddhism until the fourth century CE, representatives of the various Buddhist denominations (ordination lineages/ sects, schools, vehicles) never ceased contending against dissenting coreligionists – and, though in a very limited and most often stereotyped way, against the outsiders. However, ethically questionable as this indulgence in disputation may have been, we know nearly nothing of the reactions this aroused among those who can be suspected to have held debate in low esteem, viz. disciplinary rigorist as well as meditation oriented monastic circles. Nor do we know anything about the rules that presided over debates – provided these ever actually took place. The earliest extant witnesses to the Buddhists' interest in dialectics can be dated to 300–350 CE, i.e., about half a millenium after the first records of Buddhist internecine quarrels. And these documents show the early Buddhist dialecticians still striving for recognition, as if the institutionalization of dialectics amounted to sanctioning debate as a permissible and indeed recommended concern. Interestingly enough, their self-legitimation strategies were far from homogeneous, and at times closely similar in spirit if not in origin to the Nyāya's.

Legitimating Dialectics in a Buddhist Monastic Environment

3.1 The initial stages of Indian dialectics and debate (*vāda*) theories are shrouded in mystery.[97] All we know derives from (fragments of) manuals

96 See ELTSCHINGER forthc. a, §2.3.

97 On early Indian dialectics, see TUCCI 1929a and 1929b, FRAUWALLNER 1984, PREISENDANZ 2000, KANG 2003 and 2006.

that coalesced between, say, the second and the early fifth century CE: Nyāyasūtra (NS) 1 and 5, Carakasaṃhitā (CS) 6. 8.15–66, the Hetuvidyā section of the Yogācārabhūmi (HV), the *Upāyahr̥daya (*UH), to which one may add parts of the Vārṣṇeyādhyātma chapters of the Mokṣaparvan (MBh 12.203–210) and a short section of the Sāṃkathyaviniścaya chapter of the Abhidharmasamuccaya (AS 104,8–105,18).[98] These documents are likely to be the doctrinally identifiable and technically refined outcomes of earlier, cross-denominational ("schulübergreifend" in KANG 2006: 144 and 145) intellectual circles concerned with debate. The dialectical codifications common to this formative *milieu* might have developed, along with specific religious, philosophical and scientific interests (medicine, "Naturphilosophie," dialectics proper, in brahmanical as well as Buddhist environments), into earlier stages of the now available documents. There are good reasons to believe that these dialectical traditions *in statu nascendi* had to strive for survival and recognition in each of their broader socioreligious environments. The present section deals with the apologetic strategies shaped by the Middle-Period Buddhists in order to institutionalize dialectics by establishing it in the monastic and/or *bodhisattva curricula*.

3.2 As pointed out by PREISENDANZ (2000), the early Nyāya had to face orthodox brahmanical hostility towards debate and independent reasoning and was thus compelled to develop self-legitimation strategies. It is well-known that Vātsyāyana, the first known commentator of the Nyāyasūtras, attempted to present the Nyāya as a science concerned with the self (*adhyātmavidyā*) and aiming at final release through the thorough acquaintance with sixteen eristic-dialectical items or relevant topics.[99] In so doing, Vātsyāyana claimed his school's conformity with the Upaniṣadic teachings. But Vātsyāyana also anchored his own scholastic tradition in a fourfold secular division of sciences (*vidyā*) by identifying it with

98 On these texts, see KANG 2003: 2–16; on the Vārṣṇeyādhyātma of the MBh, see PREISENDANZ 2000: 239–246.

99 Forty-four such items are listed in CS vi. 8.27–66 and collectively designated as *vādamārgapada*. See FRAUWALLNER 1984: 70. As a recent study by KANG (2006) strongly suggests, Frauwallner's explanatory model, which presupposes a linear development (in the form of a rationalization) from the CS to the NS, can no longer be supported.

the "investigating science" (*ānvīkṣikī*).[100] What about earlier Naiyāyika attempts to legitimate debate and independent reasoning? As Preisendanz has shown, a sequence of *sūtra*s located at the very end of book four (NS 4.2.39–51) at least partly answer this question.[101] Terminological considerations make it very likely that these *sūtra*s are nothing but a "cut-out" from another, as yet unknown text belonging to an earlier but closely related *vāda* tradition. According to NS 4.2.46, release presupposes the preparation of the self (*ātmasaṃskāra*) by means of restraint (*yama*) and discipline (*niyama*) as well as yogic practices. NS 4.2.47 mentions two additional practices: one's "continuous engagement in the grasping, that is, firm comprehension, of knowledge" (*jñānagrahaṇābhyāsa*) and "colloquy with experts" (*vidyaiś ca saha saṃvādaḥ*). As Preisendanz remarks, "[a] type of debate is thus placed in the context of the final aim of liberation and of soteriologically relevant adequate knowledge."[102] NS 4.2.48 then lists the persons with whom conducting a colloquy is permissible: disciple (*śiṣya*), *guru*, "fellow students of the orthodox tradition"[103] (*sabrahmacārin*), learned authorities (*śiṣṭa*), and those who strive for the highest good (*śreyorthin*).[104] Finally, two forms of "contentional discourse" (*vigṛhyakathana*, NS 4.2.51), verbal contest (*jalpa*) and confrontation (*vitaṇḍā*), are made subservient to colloquy. As Preisendanz again remarks,

> [a]lthough the basic hostility and aggressiveness which characterizes them is not denied, a dispassionate disputant, when using them in this beneficial and meritorious function, is free of moral reproach, as one can infer from the illustration "just as

100 According to AŚ 1.2.11, the *ānvīkṣikī* is a science which, "investigating the strength and weakness of these (three sciences [i.e., according to AŚ 1.2.1, the Vedic science (*trayī*), economics (*vārttā*) and government (*daṇḍanīti*)]) by means or reasons [*hetu*], assists the sentient world, strengthens the intellect in distress and in good fortune, and causes confidence in (one's own) understanding, speech and action." ([…] *balābale caitāsāṃ hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā lokasyopakaroti, vyasane 'bhyudaye ca buddhim avasthāpayati prajñāvākyakriyāvaiśāradyaṃ ca karoti.*) Translation PREISENDANZ 2000: 228.

101 On these *sūtra*s, see also KANG 2006: 152–154.

102 PREISENDANZ 2000: 235.

103 PREISENDANZ 2000: 235.

104 As KANG (2006: 153–154) has pointed out, CS Sū. 29.9 contains a similar list (*ācārya*, *śiṣya*, *sabrahmacārin*); its fourth item, *vaivādika* ("einer, der ein konfrontatives Gespräch führt"), differs.

> one screens off [a plot of land] by means of thorny branches for the sake of protecting the development of seeds."[105]

Now by implication, this amounts to legitimizing the whole Naiyāyika enterprise insofar as colloquy – provided it is the same as *vāda*, the more general term for debate in NS 1[106] – involves the most important eristic-dialectical items of the Nyāya, viz. the four means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) and reasoning (*tarka*). Note that, since verbal testimony (*śabda*), i.e., the testimony of a trustworthy person (*āpta*), is one of the four means of valid cognition, "[r]eference to tradition thus appears as an integral part of debate."[107] In other words, the Nyāya as a dialectical tradition concerned with investigation by means of reasons is legitimated by the fact that its most basic concerns are made subservient to the colloquy with experts which, side by side with yogic practices, aims at bringing about soteriologically relevant knowledge. According to Preisendanz,

> [t]he closeness to the orthodox tradition where the practice concerning the Self (*adhyātmavidhi*) is authoritatively anchored and cultivated is also warranted by the fact that the basic type of debate, the colloquy, is meant and envisioned to take place between persons who identify and comply with this tradition. Now, this justification of debate is at the same time a justification of its means and the intense occupation with them; their refinement eventually serves the achievement of soteriologically relevant adequate knowledge.[108]

With this in mind, let us turn to the HV, another early witness to the rise of Indian dialectics as a codified discipline in need of socioreligious and institutional legitimation.

105 NS 4.2.50: [...] *bījaprarohasaṃrakṣaṇārthaṃ kaṇṭakaśākhāvaraṇavat*. Translation PREISENDANZ 2000: 236. On this example, see PREISENDANZ 2000: 236 and KANG 2003: 36–37. As both authors remark, this illustration finds a close parallel in *UH$_{Ch}$ 23b18–20/*UH$_{Tucci}$ 4,3–6 (see below, n. 151) and demonstrates that texts such as the NS and the *UH preserve older, cross-sectarian materials.

106 NS 1.2.1: *pramāṇatarkasādhanopālambhaḥ siddhāntāviruddhaḥ pañcāvayavopapannaḥ pakṣapratipakṣaparigraho vādaḥ* "Debate consists in the taking up of a position and a counter-position in which proof and censure are (accomplished) through (the use of) the means of valid cognition and reasoning, which is not in contradiction to established tenets, and which is endowed with the five parts (of proof)." Translation PREISENDANZ 2000: 237.

107 PREISENDANZ 2000: 237.

108 PREISENDANZ 2000: 237.

3.3 There is every reason to believe that the monks who were concerned with debate and/or were the custodians of the Buddhist dialectical traditions faced difficulties similar to the Nyāya while trying to introduce dialectics (*vāda*) and the science of argumentative justifications (*hetuvidyā*, *hetuśāstra*) into the monastic *curriculum*. To be sure, the Buddhist intellectual elites of each sect and/or school had long been engaged in doctrinal debate with representatives of rival Buddhist groups, as the various Abhidharma(-like) controversies amply demonstrate. I am not aware of any testimony to the effect that these controversies ever aroused censure on the part of, say, disciplinary and ethically rigorist segments of the Buddhist communities. But it seems reasonable to believe that the attempts to institutionalize dialectics were (or ran the risk of being) regarded as contradicting the very spirit of Buddhism as an ethical and disciplinary path towards salvation: after all, the institutionalization of such a branch of knowledge could well be interpreted as sanctioning moral attitudes and verbal practices that had been criticised by the Buddha. And among the many canonical *loci* warning the monks against disputes of any kind, these rigorist groups may well have resorted to the following one:

> Pray, master Kaccāna, what is the reason, what is the cause why nobles quarrel with nobles, brāhmins with brāhmins, and householders with householders? They do so because of their bondage and servitude to sensual lusts, their greed for sensual lusts; because they are possessed by attachment to the lusts of sensuality. But pray, master Kaccāna, what is the reason, what is the cause why recluses quarrel with recluses? They do so because of their bondage and servitude to opinion, their greed for opinion; because they are possessed by attachment to the lust of opinion.[109]

3.4.1 The HV and the AS consider speech (*vāda*) as being sixfold:[110] "What does speech consist of? It must be seen as sixfold, viz. speech (proper), rumour, dispute, disparagement, guidance and admonition."[111] Leaving speech proper and rumour out of consideration,[112] let us focus

109 AN I.66. See above, §1.3 and n. 29.

110 See HV 1*,5–4*,1 (§1) and AS_{Pr} 104,10–15.

111 HV 1*,5–6 (§1), HV_t *Tshi* D187b1–2 *vādaḥ katamaḥ. sa ṣaḍvidho draṣṭavyaḥ, vādaḥ pravādo vivādo 'pavādo 'nuvādo 'vavādaś ca*. To be compared with AS_t *Li* P139b2.

112 HV 1*,7–9 (§1.1–2), HV_t *Tshi* D187b2 *vādaḥ katamaḥ. sarvo vāgvyāhāro vāgghoṣo vāgniruktir vāda ity ucyate. pravādaḥ katamaḥ. yo lokāśraviko*[(1)] *vādaḥ.* [(1)]HV_t

on the HV's treatment of dispute (*vivāda*), a form of speech itself regarded as threefold:

> What does dispute consist of? (Dispute may occur) concerning objects of desire [*kāma*]: regarding objects of desire that belong to oneself, as (they are) appropriated by others; regarding objects of desire that belong to others, in case (one) wishes to appropriate (them) from others; regarding objects of desire that belong to a dear[/beloved] being, as (they are) appropriated (by others); or, regarding objects of desire that do not belong (to anybody), against[?] the one who wishes to appropriate (them. This can,) e.g., (take place) either in order to see[/exhibit] or to enjoy (things) connected with actors (*naṭa*), dancers (*ānartaka*), performers (*lāsaka*), buffoons, etc., or (else) with courtesans. Dispute, i.e., hostile speech (consists of) the various[/divisive?] words of (those) beings who engage in dispute regarding such objects of desire: (these persons are) still afflicted by desire, impassioned by (their) desire for sensual pleasures [*kāma*], excited (and) quarrelsome because of clinging, attachment, greed (and) passion. Or, (dispute may occur) concerning misbehaviour: regarding a corporeal or verbal ill-conduct done by oneself, as one is censured by others; regarding a corporeal or verbal ill-conduct done by others, as one censures others; regarding a corporeal or verbal ill-conduct done by a dear[/beloved] being, as one is censured by others or censures others; regarding a corporeal or verbal ill-conduct (that has) not (yet been) done, against the one who is intent upon doing (it). Dispute, i.e., hostile speech, (consists of) the various[/divisive?] words of those who engage in dispute regarding such a practice of ill-conduct: (these persons) have not eliminated greed, aversion and delusion; (they are) overcome with greed, aversion and delusion; (they are) mutually excited[/angry], of polluted mind and quarrelsome because of clinging, attachment, greed and passion. Or, (dispute may occur) concerning false view, e.g., the personalistic false view [*satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*], the false view of annihilation, the false view (consisting) of (ascribing) a wrong cause (to something), the false view of (something) permanent, the false view of [the?] Vārṣagaṇya[s?], the erroneous false view, or any other evil false view. Dispute, i.e., hostile speech (consists of) the various[/divisive?] words of (those) beings who are still afflicted by desire, and so on as before, (various[/divisive?] words) pertaining to false views of this sort (as they are) held by oneself, when one is dissuaded (from them) by others, (as they are) held by others, (on the part) of the one who dissuades others (from them, as they are) held by a dear[/beloved] being, (on the part) of the one who is dissuaded (from them) or the

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'jig rten gyi grags pa, AS_{Pr} 104,11 **lokānuśruto*; see YAITA 2005: 98 n. 9. To be read *lokānuśraviko*/*lokānuśrāviko*? (see BHSD 35[b] s.v. *anuśrāvaṇa* and *anuśrāvayati*). "What does speech (proper) consist of? We call 'speech (proper)' every verbal utterance, verbal sound (and) verbal expression. What does rumour consist of? (It is the form of) speech which is handed down publicly[?] in the (ordinary) world." To be compared with AS_t *Li* P139b2–3, ASBh 150,22 and AS_{Pr} 104,11.

one who dissuades (from them), or (as they are) not (yet) held, with respect to (one's) desire to hold (them). This is what we call "dispute."[113]

The author(s) of this description of dispute obviously had the above-mentioned canonical *locus* in mind, for both texts resort to *adhyavasāna* (Pali *ajjhosāna*), *vinibandha* and *parigredha* (Pali *paligedha*) to/for the sensual pleasures and views as the reasons why people quarrel. In thus alluding to the Buddhist *sūtra*s, the author(s) of the HV demonstrated his(/their) full awareness of the canonical prohibitions. The fourth variety of speech consists in disparagement (*apavāda*):

What does disparagement consist of? It consists of the speech of (persons who are) excited (and) have a polluted mind, (a speech that,) when they have an injurious exchange [*anyonyam utsr̥jya viprakr̥tāṃ kathām*], is harsh, uncivil and idle; (disparagement extends) up to (one's) teaching the law, deciding over the (proper didac-

113 HV 1*,10–2*,22 (§1.3), HV_t *Tshi* D187b2–188a6: *vivādaḥ katamaḥ. kāmān vārabhya, svaparigr̥hīteṣu kāmeṣu parair ācchidyamāneṣu paraparigr̥hīteṣu kāmeṣu pareṣām ācchettukāma iṣṭasattvaparigr̥hīteṣu kāmeṣv ācchidyamāneṣv ācchettukāmasya vāparigr̥hīteṣu kāmeṣu* [HV_t *dprog par 'dod pa'am, yoṅs su gzuṅ ba ma yin pa'i 'dod pa rnams la*], *tad yathā naṭānartakalāsakahāsakādyupasaṃhiteṣu veśyājanopasaṃhiteṣu vā punaḥ saṃdarśanāya* [HV_t *blta ba'i phyir*] *vopabhogāya veti yad evamprakāreṣu kāmeṣv avītarāgāṇāṃ sattvānāṃ kāmarāgaraktānām adhyavasānahetor vinibandhahetoḥ parigredhahetoḥ saṃrāgahetoḥ saṃrabdhānāṃ vigr̥hītānāṃ vivādam āpannānāṃ nānāvādo vivādo vipratyanīkavādaḥ. duścaritaṃ vā punar ārabhya , svayaṃkr̥te kāyaduścarite vāgduścarite parair anuyujyamānaḥ parakr̥te kāyaduścarite vāgduścarite parān anuyuñjāna iṣṭasattvakr̥te kāyaduścarite vāgduścarite parair anuyujyamānaḥ parān vānuyuñjāno 'kr̥te kāyaduścarite vāgduścarite kartuṃ praṇihitasyeti. yad evamprakāre duścaritasamācāre 'vigatalobhānām avigatadveṣāṇām avigatamohānāṃ lobhadveṣamohābhibhūtānām adhyavasānahetor vinibandhahetoḥ parigredhahetoḥ saṃrāgahetor anyonyaṃ saṃrabdhānāṃ saṃkliṣṭacittānāṃ vigr̥hītānāṃ vivādam āpannānāṃ nānāvādo vivādo vipratyanīkavādaḥ. dr̥ṣṭiṃ vā punar ārabhya , tad yathā satkāyadr̥ṣṭim ucchedadr̥ṣṭim ahetudr̥ṣṭiṃ viṣamahetudr̥ṣṭiṃ śāśvatadr̥ṣṭiṃ vārṣagaṇyadr̥ṣṭiṃ mithyādr̥ṣṭim iti, yā vā punar anyā pāpikā dr̥ṣṭiḥ. ity evambhāgīyadr̥ṣṭiṣu svaparigr̥hītāsu parair vicchidyamāne paraparigr̥hītāsu parān vicchindayata iṣṭasattvaparigr̥hītāsu parair vicchidyamānasya vā vicchindayato vā* [HV_t *gźan dag bzlog pa'am*] *parigr̥hītāsu vā punaḥ parigr̥hītukāmatām upādāyāvītarāgāṇāṃ sattvānāṃ pūrvavad yāvan* [HV_t *sṅa ma bźin du*] *nānāvādo vivādo vipratyanīkavādaḥ. ayam ucyate vivādaḥ.* To be compared with AS_t P139b3, ASBh 150,23 and AS_{Pr} 104,12. On Vārṣagaṇya/*vārṣagaṇya* and *satkāryavāda* in the Yogācārabhūmi, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1962–1963.

tic/catechetic) dialogue[114] [*sāṃkathyaviniścaya*] as well as admonishing and instructing when the law and the discipline have been ill-proclaimed. This is what we call "disparagement."[115]

As for the fifth kind of speech, it consists in guidance (*anuvāda*):

> What does guidance consist of? It consists of (one's) teaching the law, deciding over the (proper didactic/catechetic) dialogue (and) instructing, when the law and the discipline have been well proclained, in order to dispel a doubt (that has) arisen, penetrate an expedient expression (that is) profound (and) purify (one's) knowledge-and-vision; (guidance is) a (form of) speech (that is) propitious, conformable to liberation, (and) therefore it is called "guidance." This is what we call "guidance."[116]

The sixth and last item listed in the HV is admonition (*avavāda*):

> What does admonition consist of? It consists of the speech that is aimed at bringing the unconcentrated mind to concentration and the concentrated mind to liberation, (and this) in a person who wishes to practise[/turn to] superior mind (and) superior insight; (admonition is) a (form of) speech aimed at awakening to the knowledge of (true) reality, comprehending[/obtaining] the knowledge of (true) reality, (and) therefore it is called "admonition." This is what we call "admonition."[117]

114 On *sāṃkathya*(*viniścaya*), see below, §3.4.3.

115 HV 3*,1–5 (§1.4), HV$_t$ *Tshi* D188a6–b1 *apavādaḥ katamaḥ. saṃrabdhānāṃ saṃkliṣṭacetasām anyonyam utsṛjya viprakṛtāṃ kathāṃ yaḥ pāruṣyopasaṃhito 'sabhyopasaṃhitaḥ sambhinnapralāposaṃhito vādo yāvad durākhyāte dharmavinaye dharmadeśanā sāṃkathyaviniścayo 'vavādānuśāsanam. ayam ucyate 'pavādaḥ*. On this passage, see also Kang 2003: 32 n. 46. To be compared with AS$_t$ *Li* P139b3, ASBh 150,24 and AS$_{Pr}$ 104,12–13.

116 HV 3*,6–10 (§1.5), HV$_t$ *Tshi* D188b1–2 *anuvādaḥ katamaḥ. yā svākhyāte dharmavinaye dharmadeśanā sāṃkathyaviniścayo 'nuśāsanam utpannasya saṃśayasya cchedāya gambhīrasyārthapadasya prativedhāya jñānadarśanasya viśuddhaye mokṣasyānukūla ānulomiko vādaḥ, tasmād anuvāda ity ucyate. ayam ucyate 'nuvādaḥ*. On this passage, see also Kang 2003: 33 n. 50. To be compared with AS$_t$ *Li* P139b3–4, ASBh 150,23–24 and AS$_{Pr}$ 104,13–14.

117 HV 3*,11–15 (§1.6), HV$_t$ *Tshi* D188b2–4 *avavādaḥ katamaḥ. adhicitte 'dhiprajñe prayoktukāmasya pudgalasyāsamāhitasya vā cittasya samādhānāya samāhitasya vā cittasya vimokṣāya yo vādas tattvajñānāvabodhāya tattvajñānāvagamāya vādaḥ, tasmād avavāda ity ucyate. ayam ucyate 'vavādaḥ*. To be compared with AS$_t$ *Li* P140b4–5, ASBh 150,24 and AS$_{Pr}$ 104,14–15.

To sum up, speech consists of (1) speech proper, (2) rumour, (3) dispute, (4) disparagement, (5) guidance, and (6) admonition. Now, consider the following statement:

> Among these six (forms of) speech, how many (forms of) speech are to be cultivated as proper, true (and) beneficial? (And) how many (forms of) speech are to be rejected as improper, untrue (and) harmful? The last two (forms of) speech [i.e., guidance and admonition,] are to be cultivated as proper, true (and) beneficial. The two intermediate (forms of) speech [i.e., dispute and disparagement,] are to be rejected as improper, untrue (and) harmful. (Such is their) difference with regard to the first two (forms of) speech.[118]

In other words, the HV may well be a dialectical digest, but it unambiguously prohibits dispute and especially dispute about views, which can be considered, after all, a satisfactory characterization of debate.

3.4.2 Before I turn back to the HV, let me briefly consider the AS. The AS's short exposition of dialectics is nothing but a summary of the HV, so that we can spare ourselves the trouble of reviewing what it has to say about the six forms of speech.[119] Interestingly enough, the AS also contains an unambiguous caveat against hostile speech and philosophical disputation. This prohibitive statement, which occurs *after* the enumeration of the eristic-dialectical items (and not before, as in the HV), owes nothing to the HV and draws on the famous but lost (Mahāyāna-) Abhidharmasūtra.[120] Here is this statement:

> Moreover, the one who wishes his own good [*svahita*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] should know the rules [/modalities] of debate [*vāda*] but should not engage in hostile speech [*vigr̥hya vādaḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$], as the Blessed One has declared in the Abhidharmasūtra: "Seeing twelve (negative) points (in dispute), a *bodhisattva* who sides with virtue [*kuśalapakṣaprayuktena*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka}}$], abounds in good behaviour [*pratipattisārakeṇa*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka}}$], attracts the living beings [*sattvasaṃgrāhakeṇa*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka}}$] and wishes to quickly awaken to the supreme (and) perfect awakening [*kṣipram anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhi-*

118 HV 3*,16–4*,1, HV$_{t}$ *Tshi* D188b4–6 *eṣāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ vādānāṃ kati vādā bhūtās tattvā arthopasaṃhitāḥ sevitavyāḥ, kati vādā abhūtā atattvā anarthopasaṃhitāḥ parivarjayitavyāḥ. dvau paścimau vādau bhūtau tattvāv arthopasaṃhitau sevitavyau. dvau madhyau vādāv abhūtāv atattvāv anarthopasaṃhitau parivarjayitavyau. ādyayor dvayor vādayor bhedaḥ.*

119 See the references given above, nn. 111–117.

120 The (Mahāyāna-)Abhidharmasūtra was an important scriptural source for the *ālayavijñāna*. See SCHMITHAUSEN 1987 Vol. I: 11–12.

sambudhyate$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka}}$] does not engage in dispute [*vivāda*] with other (people)." Which twelve (negative points does he see)? [1] A perfect[/salvific] knowledge that explains (things in conformity) with the supreme good law [*saddharma*] is rare [*durlabhā ājñā*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka}}$]; [2] (on the part of the proponents themselves,) debating while intending perfect[/salvific] knowledge [*ājñābhiprāyāḥ*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka?}}$] is rare; [3] people endowed with civility [*sabhya* < *asabhyāḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] and learning [*vyutpanna* < *avyutpannāḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] are rare (among those with whom one might engage in debate); [4] debating while avoiding the (following) six defects is rare: [4a] the defect of adopting and (then) adhering to an untrue thesis [*asatpakṣam api parigṛhyābhiniveśena*$_{\text{ASBh}}$], [4b] the defect of (resorting to) deceitful speech [*kapaṭavacana*] (in the form of dialectic tricks, futile rejoinders and points of defeat), [4c] the defect of starting to speak in untimely fashion [*akālena vaktum ārabhate*$_{\text{ASBh}}$], [4d] the defect of (resorting to) disparaging speech [*kathām apapātayati paṃsayatītyarthaḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$],[121] [4e] the defect of (making use of) harsh (speech) [*paruṣam api bruvate*$_{\text{ASBh}}$], [4f] the defect of maliciousness [*cittaṃ pradūṣayati*$_{\text{ASBh}}$]; [5] debating without anger is rare [*upaśāntasya ca durlabho vādaḥ*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka?}}$]; [6] debating while taking care of others' mind is rare [*durlabhaṃ paracittānurakṣaṇam*$_{\text{ASBh, pratīka?}}$]; [7] debating while keeping concentration [*samādhīyate*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] is rare; [8] debating without considering victory or defeat [*katham ahaṃ jayeyaṃ pare parājīyerann ity evaṃ cittam*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] is rare, [9] and (considering) victory or defeat (in debate) without (mental) pollution [*saṃkleśaḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] is rare; [10] comfort [*sparśavihāra* < *asparśavihāraḥ*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] (while) being (mentally) polluted is rare; [11] (feeling) uncomfortable (and nevertheless) practising the good (mental) factors uninterruptedly [*nirantarakuśalapakṣaprayogāsāmarthyāt*$_{\text{ASBh}}$] is rare; [12] because (one's) mind lacks concentration since one does not practise the good (mental) factors uninterruptedly, (being) concentrated (is rare), and because the mind lacks concentration, liberation (in turn) is rare.[122]

121 Cf. HV 22*,13–14 (§5.25) *kathaṃ mānam āviṣkaroti . hīnajātigotrakulādivādena prativādinaṃ paṃsayati*.

122 My (tentative) translation follows AS$_{t}$ and draws nearly all its Sanskrit materials from ASBh 154,14–155,5 (these materials, which I deem to be much more reliable than Pradhan's retranslation, appear in raw form within the translation and are nothing but auxiliaries to the translation, and not the text translated). AS$_{t}$ *Li* P140b1–141a1 *yaṅ bdag legs su 'dod pas smra ba'i tshul śes par bya ba'i brtsad ciṅ smra bar ni mi bya ste*, *bcom ldan 'das kyis chos mṅon pa'i mdo las ji skad gsuṅs pa lta bu ste*, *gnas bcu gñis mthoṅ ba'i byaṅ chub sems dpa' dge ba'i phyogs la brtson pa nan tan sñiṅ por byed pa sems can sdud pa myur du bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub mṅon par rdzogs par 'tshaṅ rgya bar' dod pas gźan dag daṅ gtsod pas smra bar mi bya'o. bcu gñis gaṅ źe na*, *dam pa'i chos don gyi mchog daṅ ldan pa bśad pa kun śes pa dkon pa daṅ*, *kun śes par bya ba'i bsam pas smra ba dkon pa daṅ*, *tshogs pa mkhas pa daṅ*, *rtog pa daṅ ldan pa rnams dkon pa daṅ*, *phyogs ṅan pa yoṅs su 'dzin ciṅ mṅon par źen pa'i ñes pa daṅ*, *ṅan g.yor smra ba'i ñes pa daṅ*, *dus ma yin par gtam la sbyor ba'i ñes pa daṅ*, *gtam khyad du gsod*

As we can see, the AS also warns the Buddhist monastics against indulgence in dispute and debate, though it recommends acquaintance with their rules. How are we to interpret these two dialectical digests' strong reservations against dispute?

3.4.3 Remember that NS 4.2.46–51 resorted to colloquy with experts, namely *śiṣya*, *guru*, *sabrahmacārin*, *śiṣṭa* and *śreyorthin* as a self-legitimation strategy in order to present the Nyāya as a science concerned with the self and, ultimately, an investigating science. In a closely parallel manner, the section of the HV dedicated to the "target group" (*vādādhikaraṇa*,[123] HV 4*,2–5 = §2) mentions the following interlocutors: ascetics and brahmins experts in the (Buddhist) law and its meaning (*dharmārthakuśalāḥ śramaṇā brāhmaṇāḥ*, HV 4*,4) and living beings who are fond of the (Buddhist) law and its meaning (*dharmārthakāmāḥ sattvāḥ*, HV 4*,4–5).[124] Now, these interlocutors perfectly fit the context of the only two forms of speech recommended by the HV as proper, true and beneficial, viz. (religious) guidance and admonition. Whereas guidance is favourable to liberation in that it amounts to instruction, hermeneutics and the purification of knowledge-and-vision, admonition is instrumental in mental concentration and liberation by awakening to the knowledge of true reality.[125] In other words, the HV and the relevant passages of the AS are not meant, or at least not legitimated, as presenting rules for debate against dissenting coreligionists and (even less so) outsiders (the word *tīrthika* never occurs in the HV), but as

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pa'i ñes pa daṅ, tshig brlaṅ po ñes pa daṅ, yid 'khrugs pa'i ñes pa daṅ, gaṅ ñes pa drug rnam par spaṅs te smra ba dkon pa daṅ, 'khrug pa med par smra ba dkon pa daṅ, gźan gyi sems bsruṅ źiṅ smra ba dkon pa daṅ, tiṅ ṅe 'dzin rjes su bsruṅ źiṅ smra ba dkon pa daṅ, rgyal ba'am pham pa'i sems med par smra ba dkon pa daṅ, rgyal ba'am pham yaṅ kun nas ñon moṅs pa med pa dkon pa daṅ, kun nas ñon moṅs par gyur pa reg par gnas pa dkon pa daṅ, reg par mi gnas pa dge ba'i chos rnams la rgyun du bsgom pa dkon pa daṅ, dge ba'i chos rgyun du mi sgom pas sems mñam par ma bźag pa las mñam par bźag pa daṅ, sems mñam par ma bźag pa las rnam par grol ba dkon pa'i źe'o. See also AS$_{Pr}$ 106,4–18, RAHULA 1971: 183–184 (who unfortunately closely follows AS$_{Pr}$). On Rahula's translation, see SCHMITHAUSEN 1976 and KANG 2003: 15.

123 On *adhikaraṇa*, see KANG 2003: 154–175 (= Appendix iii).

124 On *dharmārtha* and its interpretation as a *dvandva* compound, see KANG 2003: 155–156 n. 6.

125 On *avavāda*, note also MSABh 143,9–10 and MSA(Bh), chapter 14.

providing the methodological guidelines for soteriologically oriented and intrabuddhistic religious *education*. Moreover, as in NS 4.2, the reference to soteriologically relevant yogic practices (especially *samādhi*) provides additional support to the author(s)' claim that his(/their) discipline decidedly sides with orthopraxy. An additional point is worth noticing in this connection. Both the HV and the AS associate guidance with *sāṃkathyaviniścaya*,[126] the subject-matter of chapter 2.4 of the AS. Even a rapid glance at this chapter reveals that its seven headings (of which *vāda* is the sixth) pertain to scriptural hermeneutics and catechesis, i.e., provide a normative analysis of the various interpretative and didactic devices that are to be used by a religious preceptor. In this regard, *sāṃkathya* is certainly not to be interpreted as "dialectics" ("dialectique" in RAHULA 1971: 177 and *passim*), but rather in a meaning close to "colloquy" with a strong didactic/catechetic emphasis. At least as far as self-legitimation is concerned, it is in this framework that we ought to interpret the HV and the AS. As we have seen, the ideal interlocutors in *vāda* – to be understood as guidance and admonition – are persons who are experts in and fond of the (Buddhist) law and its meaning. Now what is the means towards such an expertise? The MSABh is quite clear about that: "That which imparts expertise in deciding over (the proper didactic/catechetic) dialogue on the law and (its) meaning is Abhidharma."[127] In other words, the Abhidharma is the basis of catechesis, and catechesis, in turn, that which legitimizes the recourse to dialectical devices.

3.4.4 That dialectics proper – i.e., the exposition of the eristic-dialectical items – entails a strong Abhidharmic component and consists in a set of methodological devices designed for religious education is strongly suggested by other features of the HV. According to the HV, the subject-matter of dialectics (*vādādhiṣṭhāna*, HV 4*,6–17*,1 = §3) is twofold: the point/object to be proved (*sādhyo 'rthaḥ*, HV 4*,8–14 = §3.1) and the proof of the point/object to be proved (*sādhyasyārthasya sādhanam*, HV 4*,15–16*,5 = §3.2). One of the two kinds of points/objects to be proved is defined as follows:

126 See above, n. 116.

127 MSABh 54,4–5 *dharmārthasāṃkathyaviniścayakauśalyam abhidharmeṇeti*.

> A property [*viśeṣa*] (as the point/object) to be proved (is as follows: to prove) the inferior as inferior and the supreme as supreme, the permanent as permanent, the impermanent as impermanent, the corporeal as corporeal, the incorporeal as incorporeal; (and) as (one proves that something is) corporeal (or) incorporeal, (one proves that something is) visible or invisible, offers (physical) resistance or does not offer (physical) resistance, is with cankers (or) without cankers, conditioned (or) unconditioned. One ought to see that a property is to be proved according to such a method of division[/distinction].[128]

Now look at the following passage of the MSABh:

> The Abhidharma (is so called) because it is turned towards, because it proceeds repeatedly, because it subjugates and because it provides access. (First,) the Abhidharma is a factor that is turned towards *nirvāṇa* because it teaches (things) such as the truths, the wings of awakening and the doors to liberation. (Second,) the Abhidharma is a factor (that proceeds) repeatedly because it abundantly expounds every single factor according to divisions such as corporeal and incorporeal, visible (and invisible). (Third,) the Abhidharma subjugates because it subjugates, through dispute, contention, etc., the doctrines [*pravāda*] of (one's) opponent[s]. (Fourth,) since one gets access to the meaning of the *sūtra*s through it, (it is called) "Abhidharma."[129]

As the examples adduced by the HV already suggested, the points to be proved were connected with purely Buddhist classifications. The MSABh makes it even clearer: these classifications are defining features of Abhidharma scholasticism. Considering (1) that the eight items falling under the rubric *sādhana*[130] are bound to prove/establish the *sādhyo*

128 HV 4*,10–14 (§3.12) *viśeṣaḥ sādhyaḥ sottaraṃ ca sottarato 'nuttaraṃ cānuttarataḥ, nityo nityataḥ, anityo 'nityataḥ, rūpī rūpito 'rūpy arūpito yathā rūpy arūpī tathā sanidarśano 'nidarśanaḥ sapratigho 'pratighaḥ sāsravo 'nāsravaḥ saṃskṛto 'saṃskṛta ity evamādinā prabhedanayena viśeṣasya sādhyatā draṣṭavyā.*

129 MSABh 54,18–23 *abhimukhatvād abhīkṣṇatvād abhibhavanād abhigamanāc cābhidharmo veditavyaḥ, nirvāṇābhimukho dharmo 'bhidharmaḥ satyabodhipakṣavimokṣamukhādideśanāt, abhīkṣṇaṃ dharmo 'bhidharma ekaikasya dharmasya rūpyarūpisanidarśanādiprabhedena bahulanirdeśāt, abhibhavaty abhidharmaḥ parapravādābhibhavanād vivādādhikaraṇādibhiḥ, abhigamyate sūtrārtha etenety abhidharmaḥ.*

130 HV 4*,15–16 (§3.2) *sādhanam aṣṭavidhaṃ katamat. pratijñā hetur udāharaṇaṃ sārūpyaṃ vairūpyaṃ pratyakṣam anumānam āptāgamaś ca* "What does the eightfold proof consist of? (It consists of) the thesis, the reason, the example, similarity, dissimilarity, (what is) perceptible, inference and authoritative scripture." On *pratyakṣa* as the object of perception rather than perception itself, see SCHMITHAU-

'rthaḥ, and (2) that the said *sādhyo 'rthaḥ* refers to Abhidharmic categories, we are left with the likely conclusion that the eristic-dialectical items which form the bulk of the HV serve the purpose of Abhidharmic instruction and supply methodological devices for religious education. Besides, the internal evidence for the intrabuddhistic purpose of HV includes many among the examples adduced for every single eristic-dialectical item, which are drawn either from everyday life or from Buddhist dogmatics *lato sensu*, but *never* from any distinctively non-Buddhist religio-philosophical system or world-view.[131] As pointed out by Preisendanz, the NS at least indirectly made the recourse to scriptural authority an important feature of its legitimation strategy. The same is true of the HV and the AS which, like *all* pre-Dignāga Buddhist dialectical works, include trustworthy scriptures (*āptāgama*, or: scriptures of a trustworthy person), i.e., the Buddhist scriptures, as the third among the three means of valid cognition:

> What does authoritative scripture consist of? (It consists of that which has been) proclaimed by an omniscient person, or (that which one knows) after learning (it) from this (omniscient person), or (what) conforms to it. As for (the latter,) it ought to be seen as threefold: as non-contradictory with the word, as counteracting the defilements, and as non-contradictory with the (accepted) definitions[/characteristics].[132]

Needless to say, this definition is for purely intrabuddhistic purpose and meant to apply to the Buddhist scriptures only.[133]

3.4.5 As we can see, the HV's (and the AS's) apologetic endeavours on behalf of dialectics are to be interpreted in the broader framework of the

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SEN 1972: 160–161 and KANG 2006: 159–161 (with CS 3.8.39). On *sārūpya* and *vairūpya*, see YOSHIMIZU 2010.

131 See, e.g., HV 5*,17–6*,1, HV 11*,12–12*,3, HV 13*,2–3, HV 13*,4–14, HV 14*,2–4. The very elaborate definition of *pratyakṣa* (HV 6*,8–11*,3 = §3.26) contains characteristically Buddhist features, among which allusions to cosmology and 'meditation': see, e.g., HV 6*,13–14, HV 6*,17–18 and HV 7*,9–12.

132 HV 14*,7–9 *āptāgamaḥ katamaḥ. yat sarvajñabhāṣitaṃ tato vā śrutvā tadanudharmaṃ vā. sa punas trividho draṣṭavyaḥ. pravacanāvirodhataḥ saṃkleśapratipakṣato lakṣaṇāvirodhataś ca*. See more generally HV 14*,10–16*,5, which is replete with dogmatic allusions.

133 On the Buddhist critiques of interpretation and authenticity, see LAMOTTE 1947, LAMOTTE 1949 and DAVIDSON 1990.

hermeneutic and methodological devices set forth in order to conduct a didactic/catechetic dialogue. It is therefore hardly surprising that the only permissible forms of *vāda* are religious guidance and admonition based *inter alia* on Abhidharma scholasticism, and that philosophical disputation between representatives of antagonist views are prohibited. Like the NS, the HV and the AS lay considerable stress on final liberation and yogic practices as the aim of guidance and admonition. Moreover, scriptural authority plays a prominent role in the epistemological *dispositif* described in the two texts. Briefly put, the HV's and the AS's legitimation strategies testify to their authors' alignment with canonical prohibitions as well as their decision to make dialectics subservient to fully approved ethical, disciplinary and soteriological ambitions. I am not in a position to make any pronouncement regarding the sincerity of these authors' apologetic rhetoric. But one thing is beyond doubt: dialectics as it is presented here is for purely intrabuddhistic purpose and consumption, so that to read these two texts as codifying debate with a view to defeat non-Buddhist opponents is mere wishful thinking. In other words, drawing continuities between these early testimonies and later Buddhist 'logic and epistemology' is doomed to come up against the heterogeneity of their respective ambitions.[134]

3.5 However, other (though closely related) documents echo fairly different voices. As the HV's initial statement makes clear, the eristic-dialectical items it describes fall under the general heading of the science of (justificative) reasons (*hetuvidyā*),[135] one of five traditional branches of knowledge (*vidyā*: dogmatics-cum-soteriology [*adhyātmavidyā*], grammar/linguistics [*śabdavidyā*], medicine [*cikitsāvidyā*], and the arts-and-

134 This is not to say, however, that a close comparison between the HV's and the AS' eristic-dialectical items and later definitions (e.g., of perception, as in Yaita 1999) cannot bear fruit, for it is more than likely that later specialists in Buddhist apologetics (Dignāga, Dharmakīrti) were well acquainted with the former.

135 The HV (5*,3–5 = §3.22) provides an interesting statement regarding the nature of *hetu*: *hetuḥ katamaḥ. yas tasyaiva pratijñātasyārthasya siddhaya udāharaṇāśritaḥ sārūpyavairūpyato vā pratyakṣato vānumānato vāptāgamato vā hito yuktivādaḥ* "What does the reason consist of? (The reason consists of) the justification (*yuktivāda*) which, relying on an example, is adduced in order to establish the point proposed as a thesis (this justification may be stated) either on the basis of similarity and dissimilarity, or of perception, or of inference, or of the scripture of a trustworthy person."

crafts [*śilpakarmasthānavidyā*]).[136] In the first of the two passages which it dedicates to the *hetuvidyā* (or: *hetuśāstra*), the BoBh – like the HV, a part of the Yogācārabhūmi – defines it as follows:

> The science of (justificative) reasons has two aspects: the aspect of expounding the benefit[s] of censuring [*upārambhakathā*] others, and the aspect of expounding the benefit[s] of freeing (oneself) from such a (censuring) speech [*itivāda*] on the part of others.[137]

The author(s) of this definition take(s) for granted that the *hetuvidyā* pursues polemical rather than didactic purposes. This polemical dimension is even more obvious in the second statement:

> A *bodhisattva* investigates(/strives after) the science of (justificative) reasons so that he correctly knows what this very science (of justificative reasons) says and utters badly, so that he defeats opponent debaters, and so that those of no faith[/conviction] (gain) faith[/conviction] in this dispensation and those who have faith[/conviction] increase in number.[138]

The first of these three aims will become somewhat clearer once compared to a parallel statement of the MSABh.[139] The second unambiguously points to disputation. As for the third, it sheds some light on the identity of the addressees of the *bodhisattva*'s *hetuvidyā*. The expression *aprasannānām prasādāya prasannānāṃ ca bhūyobhāvāya* occurs in formulaic fashion throughout the Pali Vinaya "when the Buddha explains why a prohibited action is not good for the 'public relations image' of

136 On the five branches of knowledge, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1995: 101–132.

137 BoBh$_D$ 68,14–15/BoBh$_W$ 96,22–24 (BoBh$_t$ *Wi* D52a6–7): *hetuśāstram api dvyākāram: paropārambhakathānuśaṃsaparidīpanākāraṃ parataś cetivādavipramokṣānuśaṃsaparidīpanākāraṃ ca.*

138 BoBh$_D$ 74,11–13/BoBh$_W$ 105,13–16 (BoBh$_t$ *Wi* D57a3–4) *hetuvidyāṃ bodhisattvaḥ paryeṣate tasyaiva śā strasya durbhāṣitadurlapitatāyā yathābhūtaparijñānārthaṃ paravādinigrahārthaṃ cāprasannānām asmiñ chāsane prasādāya prasannānāṃ ca bhūyobhāvāya.*
According to *Sāgaramegha's commentary (see BoBhVy D126a2–3/P153b5–6), the *hetuvidyā* helps those who have already developed faith (whom he also terms *źugs pa rnams*) strengthening (**sthāpana*?) their own position (*svapakṣa*). If *Sāgaramegha is right, then the *hetuvidyā* is aimed first at attracting people (proselytism) and then at making their Buddhist conviction stronger (education and/or catechesis). See also MSAVBh *Mi* D203a7 on MSABh 70,16–17.

139 See below, n. 142.

the Saṃgha."[140] In other words, the *hetuvidyā* is made subservient to the proselytizing activities of the *bodhisattva* (those commonly referred to as *ākarṣaṇa* and *saṃgraha*, "drawing/attracting" beings to Buddhism). The strong polemical component encountered in the BoBh is seen at work in the closely parallel MSA and MSABh. According to MSA 11.60, a *bodhisattva* gives himself up to the *hetuvidyā* "in order to defeat others."[141] And commenting on MSA 18.25–26, the author of the MSABh claims that "in the second one [i.e. in the science of justificative reasons, the aim is] to know the defect(s) of this (very science)[142] and to defeat opponent debaters."[143] But who are the targets of the *bodhisattva*'s polemics? The only relevant MSA(Bh) statement I am aware of is the following: "He investigates[/strives after] the science of (justificative) reasons in order to defeat others who lack inclination to[/interest in] it."[144] Unfortunately, the identity of the MSABh's *tadanadhimukta* is far from clear. The immediate context makes it likely that the anaphoric *tad* refers here to the *śabda-* and *hetu-vidyā* rather than to (Mahāyāna)

140 Jan Nattier, electronic communication (February 15, 2011). See, e.g., Vin I.30 *netaṃ āvuso appasannānaṃ vā pasādāya pasannānaṃ vā bhiyyobhāvāya. atha khvetaṃ āvuso appasannānañ ceva appasādāya pasannānañ ca ekaccānaṃ aññathattāyā ti* "It is not, foolish man, for the benefit of un-believers, nor for the increase in the number of believers, but, foolish man, it is to the detriment of both unbelievers and believers, and it causes wavering in some." Translation HORNER 1949: 37. See also above, n. 41, and MVy 255,5–6 *anabhiprasannānām abhiprasādāya* |5| *abhiprasannānāṃ bhūyobhāvāya* |6|.

141 MSA 11.60c$_1$ *anyeṣāṃ nigrahaṇ*[*āy*]*a* […].

142 MSABh 136,25–29 *lakṣaṇaṃ śāstrajñatāyā etāny eva pañcavastūni śrutāni bhavanti*, *dhṛtāni*, *vacasā parijitāni*, *manasānvīkṣitāni*, *dṛṣṭyā supratividdhāni*, *śrutvā yathākramaṃ tadudgrahaṇataḥ*, *svādhyāyataḥ*, *prasannena manasārthaci*[*n*]*tanato* […] *taddoṣaguṇāvagamāt svākhyātadurākhyātāvadhāraṇataś ca* "The sign of (a *bodhisattva*'s) proficiency in the treatises[/sciences] is that these very five subject-matters [i.e., the five *vidyāsthāna*s] have been (duly) learnt, borne in mind, verbally mastered, examined mentally (and) well penetrated by (the *bodhisattva*'s intuitive) vision. For, having learnt (them, he) respectively preserves them (in his mind), recites (them) for himself, considers (their) meaning with a clear mind and determines what has been well and badly said (in them) by understanding their defects and qualities […]."

143 MSABh 136,23–24 *dvitīye taddoṣaparijñānaṃ paravādinigrahaś ca*.

144 MSABh 70,16–17 *hetuvidyāṃ śabdavidyāṃ ca paryeṣate nigrahārtham anyeṣāṃ tadanadhimuktānām*.

Buddhism,[145] thus suggesting a translation such as "those who are not actively/zealously devoted to[/interested in] these (disciplines)." In this interpretation, cultivating these two branches of knowledge would enable the *bodhisattva* to overpower in debate those who have no acquaintance with them. As we can see, the identity of the addressees/adversaries of the *bodhisattva*'s polemical activity remains unclear in the BoBh and especially the MSA(Bh) – two texts in which the *tīrthika*s are conspicuously absent. But this much is clear: in stark contrast to the HV and the AS, the BoBh and the MSA(Bh) hold the *hetuvidyā* to be of a polemical nature. Interestingly enough, these two texts do not – again contrary to the HV and the AS – warn the *bodhisattva* against indulging in disputation. Quite to the contrary though, since one of the purposes and hence legitimations of the *hetuvidyā* is precisely to impart the capacity to defeat others and free oneself from their criticism.

The BoBh and the MSA(Bh) acknowledge the polemical nature of the *hetuvidyā* but remain entirely silent on ethical and disciplinary issues. Moreover, giving oneself up to the *hetuvidyā* seems not only permisible, but is also recommended as an integral part of a *bodhisattva*'s *curriculum*. Do these texts bear testimony to a period or even an environment in which dialectics had gained an institutional footing? I shall refrain from any conjecture on this topic. First, because the Mahāvibhāṣā, which is likely to be earlier than the HV, the BoBh and the MSA(Bh), already advised its Sarvāstivāda audience to cultivate the secular sciences including the *hetuvidyā*.[146] Second, because we should be wary of considering third- to fourth-century Buddhism as a monolithic whole: after all, the attitudes toward debate may very well have varied according to sectarian affiliation, localization and circumstances. Third, because issues of compositional stratification are notoriously complex in

145 Note, by way of contrast, MSABh 3,10–12 *nāyam evam udāro gambhīraś ca dharmas tārkikāṇāṃ gocaraḥ*, *tīrthikaśāstreṣu tatprakārānupalambhād iti*, *nāyam anyair bhāṣito yujyate*, *ucyamāne 'pi tadanadhimukteḥ* "This most excellent and profound law (of the Great Vehicle) is thus out of the reach of the reasoners, for its features do not exist[/are not perceived] in the treatises of the outsiders. (Moreover,) it cannot have been proclaimed by others [i.e., by reasoners = outsiders], for even when it is presented (to them), they are not convinced by it." Here, *tad* unambiguously refers to *dharma* (= Mahāyāna), and the *tārkika*s = *tīrthika*s are those who lack *adhimukti*.

146 See above, n. 43.

the case of the Yogācārabhūmi. Whatever the case may be, a roughly contemporary text, the *UH,[147] testifies to the fact that certain Buddhists opted for a legitimation strategy that markedly differs from the HV's and AS's: they conceded the polemical and hence soteriologically detrimental nature of dialectics but declared debate beneficial in that it helps the suffering beings rid themselves of false views and protects the Buddhist law against its enemies. The *UH opens on the following objection:

> One should not compose a treatise [論 **śāstra*] (on dialectics). Why? The one who composes a treatise (on dialectics) most often arouses wrath and vindictiveness; he is arrogant, self-willed and boastful;[148] he himself thinks of breaking harmony and has (only) little desire to harmonize (with others); he points out the defects of others and himself admires his own virtue. Such faults are blamed by the wise. Therefore, all the intelligent and noble [聖 **ārya*] persons reject by all possible means [無量方便 **asaṃkhyeyopāyaiḥ*$_{\text{Tucci}}$] the one who engages in debate/dispute [諍論 *[*vi*]*vāda*]. (These intelligent and nobles persons) are always eager to keep (dispute/dialecticians) at a distance, just as one throws away a cup of poison. Moreover, the author of a treatise (on dialectics may well be) in reality flexible [調柔**karmaṇya*[*tā*]], (but) in appearance he (looks) very faulty. Therefore, if one wishes to benefit oneself as well as others, one should absolutely avoid the principles [法 **dharma*] of debate/dispute.[149]

147 The *UH (or: *Prayogasāra) was translated twice into Chinese: first before 429 CE (now lost), and then in 472 CE (see Tucci 1929a: xi, Preisendanz 2000: 236 n. 69, Kang 2003 10–11). In spite of its notoriously central importance, the *UH remains largely unstudied.

148 This is reminiscent of the VPr's opening stanza (134,3–6) *rtog ge śes pa'i ṅa rgyal gyis*, *gaṅ źig rtsod par mṅon 'dod pa. de yi ṅa rgyal spaṅ ba'i phyir*, *Źib mo rnam 'thag bśad par bya* "In order to put an end to the conceit of some who is longing for debate [**vāda*] because he fancies himself to have knowledge of dialectics [**tarka*], I shall expound the 'Pounding to Powder' [**vaidalya*]." Translation Pind 2001: 149 n. 2. On the relationship between the VPr and the *UH, see also above, n. 80, and below, §2.2.4.

149 *UH$_{\text{Ch}}$ 23b9–14 不應造論 所以者何 凡造論者 多起恚恨 憍逸貢高 自擾亂心 少柔和意 顯現他惡 自 歎己善 如斯衆過 智者所呵 是故一切諸賢聖人 無量方便 斷諍論者 常樂遠離 如捨毒器 又造論者 內實 調柔 外觀多過 是以若欲自利利人 應當捨此諍論之法。 *UH$_{\text{Tucci}}$ 3,5–12 *vādo na kartavyaḥ. kasmāt? prāyeṇa hi vādakārakāṇāṃ sañjātavipulakrodhamadamattānāṃ svayaṃ vibhrāntacittānāṃ manaso 'natimr̥dutā parapāpaprakāśakatvaṃ svapāṇḍityānumodakatvaṃ cetyādayo doṣā budhair nirbhartsitāḥ. tasmād āryajanā asaṃkhyeyopāyair vivādachedakās tatparihāraprītāś ca viṣabhājanaparityāgād iva. vāda-*

This Buddhist opponent argues for the irrelevance of dialectics on account of the defilements that are responsible for and exhibited by one's engagement in debate.[150] Let us consider the author's answer to this objection:

> It is not so. That (I) now compose this treatise (on dialectics) is not designed for competition, (personal) profit and fame. It is only out of (my) desire to point out the different characteristics of (being) right and wrong that (I) compose this treatise. If there were no (dialectical) treatises in the world, (and if, therefore,) there were many perplexed beings (in the world), then these would indulge in bad deeds (because) they are all deceived and led astray by mundane false knowledge and evil speech. (They thus would) be reborn in bad saṃsāric destinies and (finally) lose the (only) real good [i.e. *nirvāṇa*]. But if (these persons) possess a (dialectical) treatise, then they (can) judge by themselves (what is) good, (what is) wrong and (what is) emptiness, and (even) the many Māras, the outsiders, and the persons beset with false views, being able to break (their) dogmatism [惱 **pradāsa*], do not make any obstruction (any longer). Therefore, I (only) compose this sound treatise out of (my) desire to benefit the living beings. Moreover, I want to cause the good law to spread in the world. Just as, in order to cultivate the fruits of the mango trees, one plants all around (them) hedges of brambles for the purpose of protecting the (mango) fruits, in exactly the same way, that I now compose a (dialectical) treatise is (due to the fact that) I want to protect the good law, not because I am looking for fame. What has been said by you above, [i.e., that I am] good at debate/dispute, this is not so. It is because this serves to protect the good law that one should compose a (dialectical) treatise (such as the present one).[151]

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kārakāṇāṃ cāntaraṃ vastuto mṛdv api paraṃ bahir bahudoṣaṃ dṛśyate. tasmāt svahitaparahitābhilāṣiṇaite vivādadharmāḥ praheyāḥ.

150 There might be more to this objection, for revealing other peoples' faults may be interpreted as a major break against the monastic discipline and ritual procedure as they are prescribed in the Prātimokṣasūtras. The monks belonging to a given parish are advised to gather every fortnight in order to recite, in a highly ritualized way, the set of disciplinary rules governing their community. At the end of each section, the abbot or elder who is in charge of the recitation summons the attending monks to *personally* confess the faults which they might have committed against the precepts, and holds their silence to amount to their being unguilty and morally immaculate. For an example, see MPS 7,16–23 and PREBISH 1996: 53.

151 *UH$_{Ch}$ 23b14–23 不然 今造此論 不爲勝負利養名聞 但欲顯示善惡諸相故造此論 世若無論 迷惑者衆 則爲世間邪智巧辯所共誑惑 起不善業 輪迴惡趣 失眞實利 若達論者 則自分別善惡空相 衆魔外道 邪見之人 無能惱壞 作障礙也 故我爲欲利益衆生 造此正論 又欲令正法流布於世 如爲修治菴婆羅果 而外廣植荊棘之林爲防果故 今我造論 亦復如是欲護正法 不求名聞故 汝前説長諍論者 是事不然 爲護法故 故應造論。*UH$_{Tucci}$ 3,13–4,8 *maivaṃ, naiṣa vā-*

The author's legitimation strategy is striking. Far from trying to downplay the share of moral depravities in debate, he sets forth two partly intertwined lines of argument. First, debate originates in compassion toward the suffering living beings. By dismissing wrong notions, the Buddhist debater acts as a *bodhisattva* who prevents the living beings from indulging in the unwholesome actions that are responsible for future suffering in *saṃsāra*. Second, debate aims at keeping the Buddhist law safe from outward assaults, i.e., from the hostility of the Māras, the outsiders and the human beings beset with wrong views.[152] Third, issues of prozelytism are as discernable here as they are in the BoBh. To the best of my knowledge, this is unparalleled in the extant early dialectical treatises.

3.6 And indeed, the *UH teaches "how to refute opponents' syllogistic arguments in order to defend Buddhist doctrines"[153] and presents important doctrinal similarities with the pseudo-Nāgārjuna's VPr (and, to a lesser extent, the Vigrahavyāvartanī).[154] Moreover, an interesting feature of this text consists in the fact that, besides its many arguments against the proofs of the self (see especially chapter four, on *jāti*s), it contains an important "doxographical" section devoted to *siddhānta*s and reviewing the positions of the Buddhists,[155] the *Yājñikatīrthikas, the *Śābdika-

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daprārambhaḥ paribhavalābhakhyātyartho 'pi tu sulakṣaṇadurlakṣaṇopadeśecchayaiva vādasya prārambhaḥ. yadīha loke vādo na bhavet, mugdhānāṃ bāhulyaṃ syāt. tataś ca laukikamithyājñānakuśalatāsahacarabhrāntisamudbhūtakukarmabhiḥ saṃsāradurgatiḥ sadarthahāniś ca. vādāvagame tu svayaṃ sulakṣaṇadurlakṣaṇaśūnyalakṣaṇaparijñānatvāt sarve mārās tīrthikā mithyādṛṣṭimanuṣyāś ca viheṭhanāsamarthā apratibandhakārāś ca. tasmāt sattvahitecchayaiha loke saddharmasya pracārecchayā ca mayaiṣa samyagvāda ārabhyate yathāmraphalaparipuṣṭikāmena tat(*phala*)*parirakṣaṇārthaṃ bahir bahutīkṣṇakaṇṭakanikaravinyāsaḥ kriyate*, *vādārambho 'pi tathaivādhunā saddharmarakṣanecchayā na tu khyātilābhāya. yad uktaṃ* (*bhavatā*) *pūrvaṃ* [*eṣa vādo*] *vivādapravardhaka iti tad ayuktam. dharmarakṣaṇārtham eva hi vāda ārabdhavyaḥ.*

152 Māras and *tīrthika*s are associated, e.g., in the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (see YAMAMOTO 1973: 274). See also above, §2.2.2.

153 KAJIYAMA 1991: 107.

154 See KAJIYAMA 1991: 109–112.

155 See TUCCI 1929a: xi–xii (who, like Hakuju Ui before him, interpreted this *siddhānta* as an argument in favour of a Hīnayāna author of the *UH) and KAJIYAMA 1991: 107–108 (who criticises Ui's and Tucci's views and ascribes the work to Nāgārjuna).

tīrthikas, the *Bhaiṣajyas, the Vaiśeṣikas, the Sāṃkhyas, the *Yogatīrthikas, the Nirgranthas, the *Ekavāditīrthikas and the *Pṛthagvāditīrthikas.[156] Now, this extension of the doxographical and polemical scope beyond Buddhism and its sects and/or schools is a characteristic feature of the (pseudo-)Āryadeva corpus (*Śatakaśāstra, *Akṣaraśataka and T. 1645, against the outsiders' views on *nirvāṇa*),[157] a *corpus* that, according to Pind,[158] belongs to the same intellectual *milieu* as the pseudo-Nāgārjuna's VPr. Speculating a little, it is tempting to hold the *UH, the *VPr and the (pseudo-)Āryadeva *corpus* to mirror the concerns of an intellectual environment that, in sharp contradistinction to the one responsible for the HV and the AS, conceived of dialectics as an instrument for protecting Buddhism against outward hostility and actually applied it against the Nyāya (VPr[, Vigrahavyāvartanī]), the Sāṃkhya, the Vaiśeṣika and others (*Śatakaśāstra, *Akṣaraśāstra, T. 1645). Be that as it may, the *UH's legitimation strategy differs markedly from the HV's and the AS's: it recognises the detrimentality of the passions seen at work in debate, but legitimizes dialectics by appealing to compassion for the living beings deluded by false views, the safeguarding of the *saddharma* against the outsiders and the spread of Buddhism.

On the Buddhist epistemologists' self-understanding

4.1 Elaborating on materials drawn from the BoBh, the sixth-century Buddhist polymath Sthiramati straightforwardly unveils the identity of the addressees of the *hetuvidyā*: "A *bodhisattva* studies the *hetuvidyā*. He devotes himself (to it) […] in order to defeat the outsiders (*tīrthika*) who boast of knowing the *hetuvidyā*."[159] Another of Sthiramati's statements is also worth quoting in this connection:

156 See *UH$_{\text{Tucci}}$ 7,5–8,10.

157 See above, §2.2.1 and n. 45.

158 See above, §2.2.4.

159 MSAVBh *Mi* D203a6–7 *rgyu rig pa byaṅ chub sems dpa' 'tshol bar byed de* […] *rgyu rig pa'i gtsug lag śes pas r*[*lo*]*m pa'i mu stegs pa dag tshar bcad* […] [*p*]*a'i phyir brtson par byed do.*

> (Opponents) such as the outsiders state that the means of valid cognition, viz. perception and inference, are (valid) reasons establishing the self, permanence, etc.; by means of the *hetuvidyā*, (the *bodhisattva*) knows that (these outsiders) make mistakes that do not fit the means of valid cognition. By (himself resorting to) the means of valid cognition perception and inference, he defeats rival debaters such as the outsiders who criticise the law of the Buddha, and criticises the outsiders' works that teach (the existence of) the self.[160]

Sthiramati's statements are unambiguous: as the *UH's dialectics, his *hetuvidyā* pursues polemical and *apologetic* ambitions; like in the VPr and the *UH, the targets of the debating *bodhisattva* are boastful and ill-minded outsiders addicted to the belief in a self; and as in the Buddhist epistemologists, the *hetuvidyā* exhausts itself in the use of two and only two means of valid cognition, perception and inference. By the sixth century, Buddhist apologetics as a legitimation strategy (*UH) has overshadowed the didactic/catechetic model (HV, AS). This is certainly not to say that the sixth-century Buddhist philosophers followed the *UH's dialectical elaborations rather than the HV's, for the (rare) available studies point in the opposite direction. The stake is, rather, that with the dawn of the early medieval period (500–1200 CE), the sociohistorical matrix changed to such a dramatic extent that the Buddhists were forced to adapt and to react: brahmanical hostility became ubiquitous; Śaivism strongly appealed to a new class of post-Gupta sovereigns whose needs it both shaped and answered; patronage eroded with the decline of guilds and the redistribution(/redefinition) of political power; monastic concentration as well as outward hostility created new needs in terms of self-articulation and identity. In my opinion, the Buddhists' answer took two main (and at times rhetorically close) directions: first, the extremely rapid growth of the epistemological tradition (to the detriment of the purely intrabuddhistic Abhidharma), which set itself the task of neutralizing brahmanical hostility and materialist objections and arguing for the rationality of Buddhism as a salvational path; and second, the Bud-

160 MSAVBh *Tsi* D92b2–4: [*gtan tshigs rig pa*] *des ni mu stegs pa la sogs pa bdag daṅ rtag par yod pa la sogs par grub pa'i gtan tshigs* [*du*] *mṅon sum daṅ rjes su dpag pa'i tshad ma dag smra ba la tshad mar mi ruṅ ba'i ñes pa yod par rtog pa daṅ mu stegs pa la sogs pa'i phas kyi rgol ba rnams saṅs rgyas kyi chos la sun 'byin pa dag mṅon sum daṅ rjes su dpag pa la sogs pa'i tshad mas tshar gcod ciṅ mu stegs pa'i bdag tu smra ba'i gźuṅ sun 'byin par byed de.*

dhists' adoption-*cum*-adaptation of the Śaiva aesthetic, symbolic and ritual repertoire.[161]

4.2 Sthiramati's explanations bring us very close to the Buddhist epistemologists. For according to the Valabhī scholar, the *hetuvidyā*, by imparting expertise in the means of valid cognition, enables the Buddhists to refute the logico-epistemological justifications adduced by the outsiders in favour of their doctrines of self and permanence, and to neutralize their attacks on Buddhism. And according to the initial statement of the *UH, dialectics enables one to free human beings from the false views and bad actions that make them slaves to rebirth and suffering. Bringing these legitimations together, one may understand that *vāda*/*hetuvidyā* aims at refuting the philosophical justifications provided for doctrines that ensnare people and keep them away from the only soteriologically relevant path and doctrine, Buddhism. Now, this is precisely what the Buddhist epistemologists claim to do in the few passages they dedicate to the aim of their endeavour and hence to their self-understanding. Consider the final statement of Dignāga's PS:

> I composed this (work) in order to turn those who adhere to [*źen pa rnams*] the assumptions [**iṣṭa*] of the outsiders away from them, because they are worthless [**a-sāra*] since the valid cognitions [*pramāṇa*] and their objects [*prameya*] (as taught by the outsiders) are not fixed properly. However, by (doing) that much [*iyatā*] I do not aim at their introduction into the teaching of the Tathāgata, because his *dharma* is beyond the realm of logic. But those who are turned away (from the assumptions of the outsiders) can easily understand [*dharmatā*] after hearing it, as it is absent/remote (from their teaching) and present in/near to (his teaching).[162]

According to Dignāga, people are kept away from understanding the true nature of things, i.e., of what Buddhism purports to teach and to reflect,

161 See DAVIDSON 2002, SANDERSON 2009, ELTSCHINGER 2010 and ELTSCHINGER forthc. a.

162 PSV *Ce* P176b8–177a2 (Kanakavarman/Dad pa'i śes rab) *tshad ma daṅ gźal bya ñe bar brjod pa ñid kyis mu stegs pa'i 'dod pa sñiṅ po med pa'i phyir*, *der źen pa rnams ldog pa'i don du 'di brtsams pa yin gyi*, *'di tsam gyis de bźin gśegs pa'i bstan pa la gźug pa'i don du ni ma yin te*, *ldog pa las ni ston pa'i chos ñid thos nas 'bad pa med par rtogs par 'gyur te*. *bar du ma bskal ba'i phyir ro*. Translation KRASSER 2004: 134 (with "outsiders" instead of "heretics"). For a detailed discussion of the text together with Sanskrit excerpts from Jinendrabuddhi's commentary, see KRASSER 2004: 132–135.

by the outsiders' wrong notions. By refuting the unsatisfactory justifications provided for these detrimental misconceptions, the Buddhist philosophers bring these people to the threshold of Buddhism, i.e., to the point where they can profitably listen to the law. But, importantly, this does not amount to prozelytizing or teaching the path to the non-Buddhists, for the Buddhist law is beyond the reach of the kind of reasoning that is typical of epistemology. Dharmakīrti concludes the first chapter of his PVin with a remark in the same spirit:

> And it is this nature of the conventional means of valid cognition that has been explained (here. Not only with regard to the ultimate means of valid cognition, but) also with regard to this (conventional cognition), others who are confused lead the world astray. Those, however, who cultivate the very insight born of (rational) reflection realize the ultimate *pramāṇa*, which is devoid of error, immaculate (and) without return.[163]

This statement suggests that Dharmakīrti only elaborates on epistemology because dull-witted opponents develop and propagate misconceptions regarding the conventional *pramāṇa*s (*pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*). And since conventional *pramāṇa*s are instrumental in the path to liberation insofar as the insight born of rational reflection (*cintāmayī prajñā*) resorts to them,[164] Dharmakīrti considers it his duty to refute these misconceptions so that people are not laid astray. In other words, epistemology as a theoretical concern has no direct bearing on the path to salvation, but misconceived *pramāṇa*s ensure one's failure to achieve liberation, and hence epistemology is a necessary science. A symmetrical contrast may be observed in the following statement of Kamalaśīla:

> Because he is endowed with such a perfection of qualities, the Blessed One causes the world to obtain elevation and the highest good, (and) hence he is the Teacher […] Now it is by teaching dependent origination that the Blessed One causes (people) to attain (human goals) such as elevation. Indeed, (both elevation and the high-

163 PVin 1 44,1–4 *sāṃvyavahārikasya caitat pramāṇasya rūpam uktam, atrāpi pare mūḍhā visaṃvādayanti lokam iti. cintāmayīm eva tu prajñām anuśīlayanto vibhramavivekanirmalam anapāyi pāramārthikapramāṇam abhimukhīkurvanti*. Translation KRASSER 2004: 143 (slightly modified). On this passage and Dharmottara's important comments on it, see KRASSER 2004: 142–144 and ELTSCHINGER 2005: 154–162.

164 See PVṬ *Je* D252a1–2/P299a8–b1 = PVSVṬ 401,12–13 and ELTSCHINGER forthc. b: §2.2.6.

> est good originate) from the correct teaching of dependent origination. (First,) firm conviction concerning the correct relation between action and result, etc., (which is) the cause of good destinies, arises from the determination of its meaning; and (second,) the (proper) understanding of the selflessness of both the person and the factors, (which is) the cause of the highest good, arises through the sequence of hearing (the law, rationally) reflecting and (mentally) cultivating (it), for once it has arisen, nescience, (which is) the cause of *saṃsāra*, ceases, and once it has ceased, all the obstacles (consisting) of passions and (the obstacles that are screens in front of) the knowable, which are rooted in this (nescience), cease. One will therefore attain liberation due to the cessation of all obstacles […] But opponents hold dependent origination to be (provided) with wrong reasons and to rely on entities that are contradicted by valid cognitions. Therefore, both in order to show, by refuting them, that (dependent origination) has been correctly explained by the Blessed One, and in order to hint at the identity of the topics that must be dealt with by the whole treatise that is to be composed, (Śāntarakṣita) enumerates the many attributes of dependent origination as it has been explained (by the Blessed One).[165]

Epistemology serves a polemical and apologetic purpose by both refuting those who challenge Buddhist soteriology and reaffirming the pristine truth of Buddhism. But for meeting (mainly outward) objections, Śāntarakṣita could have spared himself the trouble of composing such a treatise. Learning, reflecting and meditating on dependent origination in order to realize the two types of selflessness is indeed enough to ensure liberation.

4.3 Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and Kamalaśīla hold epistemology (i.e., the composition of treatises such as the PS, the PVin and the TS) to answer polemical needs: in the case of Dignāga, doctrinal assumptions relying on biased philosophical justifications; in the case of Dharmakīrti, misconceptions as to the conventional *pramāṇa*s; in the case of Kamalaśīla,

165 TSP$_{K}$ 10,12–23/TSP$_{Ś}$ 13,1–12 [*t*]*athābhūtaguṇasampadyogād abhyudayaniḥśreyasaprāpaṇato jagataḥ śāstā bhavati bhagavān* […] *pratītyasamutpādadeśanayā cābhyudayādisamprāpako bhagavān. tathā hy aviparītapratītyasamutpādadeśanātas tadarthāvadhāraṇāt sugatihetur aviparītakarmaphalasambandhādisampratyaya upajāyate. pudgaladharmanairātmyāvabodhaś ca niḥśreyasahetuḥ śrutacintābhāvanākrameṇotpadyate. tadutpattau hy avidyā saṃsārahetur nivartate. tannivṛttau ca tanmūlaṃ sakalaṃ kleśajñeyāvaraṇaṃ nivartata iti sakalāvaraṇavigamād apavargasamprāptir bhavati* […] *sa cāyaṃ pratītyasamutpādaḥ parair viṣamahetuḥ pramāṇavyāhatapadārthādhikaraṇaś ceṣyate. atas tannirāsena yathāvad eva bhagavatokta iti darśanārthaṃ vakṣyamāṇasakalaśāstrapratipādyārthatattvopakṣepārthaṃ ca bahūnāṃ yathoktapratītyasamutpādaviśeṣaṇānām upādānam* […].

objections raised against dependent origination. All of them are thus well in tune with the purpose ascribed by the BoBh, the MSA[Bh] and the *UH to the *hetuvidyā*, viz., to defeat opponents. Kamalaśīla's statement, moreover, strongly echoes the claim that dialectics is aimed at defending the Buddhist law. Furthermore, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and Kamalaśīla agree in denying epistemology any soteriological value provided one is not under the sway of epistemological misconceptions. Finally, the three of them consider the traditional sequence of insights as a self-sufficient means for securing enlightenment once the wrong notions spread and argued for by the outsiders have been discarded. We should be wary not to conclude, from the above statements of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, that these authors disregarded apologetics. For as Dignāga makes clear while commenting on the *maṅgalaśloka* of the PS, his aim is both to discard his opponents' (accounts of the) *pramāṇa*s and to establish the Buddhist ones. But whereas Dignāga limited the scope of his polemics to logico-epistemological issues (although we know nearly nothing of his Parīkṣ-ās), Dharmakīrti broadened it to all possible issues including ontology, linguistic theory, dialectics proper, scriptural authority, and covered the whole array of the non-Buddhist (and at times even Buddhist) systems: Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Vyākaraṇa, Jainism, Śaivism, Materialism. More importantly, however, Dharmakīrti sought to defend Buddhism as a salvational path and method by rebutting the arguments of the two schools that insisted on its irrationality and hence impossibility: against Materialism, Dharmakīrti demonstrated the possibility of rebirth (*punarbhava*, *paraloka*) and hence of the time span necessary for the Buddhist *yogin* to achieve liberation;[166] against the Mīmāṃsā, Dharmakīrti demonstrated the possibility, for human beings engaged in religious practice, to develop mental qualities such as compassion (*karuṇā*, *dayā*, *kṛpālutā*) and insight (*prajñā*, *vipaśyanā*) to their maximum degree of intensity.[167] In other words, apologetics on behalf of Buddhism as a religious system constitutes an essential part – I would even say the central part – of Dharmakīrti's endeavour. To be sure, apologetics does not amount to proselytism, an important concern of earlier normative statements regarding *vāda/hetuvidyā*. And indeed, I am aware of no statement, in the Buddhist epistemologists, to the effect that this intellectual

166 See FRANCO 1997: 95–132 and TABER 2003.
167 See FRANCO 1997: 6–8 and ELTSCHINGER 2011.

tradition could have developed with a view to increase the number of the Buddhist devotees. At this point, we should be cautious not to imagine the Buddhist "logicians" as wandering debaters or even preachers making use of their undisputable dialectical skills in order to convert huge masses of "heretics," as the Chinese, Tibetan and probably even Indian hagiographies would have us believe.[168] I am much more inclined to see them as institution-based *literati* specialized in Buddhist apologetics, i.e., responsible for the Buddhist answer to outward criticism of a philosophical order. *As epistemologists*, these intellectuals were neither dogmaticians nor missionaries: no more than they ever championed a new Buddhist path, did they seek to proselytize the non-Buddhists.

Conclusion

The Buddhist *sūtra* literature is unambiguous: inasmuch as they originate in views and testify to one's defilements, disputes of any kind are detrimental to salvation and should be as carefully avoided as the ethically transgressive forms of speech they give rise to. These strong canonical reservations did not prevent the Buddhists from indulging in disputes. Of these contentions, we do not know the rules and modalities, but we can surmise that they were overwhelmingly directed against coreligionists – something which an abundant Buddhist *ex post facto* prophetic and apocalyptic literature was soon to reflect as a sign of the imminent demise of the *saddharma*. The Buddhist dialectical traditions are likely to have developed against this background. The earliest extant documents can be dated to the fourth century CE (at the latest). They testifiy to the fact that by that time, the Buddhist dialecticians were still striving for institutional recognition by elaborating self-legitimation strategies that reflect a clear awareness of the canonical prohibitions. Some legitimated their branch of knowledge by excluding disputation and presenting it as a didactic/catechetic methodology that would help fellow Buddhists reach salvational knowledge, mental concentration and liberation. Others decided to legitimate dialectics by conceding that disputation originated in

168 See *Traité* II.621–623 and 636–640, BRONKHORST 2007b and CABEZÓN 2008.

defilements *but* arguing that debate, provided it is motivated by compassion, helped the persons beset with soteriologically harmful views get rid of them; moreover, debate was to be recommended as a powerful apologetic instrument in order to keep Buddhism safe from the outsiders' attacks. Although I am inclined to regard the HV as slightly anterior to the *UH, I would refrain from any kind of chronological conclusions. In my opinion, these strongly diverging legitimation strategies are more likely to reflect different needs, interests, circumstances and environments: rather conservative and soteriologically oriented early Yogācāra circles in the case of the HV, and a milieu that stood in closer interaction with its non-Buddhist environment in the case of the *UH (and the VPr). Less than two centuries later, the Buddhist epistemologists also made the outsiders the principal addressees of their polemical and apologetic endeavours, thus breaking with the didactic/catechetic strategy in spite of an ubiquitous wish to provide the Buddhist dogmas (momentariness, selflessness, the two truths, etc.) with rational justifications. In their self-understanding, their treatises were meant, first and foremost, to oppose the outsiders' misconceptions about the means of valid cognition. And since the means of valid cognition are all that is required in order to achieve liberation, freeing others from epistemological misconceptions is tantamount to bringing them to the threshold of the Buddhist path. Whatever the environments in which the HV and the *UH originated, there is every reason to believe that the rise of Buddhist epistemology and the concomitant decline of Abhidharma can be accounted for as Buddhist answers to new challenges of a non-philosophical character. Far from reflecting the transition between a 'systematic' and a 'post-systematic period' (a mere *description* that does not *explain* anything), these literary phenomena are witnessess to a historical matrix that compelled many Buddhist intellectuals to turn intrasectarian doctrinal elaboration and self-articulation to apologetics on behalf of Buddhism as a whole. In other words, the close of what Schopen has termed the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism, an era of compromise with the non-Buddhist environment, coincided with the dawn of the Early Medieval Period and the concomitant political reformulation, economic pressure, competition for patronage, Śaiva dominance and overall hostility towards the non-brahmanical traditions.

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*UH_{Ch} = **Upāyahṛdaya* (or: **Prayogasāra*), Chinese version. T. 1632, Vol. 32, 23b1–28c17.

*UH_{Tucci} = Tucci's retranslation of *UH_{Ch} into Sanskrit. See TUCCI 1929a.

Vin I = Hermann OLDENBERG (ed.), *The Vinayapiṭakam. One of the Principal Buddhist Scriptures in the Pâli Language. Vol. I: The Mahâvagga*, London: Luzac & Company, LTD., Pali Text Society, 1969. [1st ed. 1879.]

VinSg = *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* of the Yogācārabhūmi. P no. 5539, *Zi* 1b1–*'i* 142b8.

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HARRY FALK

Small-Scale Buddhism

1. Small Sites

In the following paragraphs I will be presenting two inscriptions on Bodhisattvas of the so-called *kapardin* type,[1] which marks the beginning of Buddhist plastic art at Mathura. When speaking of the forms of Buddhism of the first and second centuries AD we think of monasteries, of *stūpa*s, of caves near ancient cities. There, we find monks conversant with the texts we also know, i.e. those found in the "three baskets." In some or many of these monasteries Mahāyāna *sūtra*s also were composed and taught. Everything pertaining to this literary sphere has been the subject of academic research again and again.

Another sphere is represented by the earliest pieces of Buddhist plastic art. None of the early *kapardin* statues were attestedly found inside a brick monastery, although such findspots are deducible from some epigraphs (HÄRTEL 1995: 39). Nonetheless, a monastery is no essential prerequisite for a Buddhist image. I will present here material which forces us to imagine what sort of Buddhism was practiced outside the monasteries, in the villages where the majority of people lived and still live.

We know that the monks roamed the countryside outside the rainy season. While wandering and begging they would arrive in the villages. Did they leave the villages without trying to convince the people of the superiority of Buddhist thinking? What happened if they succeeded in finding admirers and followers of the Buddha? Even 'converted' villagers had grown up with religious habits; they used to go to the woods and groves to do *pūjā* to holy trees or to rocks or caves seen as a meeting-

1 The term *kapardin* was introduced by COOMARASWAMY (1928: 829). I regard it as a severe misnomer, but will be using it without quotation marks or a prefixed "so-called" for convenience sake. However, I prefer "*uṣṇīṣin*" for reasons presented in the following paragraphs.

point with the *devī* or Śiva. Apart from annual festivals, such a *pūjā* was and still is a rather private affair. This is what Günter-Dietz SONTHEIMER (1989, 1995) described as "folk religion," in full swing side-by-side with Vedic religion, sharing at least one notion: holy sites are located outside the settlement. Indra is given a Soma sacrifice away from the village, and the *devī* rock requires a liminal phase of walking before it is reached in the jungle. Some of the material presented below seems to indicate that Buddhist monks did not change much in this regard, but encouraged the villagers to set up a simple stone bench, called "seat" (*āsana*) for the Buddha, somewhere outside the village, to have a local focus for their new conviction. Such seats, simple stone benches, could be visited after the same customary liminal walk, they could be venerated with flowers, and there the same age-old prayers for health, children or riches could be formulated, if thought necessary.

2. The *kapardin* Symbolism

The earliest Buddhist plastic art at Mathura depicts a male figure, identified as *bodhisatva*[2] in accompanying epigraphs. It sits on a lion throne with the flat left hand or, more often, the fist placed tightly on the thigh close to the knee. Both forms of the hand prevent the open palm from being seen. The right hand is raised and turned 45° towards the observer. H. HÄRTEL (1985: 667) christened this *mūdra* '*vyāvr̥tta*.' As noted by Härtel, this *mūdra* is not particularly Buddhist; it is also used in Mathura art with Ś iva standing attached to a *liṅga* (KREISEL 1986, figs. 11, 12, 66a, 102), by Durgā (GANDHARA: 161 no. 113), Lakṣmī (GANDHARA: 117 no. fig. 2), Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni or Kārttikeya (ASTHANA 1999: 13f, 33, 46, 47). In most cases the stone between the back of the hand and the body is not removed but left, decorated on the outside by a pattern of intersecting lines.

2 This is the orthography in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī. Etymologically, the suffix *tva* presupposes a noun and not a root, so that only *sat-tva* can be correct. Scribes, however, usually reduce a geminated consonant to a simple one before a third consonant.

The head of each such *kapardin* Bodhisattva is not shaven, at least not completely, as some sort of tuft or bun is rather prominent on top of the crown. The borders of hair growth around the head are sketched by a line, similar to the depiction of shaven monks. Never is hair outside the tuft indicated by straight or undulating lines, in contrast to the hair of his bystanders.

What did such a Bodhisattva statue mean to a visitor in the first century, when he was confronted with it for the first time? We will never know for sure, but his eye will certainly have fallen on three items, the hair-bun, the raised right hand and the closed left hand resting on the knee. How would an onlooker interpret these items?

We know by now that the so-called Mahāyana Buddhism was already flourishing in this first century. A look into Mahāyāna literature provides some lists which connect each of the Bhagavān's body parts with a higher meaning. According to the Avadānaśataka, whenever the Bhagavān is expounding on certain topics some mobile lights take refuge in his body parts. Speaking of past and future deeds will move them to his back or front, speaking of creatures of hell, animals, ghosts and humans will bring them to the soles of his feet, to their flank, to the big toes and the knees; speaking of "the rule of a *cakravartin* based on force" (*balacakravartirājya*) will bring them to the palm of his left hand (*vāme karatale*), expounding on a simple "rule of a cakravartin" (*cakravartirājya*) will make them appear in the palm of his right hand (*dakṣiṇe karatale*). When speaking of becoming a king, the navel will shine. The topic of *śrāvakabodhi* will enlighten his face (*āsya*), speaking of *pratyekabodhi* will move the lights to his *ūrṇā*, and, finally, the highest *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* will brighten his *uṣṇīṣa*.

If we connect these ideas with the sandstone statues from Mathura we can explain some of their features in a cogent way: the left hand would symbolise "worldrulership through force" (*balacakravartirājya*). In that it rests closed on his leg, the figure indicates that force is not one of the means used by a Bodhisattva.[3]

3 This must be compared to the left hand hidden in the sleeve as seen in some depictions of Huviṣka. ERRINGTON (2002: 103f.) cites Iranian parallels of Achaemenid and Sasanian times. For Huviṣka as an adherent of Mahāyāna Buddhism cf. SALOMON 2002.

The right hand, however, is open, indicating a "worldrulership," obviously "without force." This symbolism of the visible right palm perfectly applies as well to the other non-Buddhist divinities mentioned above, viz. Śiva, Indra, Viṣṇu and several female divinities as well; none of them is notoriously ferocious. The question as to whether this symbolism of the right hand as used by the Mathura stone masons was a pan-Indian idea, or if other religious groups copied it from the Buddhists cannot be answered at present.[4]

Only the Mathura Bodhisattvas display what is called a *kaparda* by art-historians. Deities of other Indian religions all do without it. It goes without saying that a hidden meaning of *samyaksambodhi* goes perfectly well with the nature of a Bodhisattva. However, the said Mahāyana texts never speak of a *kaparda*, but only of an *uṣṇīṣa*, a term used by later Mahāyāna texts as well as by modern art-historians for the hemispherical protuberance on the Śākyamuni's head. The said Mahāyāna texts certainly may also consider this protrusion, or something else, more in line with the original meaning.

Already in Vedic parlance, an *uṣṇīṣa* is a piece of cloth to be wrapped around the head. The *uṣṇīṣa* of the ominous Vrātya of the Atharvaveda (15.2.1–4) symbolises the day, whereas his hair (*keśa*) represents the night. With an *uṣṇīṣa* a man is blindfolded in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa (*uṣṇīṣeṇākṣyau apinehus*, 6.1.4); blindfolded this way he is called *uṣṇīṣin* in the Kauśītakibrāhmaṇa (29.1.22). The cloth can be made from linen (*kṣauma*, Bhāradvājaśrautasūtra 10.16.11), and it is of such a size that it can be wrapped thrice around the whole head (*triḥ pradakṣiṇaṃ śiraḥ samukhaṃ veṣṭayitvā*, Āpastambaśrautasūtra 5.12). Nowhere in Vedic parlance does *uṣṇīṣa* denote a protuberance of the head[5] or any sort of hair-style.[6]

4 Since the left and right hand make a complementary pair in the depiction of the Mathura Bodhisattva and all the Hindu deities with their right hand raised give no attention to the state of their left hand, it is tempting to think of the Buddhist concept as the basic one, only partly understood by the copyists.

5 Only the Vaikhānasamantrapraśna lists *uṣṇīṣāya svāhā* amongst body parts. Being preceded by *maulimālā*, *ratna* and *makuṭa*, it will also be here nothing but an ornament.

6 VAJRACHARYA rightly stresses the symbolism of hair and shaved heads, pointing (2007: 24) at Suttanipāta 454 (read 456) and Saṃyuttanikāya 1.167 (read 1.195) demonstrating that for some of the earliest authors the Śākyamuni had a shaved

What is an *uṣṇīṣa* in Buddhist texts? In the Pali literature "such an important *lakṣaṇa* as the *uṣṇīṣa* is not even mentioned" (VERARDI 1999–2000: 73 n. 39). In Mahāyāna texts, however, it can denote a cloth or a protuberance. A protuberance is definitely found in the comparatively late Lalitavistara (LEFMANN 1902: 105) and in the Arthaviniścayasūtra where an *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa* or *uṣṇīṣaśiraska* is counted as a *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*. The old type of "head-cloth" is found in the Divyāvadāna (VAIDYA 1959: 91) and in the Mahāvastu 1.259f., which name it first as one of the five *kakuda*s, "symbols of royalty," that Bimbisāra takes off when approaching the Buddha, without however hinting at the mode of their usage. The *uṣṇīṣa* comes along with the parasol (*chattra*), the "horn jewel" (*khaḍgamaṇi*), the fly-whisk (*vālavyañjana*) and two shiny sandals (*citre upānahau*). Bimbisāra removes all of them.[7]

So it seems obvious that kings and only kings are entitled to wear an *uṣṇīṣa*, which, while being removable, can only be a head-cloth.

What do we see when we look at a Mathura Bodhisattva of the *kapardin* type? Does he wear a head-cloth or does he possess a protuberance? Neither, is the traditional view, which was based on the presence of a tuft of hair in the midst of a shaven scalp.[8] Apart from the 'tuft,' a borderline around the head indicates where hair would normally be growing. Since above this line the head can be massively thicker than the underlying skull, J. N. BANERJEA (1931) took this enlarged part to be plain hair, ending in the tuft. He observed that there was no striation indicating the hair and that this omission had led all earlier scholars astray. Without his mentioning Banerjea, something similar is expressed by

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head too. His idea that the Buddha received a hair-bun to avoid "the inauspicious sights of the shorn head of the great teacher" (25) sounds attractive; however, when he maintains that an *uṣṇīṣa* was a hair-style identical with the *kaparda* his argument suffers from a gross neglect of philological principles. His (*op. cit.* p. 29) interpretation of Āpastambaśrautasūtra 18.14.1–4 is telling: The text only says that according to some teachers the *yajamāna* will not receive just two items to be wrapped around his body, but also an *uṣṇīṣa* as a third. This can optionally be wrapped around his head, *śirasi voṣṇīṣam*. Vajracharya's renders this as "The hair-knot also is ushnisha."

7 The Milindapañha, definitely influenced by conditions of the North-West, knows the very same parts marks of a *kṣatriya* of old, viz. a white umbrella (*setacchattaṃ*), an *uṣṇīṣa* (*uṇahīsa*), sandals (*pādukā*), the fly-whisk (*vāḷavījanī*), the pointed crystal (*khaggaratanaṃ*), adding the costly throne (*mahārahāni ca sayanāni*).

8 For adherents of this view prior to his time cf. BANERJEA 1931: 505.

HÄRTEL (1985: 665) who saw a head which was "covered by tightening the hair together in a spiral scroll."

I see something different: there is neither a shaved scalp around the 'tuft,' nor is there unshaved hair without striation, but a cloth is wrapped smoothly around the head, covering the hair completely, and hiding a top hair knot inside the 'tuft.' Thread is wound around the top bun, which was mistaken for hair itself. This view can be substantiated by looking at any of the so-called '*kapardin* Buddhas,' who should rather be called '*uṣṇīṣin* Bodhisattvas,' since they wear a head-cloth (*uṣṇīsa*), and do not sport a looped hair-bun (*kaparda*), as does Śiva,[9] or his alter ego Śarva, in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa 47.55 (VAIDYA 1964: 409).

A perfect example of this hair covered by a cloth can be studied at the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, accession number I 6, on display. Only the head remains of the figure (see Figure 1 on p. 510). Because of the encased hair, the cloth swells almost one cm above the skull. The artist gave each side above the temples two slanting lines to indicate folds in the tissue. The bun maintains its shape due to a thread wound around the hair-knot.[10]

There is no need to expect a change in the meaning of *uṣṇīṣa* at this time, during the first century AD. The old term still denotes nothing but a head-cloth, worn the way young Sikh boys wear it to this day (see Figure 2 on p. 511). This head-cloth has a certain history. It was used to cover the hair for a so-called Phrygian head-dress, which is not confined to Phrygia, but also found in Thracia. Some of Alexander's soldiers wore it, as is shown on the so-called Alexander sarcophagus now in the Istanbul Museum. This head-cloth owes its shape to the habit of creating a top bun with the hair. Hair and bun were then covered by a piece of cloth, and over all this the helmet was worn. Hair and cloth made a perfect buffer zone between scull and metal helmet. At some places the wrapped cloth was replaced by a sewn cloth or a pointed bonnet. Possibly for funerary purposes (ADAM 1982: 22) such a head-cloth coverage was also replicated in metal. Pieces from Southern Italy date back to early Hel-

9 COOMARASWAMY (1928: 829) was fully aware of this, but tried to do away with the contradiction from the start by saying that iconography is more obliged to time and place than to sectarian styles (1928: 816).

10 YALDIZ *et al.* 2000: 17 no. 15 with figure. The text explains the bodily features rather differently.

lenistic times. One famous piece, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, acc. no. 2023 (see Figure 3 on p. 512), was most likely unearthed in Herculaneum and shows the head-cloth tight around the scull and somewhat looser around the bun (ADAM 1982: 8). The sunken parts in the bun section on top correspond perfectly to the depiction of hair-buns as found, e.g., in the hair-style of Maitreya (see Figure 4 on p. 513). The Phrygian hair-style was also known in Gandhara, where we find Mithra-Helios wearing a pointed bonnet on the copper coinage of Amyntas and Hermaios, both living during the first part of the first century BC. While the Mithra-Helios of Amyntas displays nothing but the helmet with ray-like protrusions, Hermaios possesses two types, one showing only the textile bonnet, and the other one, the helmet with the protrusions (see Figure 5 on p. 513). The combination of bonnet and crown can be seen on the coinage of Ardashir I; the combination of cloth and helmet is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, 8.38.29, where the cut head of a warrior falls down onto to the earth "including his *uṣṇīṣa* and helmet."[11] The top-knot of hair, uncovered for obvious reasons, marks the royal children of the Śibis, as can be seen on the eastern gate at Sanchi, where the Vessantarajātaka is depicted. So, the mark of a Mathura Bodhisattva is not a hair-bun itself, but a head-cloth covering it, removable if necessary.[12]

The other mark of a *cakravartin* is the white umbrella. It seems to be present on the early Mathura Bodhisattvas as a round object in the back of the figure, with the fringe flaps placed concentrically inside, the whole object usually termed 'halo,' another misnomer at least for the earliest phase. This origin of the Bodhisattva's halo seems to have been forgotten soon after, but the formulaic description of the head of the newly born Śākyamuni as showing "a head like an umbrella"[13] to my mind still

11 8.38.28b *soṣṇīṣam saśirastrāṇam kṣurapreṇa anvapātayat, tatśiraḥ prāpatad bhūmau śyenāhṛtam ivāmiṣam.*

12 Shortly later in the time of Huviṣka, when the Bodhisattva statues were replaced by images of the Buddha, the head-bun below the *uṣṇīṣa* was re-interpreted, possibly as fancifully as later by KRAMRISCH. For her (1935: 155), the *uṣṇīṣa*, "far from being a turban […] is no thing. It is an emblem and it refers to the super-sensible. It has no prototype in nature." In 1936: 79 it is still an "invisible psychic protuberance," which she now relates to yogic practices.

13 *chatrākāraśira*, found copiously in the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, Manjuśrīmūlakalpa and in the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya; later also in

alludes to it, as the phrase regards the halo as an integral part of the 'head.' While the sitting Bodhisattvas have an 'inbuilt' umbrella, the standing ones come without this 'halo' and enjoy the use of an umbrella as a separate construction in their back. The inside of Bala's umbrella at Sarnath clearly shows the fringe flaps in outline (BACHHOFER 1929 pl. 79).

A "horn jewel" (*khaḍgamaṇi*), i.e. a rock crystal, usually called *vajra*,[14] is present in the hand of the figure on the left, generally wearing a lion's skin on his back. This figure is occasionally mistaken for Heracles himself, but it should be kept in mind that lion skins were worn in the style of Heracles by the Pretorian guards of Roman emperors, as depicted several times on Trajan's column in Rome (CICHORIUS 1896–1900). The figure is thus nothing but a body-guard, necessary to displaying an essential *kakuda*, which has no place in the hands of the Bodhisattva.

Next amongst the *kakuda*s, the flywhisk (*vāḷavyañjana*) is held by the figure on the right, who shows no signs of being a soldier, but rather belongs to the guard of honour. This figure owes its existence to the same necessity, that of displaying an *insignia* of the main figure.

The only item of the five *kakuda*s not displayed is the sandals, whereas the throne mentioned in the Milindapañha is a standard requisite.

Kṣemendras Avadānakalpalatā. For this and the variant *chatranibha-mūrdhan*, *chatrākṛtiśīrṣan* cf. COOMARASWAMY 1938: 5ff, who looks for a rather esoteric solution for the phrase. The halo is called *chattrākāraṃ vartulaṃ* in the Garuḍapurāṇa 3.26.84. Indra has a "lovely white umbrella with a golden handle-stick" in Mbh 3.44.17ab (*pāṇḍureṇa ātapatreṇ a hemadaṇḍena cāruṇā*), which shows that the phrase *pāṇḍureṇa ātapatreṇ a dhriyamāṇena mūrdhani*, frequent in the Mbh, refers to an umbrella carried *at* or *near* his head, not *on* his head.

14 Although a rock crystal is no *vajra* of the Gandharan type, the term is not completely incorrect, as *vajramaṇi* is another term for *khaḍgamaṇi*. The first term is usually translated as "diamond" and occurs often in a series with gold, silver, pearl and coral, e.g. in the Arthaśāstra. The latter term occurs together with gold, silver and wood in the Śrāddhasū tra, an appendix to the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra, as the material out of which cups (*pātra*) can be made. Since diamonds are not large enough for cups, "rock crystal" is certainly more likely for the production of a *khaḍgamaṇi*. Quite a number of reliquary cups made from rock crystal are known. Both terms are *upamānapūrvapadakarmadhārayas*, "precious stone like a *vajra/*a rhino's horn."

There can be no doubt: a *kapardin* Bodhisattva from Mathura is presented as a *cakravartin*, displayed with all but one of the said *kakuda*s of a monarch. His concealed left hand palm demonstrates his abstention from *bala*, his open right hand marks him as a true *cakravartin*, and the *uṣṇīṣa* in its second function links him to *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*. HÄRTEL (1985) realised the truly royal nature of this Bodhisattva, without even taking recourse to the texts.

This explanation of a *kapardin* Bodhisattva makes it perfectly clear that this figure is not Buddha Śākyamuni, who would never have touched the *insignia* of a king. The sitting as well as the standing Bodhisattvas (HÄRTEL 1985: 669) do not show the Śākyamuni Buddha, but, in a way, the principle behind him. Härtel expressed this idea somewhat vaguely in 1985: 677, diluting it on the final page by talking about "Cakravartin and Buddha in one timeless form". He separated Śākyamuni and Bodhisattva more explicitly in his 1995 article, which, unfortunately is read much less, so that TADDEI in all earnest could again speak of the "Mathura *kapardin* Buddhas" (2008: 5a). In 1996 HÄRTEL himself seems to have given up the distinction, when he called the Mathura Bodhisattva "the Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa" (1996: 104). Instead, we see *uṣṇīṣin* Bodhisattvas, displaying *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* through their headgear, being recognized as a "*bodhi*-being" and as a peaceful *cakravartin* at the same time. In short, we perceive the allegory of a Mahāyāna concept. This concept was given up in the early years of Huviṣka, when instead of an abstract Bodhisattva the artists produced the human Śākyamuni 'Buddha,' devoid of royal *insignia* and acolytes. Both types are not variants of each other, but two separate beings, with the Śā kyamuni inheriting two misunderstood *insignia* of the Bodhisattva, the *uṣṇīṣa* and the 'halo.'

Before we can return to these images, we need to inspect some of their inscriptions.

3. The Kapardin Buddha in the Langen Collection

The Maria and Viktor Langen Collection, Ascona, houses one of the finest sitting Bodhisattva images of the *kapardin*-type. It is 129 cm high and 77 cm wide. It was first shown by H. HÄRTEL (1985: 662 fig. 8), and almost simultaneously presented in a tiny picture by St. J. CZUMA (1985: 227, no. 9) and recently published as a full page figure by U. WIESNER (2004: 45 fig. 5; 2005: 23).

It is inscribed in two lines on the upper and lower tiers framing the sockle frieze, which shows five monks in *kaṭhina* cloth and one donor, in groups of three to the left and right of a *dharmacakra* on a stand. This pedestal was reproduced by Satya SHRAVA (1993: 63f. no. 71) as an illustration for a first full reading of the text, which claims to be based on an article of B. N. Mukherji who saw the piece "during a visit to Europe." The said article cannot be traced and may never have appeared. The reading presented by Satya Shrava is so far off the mark that we may doubt if Mukherji ever saw the piece himself, or if he was trying to make sense of a blurry photograph. He read, according to Satya Shrava:

> 1: *huvaṣkasya sa*[*ṃ*] *30 1 gṛ 2 di 5 etasya pūrvāye lakṣasya mahasya sajjha-vihārasya bhikṣusya buddhasamisya dānaṃ*
> 2: *alasatyaputa māp*[*u*]*ta…saha mātāpitrihi saha upadhyaya-ācaryyaḥ* [*i*]*sama budhaba* [*va*]*jaye bhavatu*
> Year 31 of [i.e. during the reign] of Huvashka, the second month of *grīṣma* or the summer season and the 5th day. On this date [this image] is the gift of monk Budasami of the Sajjha *vihāra* [i.e. founded by Mama], who is worthy of a *lakh* (given) together with Alasatya's son Miputa […], together with the parents, (and) together with [*sama*] *upādhyāya-āchāryas*. Let it be for the victory of the Buddha.

How a person becomes "worthy of a *lakh*" would be interesting from a cultural point of view; however, this word does not exist, as so many others offered in this "edition," which certainly does not merit the name.

Herbert Härtel seems to have given a translation to WIESNER, who takes recourse (2005: 46) to an oral communication amounting to "this representation of a Bodhisattva was installed by a monk called Bṛddhasvāmi and others." This does away with one of Mukherjee's severest blunders, but leaves many details unmentioned.

Since the published parts did not allow a reliable reading, the piece was visited while on display at the Joest-Rautenstrauch Museum at Cologne in early 2006. The letters proved to be very carefully incised, presenting no difficulty at all to the reader. The text reads without any spaces:

> 1: *huveṣkasya sa 30 1 gr̥ 2 di 5 etasya purvāye bhikṣusya mamasya sajjhavihārisya bhikṣusya būddhiśarmasya dānaṃ*
> 2: *bodhisatvapratimā pr(a)t(i)ṣṭhāpitā saha mātāpitr̥hi saha upajhyaya-ācaryyehi sarvabudhapujāye bhavatu.*
> In the year 31 of Huviṣka, second month of the *grīṣma*-season [late February until late June], on day 5, at this date this donation of the monk Buddhaśarman, himself roommate of monk Mama, was installed as a representation of the Bodhisattva. (This donation was effected) together with his mother and father, together with his teachers and supervisors. May it be for the worship of all Buddhas.

Remarks on the orthography

The *anusvāra* is used only once, in *dānaṃ*. In other cases (*sa*, *etasya*) it is left out.

Here again, the signs for the medial long and short *u*/*ū* are used at random: *purvāye* and *pujāye* instead of *pūrvāye* and *pūjāye*, but *būddhi-śarmasya* instead of *buddhaśarmasya*. The *u* is correct in *sarvabudha*. The stroke for long *ā* was left out in *upajhyaya*.

The scribe is not consistent with regard to gemination. He writes *būddhiśarmasya*, but *budhapujāye*. He doubles after *r* in *ācaryyahi*, but not in *purvāye*, *būddhiśarmasya* or *sarvabudhapujāye*.

Remarks on the language

The language is in line with other texts of that period, producing a kind of Sanskrit with lots of Prakritic elements, described by DAMSTEEGT (1978) in full detail. Some words deserve particular attention:

mama: The licence regarding gemination may explain this personal name, which probably has to be taken as Mamma, as attested to several times in the Rājataraṅginī, i.e. in a text from the North-West, although some centuries later. Also from the North comes a male or female *mama*

as found at Gichi Nala (no. 161:3 in BANDINI-KÖNIG & VON HINÜBER 2001: 295), and one *maṃmadatta* on the so-called Asorāya Bodhisattva, long misread as *momadata* (FALK 2009: 560). South of Mathura a lady Mammā is mentioned in a Nasik cave inscription (SENART 1905/06: 93 no. 23).

būddhiśarma: To be understood as *buddhaśarma*, this name is not found in Mathura inscriptions so far, but has nothing unusual about it.

upajhyaya: There is one very curious spelling choice in *upajhyaya*, Skt. *upādhyāya*, "teacher," a ligature *jhya* being otherwise absolutely unknown to early Indian epigraphs. The palatalisation of clusters consisting of an initial dental and a closing *y* is a common phenomenon, not confined to Indian vernaculars. So, the attested spellings *upajhāya* (LÜDERS 1961, no. 80) or *upajhava* on the Russek Bodhisattva (FUSSMAN 1988: 7), presuppose this sound change, whereas in our *upajhyaya* we see a palatalisation with retention of the triggering *y*, a very curious combination indeed.

sajjhevihāri: The letter *jh* is not very common in Mathura epigraphs and our scribe seems to have developed a certain affinity for it, since besides *upajhyaya* he again uses it in *sajjhevihārisya*, where it is quite appropriate, in that *jjha* replaces *dhya* by the same palatalision process, a *dhya* which is found quite often in a standard, non-prakritised from *sadhyevihāri-sya*, as on the *kapardin* Buddha at the Kimbell Art Museum (FUSSMAN 1988: 6), or on a dedicatory slab (FALK 2000: 32), apart from the simplified *sajhivihārenā* (FUSSMAN 1988: 7).

Remarks on the text

This piece presents the date and donor in the first line and the name of the figure, *bodhisattva*, and general blessings in the second, including the Buddhas. There seems to have been a rule observed in some workshops, in that the scribes would begin the second line with the definition of the depicted figure: here it is *bodhisatva* and the line starts with this word. The same line-start is found on other pieces of the *kapardin* type, e.g. on the piece in the Kimbell Art Museum (Kaniṣka year 4; 2: *bodhisatvo pratisthāpito*) and on the piece from Sonkh (Kaniṣka year 23; 2: *bodhisatvaṃ pratiṣṭhāpayati*; LÜDERS 1961, no. 136). In addition, we have a pedestal of an undefinable type of Buddha found at Chaubara mound,

Mathura (Satya SHRAVA 1993: XX no. 134) from the year 79, where line 2 starts with *bodhisattvapratimā*.

Putting the denomination at the beginning of a line seems to express some sort of respect. The earliest and most striking example is the Bodhisattva of the year Kaniṣka 3 financed by monk Bala, made in Mathura and erected at Sarnath. It has three inscriptions; the first one on the front-side of the pedestal names the *bodhisattva* at the beginning of the second part of the first line, after a large blank interval. The second one on the back of the statue names the *bodhisattva* at the beginning of the third and last line; the inscription on the accompanying umbrella staff names him at the beginning of the fourth line. There would have been many other ways to phrase the sentence or to write the words, however placing the term *bodhisatva* at the beginning was regarded by this scribe as being better than any place else.

If this was a widely known and observed rule, it would allow us to expect the existence of other rules as well, common to the different workshops at Mathura, connected possibly by orders from the palace.

4. A Sitting Bodhisattva at the Mathura Museum

Under acc. no. 74.26, the lower part of a sitting Bodhisattva was received at the Mathura Museum in 1974. The upper tier is supported by three lions and the text is found on the front side of the upper tier, between the left and the middle lion in one line, and between the middle and the right lion in another two. This text was published twice by R. C. SHARMA (1989: 313; 1995: 170 n. 42), both times mentioning the help received from the renowned epigraphist K. K. Thaplyal. A picture is found in SHARMA 1995, as fig. 78. During fieldwork in 2006 this piece was studied at the Mathura Museum, with the friendly support of the director and his staff.[15] It was found that the text as published is neither

15 Such almost abraded texts can only be read on the original stone, at close range, feeling the groves with one's fingers. We were allowed to moisten the stone repeatedly and we took a series of photographs while the water was evaporating. Without these close-up photographs the final reading would not have been possible.

complete nor correct. Thaplyal in SHARMA (1989)[16] read and translated as follows:

> 1: *sindhukaputrasya śre ṣṭhasya hastikasya … sa putro senukaḥ bodhisattva* (*prati*)*ṣṭhāpaya*(*ti*) *… sarva budha pujāye*.
> 2: *sarva sattvānaṃ hitartha mātā pitr̥ṇaṃ pūjaye atra ca bodhisattva …*
> 3: *senakenaḥ dama putra ca*
> Senaka, the son of Śreṣṭhahasti who was son of Sindhuka (?) installs (this image of) Bodhisattva […] for the worship of all Buddhas and for the welfare of all beings in the honour of parents […]
> By Senaka and son of Dama

An inspection of the stone provides the following text:

> 1: *siṃdhukaputrasya śre ṣṭh*(*i*?)*sya hastikasya* [*vi*?]*ta*[*sa*?]*masya p*(*u*)*tro senakaḥ bodhisatva* [*pra*]*tiṣṭhapayati baḍabhāsare asane savabudhapujāye*
> below left
> 2: *sarvasatvana hita<sukhā>rtha matāpitr̥naṃ pujaya*
> below right
> 3a: *atra ca bodhisatvo* [*grām*](*e*) [*pra*]*tiṣṭh*[*it*](*o*)
> 3b: *senakenaḥ devaputra ca /*

sindhuka I would not take as a personal name, but rather as referring to local origin, "hailing from the Indus area." *-putra* is often used *svārthe*, as e.g. in *vaṇikputra*, being rather a "hereditary merchant" than the "son of a merchant."

hastika is already known from a broken pedestal from Sankisa, published as an eye-copy by CUNNINGHAM (1880: 32, pl. XII–11), with a text remarkably similar to that of the present object. The broken lines read, according to the eye-copy of Cunningham:

> 1: *- mahārājasya devaputrasya///*,
> 2: *bho - hastika - hastikapu///*,
> 3: *sane bodhisatva devaputra ka///*,

where *hastikapu* most likely must be amended to *hastikaputra*. It is not excluded that the son bears the name of the father, but it is more likely a reference to a profession, so that one "dealer in elephants" is also the son of a dealer in elephants. The *-ika-* ending is quite common for profes-

16 The more recent version in SHARMA 1995, although in Nāgarī, introduced several mistakes.

sions with *a*-stems,[17] changing to *-avika* for *u*-stems,[18] and retaining the *i* in *i*-stems. Such *-ika*-derivates should, when following the rules for the suffix *ṭhak-*, strengthen the first vowel, but in the Prakrits or the Sanskrit of the Arthaśāstra, this strengthening often does not take place. A regular *hāstika* is well-attested to, and our *hastika* seems to follow the habits of the vernacular speech.

[*vi*?]*ta*[*sa*?]*ma* must be the father's personal name; [*sa*] could also consist of two letters.

baḍabhāsare: The previous editions overlooked the words *baḍa-bhāsare asane* completely. The first term certainly denotes the locality, the "lake of the *baḍabhā*s," with *vaḍabhā* being a certain bird of the "pecker" (*pratuda*) variety, according to the Carakasaṃhitā 1.27.51, with most editions reading *vaṭahā*. Lakes named after birds living in it are well-known, as e.g. the *kairātasaras*, named after another "pecker" in the said Carakasaṃhitā stanza. The *-e* in *re* is very faint. In case *ra* is to be read, we would have a compound including *asane*.

asane: As in many other cases, the initial *a* also stands for the long variety and we must understand *āsane*, "at the seat."

hita<sukhā>rtha: *sukhā* was forgotten and added later below *hitartha*.

[*grām*](*e*) [*pra*]*tiṣṭh*[*it*](*o*): The first two letters look like *gra* and possibly *ma*, so that *grāme* would suit. The stone is very abraded in this part and could only be read when the surface was moistened. Still, some doubts remain regarding *grāme*; *pratiṣṭhito*, however, has left enough traces to be regarded as a safe reading.

devaputra is clearly written.

Consequently, my translation is rather different from the previous one:

> Senaka, who is the son of the guild leader (and) dealer in elephants […]ma, hailing from Sindh, had this Bodhisattva installed at the Vaḍabhā-lake, at the seat.
> For the worship of all Buddhas. For happiness and wellbeing of all beings. For the worship of mother and father.

17 Apart from *gāruḍika* and *śāṅkhika* of the dictionaries, the Arthaśāstra knows of an *audānika*, from *udāna*, m. a dealer in cooked rice (KA 2.15.61; 36.8, 14; 12.4.8) and a *pākvamāṃsika* fr. **pakvamāṃsa*, m. a dealer in cooked meat, KA 2.36.8, 14; 12.4.8.

18 Cf. *kāmbavika* m. from *kambu*, a dealer in shells (lex.), with the variant *śāmbavika*.

> And here in the village (?) the Bodhisattva was installed by Senaka, and the Devaputra.

5. Importance of *āsana*s

There are two terms which make this text important: *āsana* permits us to understand some features of early Buddhism, and *devaputra* sheds light on royal patronage.

The most famous *āsana* stone is known from Bodh Gayā, where a huge decorated slab, probably from Mauryan times found its final home in the back of the temple (FALK 2006: 284f.). Such an *āsana* was a place where the Buddha was thought to reside. Depictions of devotees bringing flowers to such an elevated slab are well-known from Sanchi and Amaravati. In times, when it was not yet usual to depict the Buddha as a human figure, such slabs must have marked the place of encounters. The seats may have been installed inside the monasteries, but any other place close to a sacred tree would serve the purpose as well, if not better. Such slabs may have been of very simple shapes, and they may have been re-used when more elaborate temples became common. This would explain why so few *āsana*s have been found – or recognized.

The habit of using an *āsana* as a sacred spot is now documented by three inscriptions. It is worth having a look at what they say.

a) Our text defines the site as *baḍabhāsare asane*, "at the seat at the *vaḍabhā*-lake."

b) Another sitting Bodhisattva of the *kapardin* type in the Russek collection was published by G. FUSSMAN (1988). Here, we hear that a monk established *bhagavato śakamunisya āsāne bodhisatto*, rendered by the editor as "établit (ce) bodhisattva (assis) sur le siège du bienheureux Śākyamuni." This interpretation was questioned by HÄRTEL (1995), who would not place the Bodhisattva on the seat, but regarded the seat itself as an object of veneration. This article could have been a starting point for a strict separation of Buddha and Bodhisattva statues, but old habits die hard.

c) Yet another sitting Bodhisattva of the *kapardin* type, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, was edited by O. VON HINÜBER

(2008). Here, a Bodhisattva was established (*bha x na*) *budhāna āsane śaravanake*, "near the seat of the xxx Buddhas of the Reed thicket," where "in the reed thicket" might be more literal. A stele likewise deposited in the Reed thicket, and likewise to the Mahāsāṅghikas, was published by G. BHATTACHARYA 2006 and seems to come from the same site.

These three texts mentioning an *āsana* have several things in common: all statues are of the *kapardin* type; all statues are named "bodhisattva"; all "seats" are specified: ours is near a lake, another one was known as the seat of the Śākyamuni, another one is the seat of a certain group of Buddhas at a site which was not a monastery, but a thicket. Mahāsāṅghikas looked after it. This means that *āsana* sites were quite common, they were the seats of one or more Buddhas and not of Bodhisattvas, and they were established apparently without being part of a monastery. When statues were introduced they were most logically brought to those seats where the Buddha was thought to already reside. Since the site was a "seat" of a Buddha, the posture of the figure brought there should have been a sitting one as well.

This tallies with the standing figures that were first placed where the Śākyamuni was supposed to have walked, naturally upright, on his *caṃkrama*. The inscriptions collected by HÄRTEL (1995: 37f.) again make it clear: the Bodhisattva visits a site of the Buddha: *bodhisatvo pratiṣṭhāpayati* […] *buddhasa caṃkame* we read three times at Kauśāmbī (GOSWAMI 1937–1938: 212; A. TRIPATHI 2003: 86f. nos. 55 and 56), once at Sarnath: *bodhisatvo* […] *pratiṣṭhāpito* […] *bhagavato caṃkame* (VOGEL 1905–1906: 176), and twice at Śrāvasti: *bodhisatvo* […] *bhagavato caṃkame* (BLOCH 1905–1906: 180; 1907–08: 290). It stands to reason that *āsana*s were more common for local veneration; however, as the standing Bodhisattvas suggest, *caṃkrama*s, i.e. plain tracks on the ground, measuring about 1×6 m, outlined in stone or brick, may have been constructed as well for the same purpose. Little was needed to mark a *caṃkrama*, to remind people how the Śākyamuni attained his *bodhi*.

Of the sitting figures called *bodhisattva*, only one statue is dated. The Russek *kapardin* was established in the year 8 of Kaniṣka, i.e. in ca. 135 AD. A similar date befits Senaka's statue as well, as can be told from the old-fashioned three-part subscript *ya*. A transitional phase is reached with a sitting *kapardin* dated year 20 of Kaniṣka, ca. AD 147, but here the term *tathāgatapratimā* is used for the Bodhisattva (FALK

2002/2003: 36f.). The last step to showing the real Śākyamuni is found on the pedestal of a standing figure from the Prince-of-Wales Museum, which once depicted *bhagavato śākyamune apratimasya pratimā*, "the picture of Lord Śākyamuni, who (so far) had no picture," dated in the year 45 of Huviṣka, ca. AD 172 (HÄRTEL 1985: 659).

The second startling term on our *kapardin* pedestal is *devaputra*, ending the text. This last sentence (*atra ca bodhisatvo* [*grām*](*e*) [*pra*]*tiṣṭh*[*it*](*o*) *senakenaḥ devaputra ca*) indicates that Senaka established himself the Bodhisattva and a Devaputra. If *devaputra* is not an unfinished *devaputreṇa* then this Devaputra was a statue as well. One such statue is known from Mathura. Only the lower part of the person is visible, wearing a costly garment. Unlike all standing Bodhisattvas, his left hand holds the garment far below the girdle. The text on the pedestal says (FALK 2002/2003: 33f.) that *devaputo māgho* is the gift from a certain person, of whom the name is impossible to reconstruct, *budhasakaśapa-sapadūmahastakena*, i.e. together with a Buddha, who himself is accompanied by a depiction of Kaśyapa and Padmahasta. In other words, in our *āsana*-text, Senaka speaks of a Bodhisattva and a Devaputra coming with it, and the Devaputra Māgha statue text speaks of an accompanying Buddha. It seems then that donations of a Bodhisattva or Buddha could be accompanied by the statue of a ruler.

Who was the *devaputra* whose statue Senaka had installed? Since the script is of a type prevalent in Kaniṣka's time, it may have been he who adorned the old seat. But the Māgha text, referred to above, shows that we must reckon with lots of other *devaputra*s as well. The second *hastika* text, preserved only in Cunningham's eye-copy, may be given here once again:

1: *mahārājasya devaputrasya///*,
2: *bho - hastika - hastikapu///*,
3: *sane bodhisatva devaputra ka///*.

We see that this text most likely started with a date of a Kuṣāṇa king; it then mentions the profession of the donor, "dealer in elephants"; *sane* beginning line 3 might be another case of *āsane*; and the Bodhisattva is accompanied by a *devaputra*, followed by *ka*, most likely the beginning of Kaniṣka's name.

6. Conclusion

Looking back at the *kapardin* Bodhisattvas we see small-scale services at the beginning of Buddhist activities in the Mathura area. In the countryside, instead of *stūpa*s and *gandhakuṭi*s inside monasteries, plain *āsana*s under a tree would suffice to keep the laymen devoted.[19] They would do for Buddhist *āsana*s exactly what they had done before for *devī* rocks or *liṅga*s: leave the village for a sacred spot, pray and deposit offerings.

When donors and patrons wanted to decorate these sites of veneration in the country side, they furnished them with a figure of a *bodhisattva*, who in his shape as a *kapardin* displayed, i.a., the highest form of *sambodhi*. This *bodhi*-being was occasionally supplemented by statues of worldly rulers, who probably profited from being associated with this highest authority of all.

Seen this way, the sitting *kapardin*s look like a deliberate composition: they are sitting, because they side an invisible Śākyamuni on his *āsana*. Through the *kakuda*s these superhuman embodiments of *bodhi* were given royal authority. A Mahāyāna list of body-parts was used in addition to express the peacefulness of this authority by having them show an open right and a closed left hand. There was no intention at all to make them look like the Śākyamuni who had his own symbol, the *āsana* or the *caṅkrama*.

Chronologically, the production of these compositions starts in Kaniṣka's time or slightly earlier, as in our second text. In Huviṣka's time, as in our first text, no *āsana* is ever mentioned and we can assume that a shift from the outdoor location to monasteries in or near the cities had taken place. This shift in location was soon followed by a change from the depiction of a Bodhisattva, showing *kakuda*s, to the Buddha without these *insignia*. Hair, once hidden below a cloth *uṣṇīṣa*, now became visible and the Phrygian bun turned into a protuberance, much later again termed *uṣṇīṣa* out of ignorance.

19 This is at variance with the otherwise very thoughtful paper of VAN KOOIJ (1993: 524), who thought that "places outside the monasteries cannot be considered." He has no examples from Mathura, and his chronology is consistently too early.

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Figures



Figure 1: Head of a Bodhisattva with hair and hair-bun covered by cloth and tied with thread (courtesy Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin; photo author)



Figure 2: Sikh boy with hair and hair-bun covered by cloth (photo author)



Figure 3: Metal head-gear from Herculaneum imitating hair and hair-bun covered by cloth (courtesy Musée du Louvre; after photo in public domain)



Figure 4: Head of a Maitreya from Gandhara with hair-bun (courtesy Museum Lahore; photo author)



Figure 5: Copper coinage of Hermaios showing Mithra-Helios with hair-bun under cloth, with and without rays (private collection)

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acc. no. = access number.

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PHYLLIS GRANOFF

On Reading the Lives of the Jinas
Questions and Answers of Medieval Monks

I. Introduction

Telling the lives of the Jinas was a central preoccupation in Jainism. In every language, in every genre, for every one of the twenty-four Jinas of our time cycle, biographies were written by pious monks, manuscripts of the texts were copied with the financial support of devoted laymen and women, and some of those manuscripts were lavishly illustrated. The Śvetāmbara Kalpa Sūtra contains one of the earliest accounts of the lives of the Jinas. Like many early texts, its dates are uncertain, but it may belong to the 2nd or 1st century BCE.[1] The Kalpa Sūtra provides a detailed life of Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of our time cycle, and shorter accounts of Pārśvanātha, Neminātha and Ṛṣabhanātha. The Kalpa Sūtra also played a role in one of the most important Jain rituals, *paryuṣaṇā. Paryuṣaṇā* is celebrated in September at the closing of the rainy season retreat. It is the only occasion when monks recite scripture for the laity, and the scripture that is recited is the Kalpa Sūtra. Illuminated folios of a manuscript of the Kalpa Sūtra are brought out and shown to the public as the stories of the Jinas are told.[2] The origin of this practice is traced in one of the commentaries to the Kalpa Sūtra to a time 1000 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, when a king Dhruvasena, ruling from the city Ānandapura, lost his only son. This terrible event happened to coincide with *paryuṣaṇā*, and a monk decided that to ease the king's grief he would recite the Kalpa Sūtra in the presence of the four-

1 Paul DUNDAS, *The Jains*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 23.
2 See DUNDAS, *The Jains*, pp. 65–67.

fold *saṃgha*: monks, nuns, lay men and women.[3] The Kalpa Sūtra may have been an unusual text to choose as an antidote to grief, and certain Jain monks today have replaced it with another text that they recite on *paryuṣaṇā*. But for most Śvetāmbara Jain monks and laymen the Kalpa Sūtra, particularly the section that is devoted to the lives of the Jinas, continues to be recited at *paryuṣaṇā*.

In this paper I would like to explore how medieval Jain monks read the many lives of the Jinas that were composed over the centuries and what questions they asked about them. Into what category did these diverse texts fit and what authority did they have? To answer these questions we have at our disposal an unusual source: collections of questions put to leading monks and their answers from the seventeenth century. These show us clearly that the lives of the Jinas were studied by the monks, that they were read literally, and that the readers sought an often impossible consistency among the different versions of a story that different texts provided. Whether the texts were ornate poetic compositions or scriptures like the Kalpa Sūtra, and regardless of their dates, these texts all came to have something like canonical status and to be regarded as authoritative. Indeed, such was the respect offered these texts that the most minute details, if they clashed with statements in other texts, became the object of concern and intense scrutiny. After all, the texts were thought to record the facts of a life. In truth, these texts grew over time and incorporated new stories and different versions of old stories in the process; we shall see that the kind of consistency that was demanded of them was impossible to achieve. In addition, as authoritative texts, as authoritative as any canonical scripture, for many medieval monks the biographies of the Jinas were themselves called upon to legitimate a wide range of practices that could not be found in the earlier canonical texts. Scholars today who read medieval Jain biographies of the Jinas often mine them for the information that they provide about medieval Jain patterns of worship, which changed over the course of time. For the monks who read these texts, the texts themselves came to serve as the sources that they could cite to legitimate these changes and put the stamp of approval on such innovations. In what follows I look at two texts by

3 Madhukar Muni, *Paryuṣaṇa-parva Pravacana*, ed. Śrīcandra SURĀNĀ 'SARASA,' Byābar: Muniśrī Hajārīmal Smṛti Prakāśan, 1976, Muniśrī Hajārīmal Smṛti Prakāśan kā Puṣpa 39, p. 58.

leading monk-scholars of the monastic group known as the Tapāgaccha, Hīravijayasūri and Vijayasenasūri. The texts record questions and answers put to these monks, who were active in a period of intense sectarian debate within Śvetāmbara Jainism.[4]

II. Reading the Biographies

Querying the biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras did not begin with the sectarian conflicts of the 17th century. As early as the 8th century, Haribhadra in his commentary to the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* raised a question about differing versions of the biographies. The *Āvaśyakaniryukti* probably dates from around the 2nd or 3rd century CE and includes verses on the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In a verse that describes the course of events for the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, it is said that first the gods remind the future Jina of his duty to renounce the world and teach, and then the future Jina gives away all his possessions in an elaborate ritual. But when the text describes the life of Mahāvīra, these two events are reversed: the verse says that the gift-giving ceremony took place first, followed by the instigation of the gods. Now not only should all the biographies of a single Tīrthaṅkara be consistent with each other; the lives of the different Tīrthaṅkaras should also conform to the same pattern. Hence the question arises: which is correct. Does the Tīrthaṅkara give away his possessions before the gods urge him to renounce, or does he only do it after the gods urge him to renounce. After noting the problem, Haribhadra offers a number of different suggestions. First he proposes that it might well be the case that not all Jinas did exactly the same things in exactly the same order in their lives. This is clearly not universally acceptable, and so Haribhadra then suggests that one event may be listed before another, not because it

4 For an exhaustive account of the Tapāgaccha and the debates in the monastic community see Paul DUNDAS, *History, Scripture and Controversy in a Medieval Jain Sect*, London: Routledge, 2007. The *Hīrapraśnottarāṇi* was compiled by Kīrtivijaya. It is published from Muṃbāī: Jina Śāsana Ārādhanā Ṭrasṭ, 1988. The *Senapraśna* was compiled by Śubhavijaya and published from Muṃbāī: Devacand Lalbhāī Jain Pustakoddhār Granthamālā, 1919, and Jina Śāsana Ārādhanā Ṭrasṭ, 1988.

occurred prior to the other in time, but because there is more to say about it. In that case, the general rule could be that in fact the gods first encourage the Jinas to renounce and then the Jinas give away their possessions. In the case of Mahāvīra this would mean that mentioning the gift-giving first was due to the fact that the author had more to say about the subject. Conversely, the general rule could be that the future Jinas first give away their possessions and then the gods come to tell them to renounce. In that case, we would have to assume that when speaking of Ṛṣabha, the author of the text put last what took place first, the gift-giving, and put first what took place last, namely the visit of the gods. Haribhadra concludes with a phrase that both the 17th century monks Hīravijaya and Vijayasena will often call upon. Basically, he says that there is no way to decide which of these alternatives is correct, "Only the Omniscient one can know," or as Haribhadra puts it, "Only someone with the most exquisite knowledge of the sacred texts could know," *viśiṣṭa-śrutivido jānanti*.[5] Haribhadra's conundrum is repeated in the *Senapraśna*, where it is question 54 of the monk Somavijaya.[6] Vijayasena here quotes the passage we have just examined from Haribhadra. The principle that Haribhadra adduces, that authorial intention plays a role in how the facts of a life are described, will be used again. Later on a monk will raise the point that in the *Padmacarita* Rāma alone is said to have gained *mokṣa*, while in the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* it says that there were three crores of *sādhu*s who were liberated with him. In order to reconcile these two accounts Vijayasena says that the author of the *Padmacarita* wanted to emphasize the greatness of Rāma and so he mentioned only Rāma. He concludes by saying that what determines how the event is described is merely the intention of the author.[7]

There are a good nine hundred years between Haribhadra and Somavijaya and the fact that the question about the chronological order of the gift-giving and the visit of the gods persisted indicates the importance to the monks of finding a way to deal with different versions of the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Unlike the case of Rāma's *mokṣa*, there is no clear resolution to the problem. Vijayasena has not found a better answer

5 Haribhadra, *Āvaśyakaṭīkā* (Bombay: Śrī Bherulāla Kanaiyālāl Koṭhārī Dhārmika Trust, 1981), p. 122.

6 *Senapraśna*, page 8a.

7 This is one of the questions of the monk Gaṇidāmarṣi, 478, *Senapraśna*, p. 99a.

than Haribhadra and must admit that there are discrepancies in the different versions of the biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras that simply cannot be made to agree with each other. No text or text passage can be easily prioritized or considered more authoritative than another. These are all equally authoritative texts that record facts, but among those facts is also the undeniable one that biographies of the Jinas may at times not agree. If there is a way to reconcile them, it is not apparent to an ordinary individual. Here and in other places the *Senapraśna* acknowledges that it is not always possible to find in the texts the kinds of consistency that we seek.

In the case of the gift-giving and the visit of the gods, the question arose because the text has two mutually incompatible statements. In some cases, a question will arise because the information that a text offers is incomplete or ambiguous. But not all questions are equally important. Vijayasena often tells his questioner that it just doesn't matter if something is one way or another, or as he puts it, "Who cares?," *na ko 'py āgraha*. Thus in question 43 the same monk Somavijaya asks when a text describes the size of the magical body of the gods as more than one hundred thousand *yojana*s, what is the scale of measurement that is being used? There are three different units of measurement with the same name, finger or *aṅgula*. There is an *utsedha aṅgula*, normally used to measure the size of bodies; there is something called a *pramāṇa aṅgula,* which is equal to 500 *utsedha aṅgula*s, and there is something called an *ātma aṅgula*, which is the size of a finger of a person living in the continent of Bharata. It is normally used to measure the size of objects. Vijayasena says that it really doesn't matter which *aṅgula* is meant, take your pick.[8] The question about the sequence of events in the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras was not a trivial question like this one; it was just unanswerable.

The biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras can themselves be called upon to answer questions, not all of which will strike us as more significant than Somavijaya's question about the measurement of the transformation body of the gods. Thus in question 65 Somavijaya asks about a passage in a story that is told in the commentary to Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*.

8 The question of which unit of measurement is being used in a specific case is not always regarded as trivial; later on, in answering Dharmavijayagaṇi's questions (p. 1–16) Vijayasena will specify which type of *aṅgula* is meant.

There it is mentioned that Jain monks with magic powers, *cāraṇa śramaṇa*s, fly about at night. These monks are very important characters in Jain didactic stories, arriving on the scene at crucial moments to enlighten the protagonists and in many cases prevent them from doing something drastic. Vijayasena assures Somavijaya that indeed these monks fly about at night because texts like the life of Pārśvanātha (*pārśvanāthacaritādāu)* say they do. Here a biography of Pārśvanātha assumes the place of an authoritative, one might even say canonical text. The point it supports may seem to us trivial, but the fact that a late medieval biography is adduced as a proof text is not.

The fact that the tradition regards new texts as authoritative and does not have a closed canon creates any number of difficulties, in part because of the nature of the texts that it admits into its corpus of authoritative texts. Jain biographies are filled with stories and there is no dividing line between didactic story and biography. In the case of the biography of the Buddha, the tradition made it clear that there is the life of the Buddha in his final birth and there are the *jātaka*s, stories of the past lives. Medieval biographies of the Jinas begin from the past lives, usually with the life in the past where the future Jina achieved his first realization of the truths that lie behind the Jain doctrine. This means that a great number of stories of the past lives will be an integral part of the biography. This kind of story material is particularly labile; a story told of one person is easily told of another. The Jain biographical tradition also incorporates into the biography of the Jina accounts of the lives of other Jain culture heroes, the *cakravartin*s, or world emperors for example, making the biography of a single Jina a remarkably complex affair. Again, the stories told of the *cakravartin*s belong to that great amorphous mass of medieval stories that migrate between characters. The situation is even further complicated by the fact that other genres of literature may mention events in the lives of the Jinas. Thus we see that events in the lives of the Jina were often referred to in hymns and there are literally thousands upon thousands of hymns that were composed by monks in every one of India's many languages. The existence of divergent versions of an event in the hymns also had to be taken into consideration. This is clear from a question asked by the monk Paṇḍitanagarṣigaṇi about the previous births of the Jina Mahāvīra.[9] The question is of less

9 *Senapraśna*, p. 31, question 113.

interest to us than the reply. His problem is that Mahāvīra is said to have been a king in his twelfth birth and in his thirteenth birth he is said to have been a world emperor, but the normal assumption is that one goes from either a hellish or a godly rebirth to the rebirth as a world emperor. Is this the case or can world emperors come from other rebirths? Vijayasena replies that in the biography of Mahāvīra given in the *Āvaśyaka,* Mahāvīra is said to have been born as a lion, then in hell, and then to have wandered in animal and human rebirths, etc., before becoming a world emperor. That he was a king is something that we see only in the hymns and nowhere else. The next part of the answer implies that the normal assumption is that the world emperors are born from godly or hellish realms, for Vijayasena says that we can read the "etc." in the *Āvaśyaka* as including rebirth as a god. If we ignore the details, this exchange is still important in telling us that in reading the biographies of the Jinas, medieval monks were confronted with an almost limitless array of material: there were the extensive biography texts themselves, there was popular belief, and now we see that there are also all the hymns that give details of the Jinas lives.

And as if this were not enough, yet another layer of complexity is added by Vijayasena, when he allowed the monks to supplement the biographical texts from yet one more genre of texts: pilgrimage texts or *māhātyma*s. Paṇḍitacāritrodayagaṇi says that in Hemacandra's account of the biography of the Jina Nemi no mention is made of bringing the wonder-working image of Śaṅkheśvara Pārśvanātha to cure the afflicted army. Could this mean that this story has no scriptural support and belongs to the realm of popular oral tradition? Vijayasena replies that the story is canonical; it is found in the pilgrimage text, the *Tīrthakalpa*.[10] The biography of Nemi has now been expanded to include the miracle stories associated with this particular image of Pārśvanātha.[11]

The monk Vijayasena was confronted by many questions that resulted from this aggregate nature of the medieval biography of a Jina. And so we find that the monk Vivekaharṣagaṇi was puzzled by the fact that the same stories are told of two different people in two different

10 *Senapraśna*, p. 71a, question 230.

11 See my paper "Creating Sacred Space in Medieval Jainism: Some Case Studies," *Journal Asiatique* 297, issue 2, 2009, pp. 349–378.

texts.[12] In the *Padmacaritra* it is the world emperor Hariṣeṇa who falls in love with the princess Madanāvali, daughter of king Janamejaya. He finds her in a hermitage, where she had fled when her father's kingdom was overrun by his enemies. Hariṣeṇa wanders into the hermitage out of his own grief. His mother had made a statue of the Jina for a procession, but her co-wife, an unbeliever, had made a statue of Brahmā. The two women were fighting over whose chariot could go first in the procession and so the king prohibited both from taking out their gods. Hariṣeṇa's mother decides to undertake a fast in protest and Hariṣeṇa is so troubled by her grief that he leaves the city and betakes himself to the hermitage. All of this very complicated tale is related in several other texts, of which Vivekaharṣagaṇi names a commentary to the *Uttarādhyāyana sūtra* and a ritual text called the *Śrāddhavidhi*, in which it refers not to the emperor Hariṣeṇa, but to another world emperor whose name is Mahāpadma. Vivekaharṣagaṇi is particularly puzzled, because, as he says, if you think about it, logic is on the side of these being the deeds of Hariṣeṇa, since the story also mentions a temple made by Rāvaṇa, but there are so many texts that place the events in the life of Mahāpadma. Which is correct, did Hariṣeṇa do these things or did Mahāpadma? Vijayasena is at a loss. He says it is clear that there are two traditions, two versions, two opinions, *matāntaram avasīyate*. There is simply no way to reconcile the discrepancy. Among the texts that attribute the deeds to Mahāpadma is in fact Hemacandra's *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, book 7.[13]

In any case, the question Vivekaharṣagaṇi raises is different from the problem of the sequence of gift-giving and visit of the gods with which we began. There, Haribhadra found a strategy to make the careers of the two Jinas follow the same sequence of events. What he could not do was decide what was that sequence: which came first, the gift-giving or the visit of the gods. Here the conflict that Vivekaharṣagaṇi has discovered is much more fundamental. Both men cannot have lived the same life. It is also worth noting what Vijayasena does not do in an effort to resolve the issue. He does not argue that one text is more authoritative than another. Ritual text, commentary to a *sūtra*, and biography all have the same weight.

12 *Senapraśna*, p. 12, question 89.

13 *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, transl. Helen Johnson, Baroda: Oriental Institute, Vol. IV, 1954, pp. 92–96.

Vivekaharṣagaṇi seems to be particularly interested in the conflicts that arise in biographical texts. In question 90 he says that in the *Pāṇḍavacaritra*, the life story of the five Pāṇḍava heroes of *Mahābhārata* fame, it is said that Kṛṣṇa was born on the eighth day of the month of Aśvin. But, he says, in texts like the biography of the Jina Nemi, and indeed in popular belief, meaning no doubt in Hinduism, Kṛṣṇa was said to have been born on the eighth day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Which is correct? Again, Vijayasena can only answer that there is clearly a difference of opinion. He gives the same reply to Vivekaharṣagaṇi's next question. In the *Pāṇḍavacaritra* it is said that Bhīma killed Hiraṇyanābhi, the leader of the army of the king Jarāsamdha, but in Hemacandra's biography of Nemi and other texts, it says that he was killed by the commander Anādhṛṣṭi. What is the truth here?[14] These are not trivial questions, like the question of the unit of measure for the vast body of the gods. They are simply not answerable.

The next question leads us to wonder what we have already suspected: some questions may be prompted not by the texts conflating stories, but by the questioner's own confusion. Vivekaharṣagaṇi says that he has heard (*pravādo 'sti*) that all of the present Indras have only one more birth to undergo, but that in the *Padmacaritra* the god Śītendra is said to have three more births. What is the truth? Here Vijayasena replies that he has never seen a written statement to the effect that the current Indras have only one more birth. If there is no hierarchy among different genres of texts, there is a clear hierarchy between oral tradition, *pravāda*, and written text, in this case a biography, the *Padmacaritra*. Vivekaharṣagaṇi seems to have been an avid reader of biography texts; in question 93 he even questions a particular grammatical form that he has found in the *Pāṇḍavacaritra*. He is assured that the form is correct.

The questions continue with another monk, Dharmavijayagaṇi, who seems equally concerned with the details of the biographies of the Jinas While to some extent he shares Vivekaharṣagaṇi's discomfort with differences between specific texts and the conflict between various versions of the biography, Dharmavijayagaṇi seems more interested in understanding some of the shared details of the biographies. Thus in question 108 Dharmavijaya asks about the dreams that the mother of the Tīrthaṅkara is said to see when the Tīrthaṅkara descends into her womb. He

14 *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, transl. p. 234, Vol. V.

wants to know if the lake called “Lotus Lake” is just any lake that has lotuses or a specific lake by that name that exists somewhere on another continent. The answer is given that the compound is explained as a lake with lotuses; no lake by that name exists anywhere in the universe. He also asks about the order of the dreams that the mothers of the Jinas see in question 127. Do they all see the dreams in the same order? The answer is given that some of the mothers see them in a different sequence. The mother of Ṛṣabha first sees a bull, while the mother of Mahāvīra first sees a lion. Again, this is a general question about the events in the life of the Tirthaṅkaras, rather than about a conflict between texts. His question 134 deals with the divine cloth that the god Indra is said to place on the Jina’s shoulders at the time of his initiation into monkhood. Dharmavijayagaṇi want to know how long the cloth lasts. Vijayasena’s answer reveals that the texts give different answers to this. According to *Saptatiśatasthānaka*, Mahāvīra’s divine cloth lasts for a little more than a year, while the cloth of the other Jinas lasts for their entire lifetimes; however, he adds, the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* says that Ṛṣabha’s divine cloth lasts for the same length of time as Mahāvīra’s. No effort is made to explain away the different versions. Dharmavijaya also asks about the date of birth of Śītā, the daughter of Rāvaṇa, who is a character in the versions of the Rāma story. Dharmavijaya (question 135) says he has heard that she was born in the *mūla nakṣatra*; Vijayasena says that the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* gives only the information that Rāvaṇa had a daughter named Śītā, but does not give her birth date. Oral tradition on this point is not supported by the textual tradition, which remains the ultimate authority, even if it is not always consistent. The question about Sīta will return, when another monk will raise the problem that sometimes Sītā is said to be the daughter of King Janaka and in others, she is said to be the daughter of Rāvaṇa. Vijayasena can only reply that in many texts she is indeed said to be the daughter of King Janaka, while in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* she is said to be the daughter of Rāvaṇa.[15]

The interest in the biographies of the Jinas evinced by monks like Somavijaya, Vivekaharṣagaṇi and Dharmavijayagaṇi, might seem to us to deal with arcane details of the lives of the Jinas that have little practical relevance. Indeed, the questions they have asked might seem recognizable to us as the kinds of questions we as scholars pose when we read

15 This is question 18 of Śubhavijaya, *Senapraśna*, p. 45.

the biographies, for example, about the different versions of a biography.[16] By contrast the questions of the monk Ravisāgara, that we will now examine, make it clear that the biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras could in fact have great bearing on some of the most important debates of the time. Some groups of Jains erected *stūpa*s for the head monks in their lineages and worshiped *pādukā*s, or footprints, and even images of their *guru*s.[17] Not all Jains approved of this practice, which seems to have started some time in the medieval period. Ravisāgara's first question is, where is it written that *stūpa*s are to be made for the *guru*s? The texts cited are mostly biographical texts, or passages of other texts that contain the biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Vijayasena begins with the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, and then goes on to cite Haribhadra's commentary on the same text. The passages cited tell us that at the *nirvāṇa* of his father Ṛṣabha, Bharata, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha, made *stūpa*s for the Jina, for the many monks who died there on Mount Aṣṭāpada with Ṛṣabha, and for his ninety-nine brothers who also died with Ṛṣabha. Later texts expand on Bharata's grief and his building efforts. Vijayasena next cites from the long passage in Hemacandra's biography of Ṛṣabha in the *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, where it is said that Bharata erected a lavish memorial temple along with images of his brothers and himself in worship there. He also made a *stūpa* outside the temple for his father the Jina and ninety-nine *stūpa*s for his brothers.[18] It is difficult to underestimate what is happening here. Jains do not seem to have worshiped relics, and with the exception of the somewhat mysterious Jain *stūpa* at Mathurā, which was made some time during the Kushana period and was still in worship when Jinaprabhasūri wrote is *Vividhatīrthakalpa* in the 14th

16 Thus for example another monk will ask about Ṛṣabha's first fast-breaking. King Śreyāṃsa fed the Jina with sugar cane. The question is, with how much, with one pot or many pots. Vijayasena gives a list of texts that say it was many and some texts that say it was one. He throws up his hands and says that the true answer is *sarvavidvedya*, known only by the omniscient one (p. 46, question 27); the question will be raised about the number of pots used to bathe the Jinas or whether the gods come at the time the Jinas descend into the womb as well as at their birth (pp. 46–48 questions 28 and 33).

17 See the thesis by Jack Laughlin, *Ārādhakamūrti/Adisthāyakamūrti. Popular Piety, Politics and the Medieval Jain Temple Portrait*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2003.

18 For details see my "Worship as Commemoration. Pilgrimage, Death and Dying in Medieval Jainism," *Bulletin d'Études Sanskrites et Indiennes,* no. 10, 1992, pp. 181–202.

century, there is no evidence that Jains made *stūpa*s until relatively late in time. Worship at a *stūpa* can thus be considered a new practice, and it is striking that it is the biography texts which purport to describe the first building of a memorial temple and the first dedication of images of a Jina that are taken here as the written or scriptural proof of the legitimacy of the custom.[19]

Another issue throughout the history of Jainism was the role of women and their spiritual capacities. A major point of division between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras was whether or not women could achieve liberation. The Digambaras, whose monks go naked, but whose nuns are clothed, argued that women can not achieve liberation, in part because they wear clothes, which is a form of possession. The Digambaras even denied women the possibility of being reborn in the highest heaven called Sarvārthasiddhi.[20] The monk Paṇḍitavivekasāgaragaṇi asks whether women can be reborn in this highest heaven. The answer is yes, and once again the proof texts are mostly biography texts, the *Śrīvijayacandrakevalicaritra*, the *Pṛthivīcandracaritra*, and the *Śrīvāsupūjyacarita.*[21]

Another question about women is whether laywomen may be permitted to wash the image of the Jina and whether when they are still young (and still menstruating) they are allowed to worship the image. This was also an important debate within the Śvetāmbara community, for some groups like the reform movement known as the Kharataragaccha, did not permit women to touch the image. The answer refers back to a story about Draupadī, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas, told in the *Jñātādharma-*

19 Peter FLÜGEL has recently written on the cult of relics in Jainism, "Jaina Relic Stūpas," in *Center of Jain Studies Newsletter*, March 2008, Issue 3, pp. 18–23. He contests the view expressed here that relic worship did not play a significant role in Jainism and examines contemporary data. While the evidence for relic worship that he adduces from recent times is intriguing, he nonetheless agrees that evidence for relic worship in early and medieval times is simply not there. One of the earliest texts that I know of that describes worship at a Jain monk's tomb is the *Hīrasaubhāgyakāvya* of Devavimala, ed. Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Parab, Bombay: Nirnayasāgara Press, 1900. Hīravijaya, the subject of the poem, died in 1596, and the poem was written shortly after his death.

20 For more on this debate see Padmanabh JAINI, *Gender and Salvation. Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. The discussion on Sarvārthasiddhi appears on p. 8.

21 *Senapraśna*, question 208, p. 42a.

kathā. There we learn that she worshiped the Jina although she was a young woman. Again, a story of about an individual, although not a Tīrthaṅkara, is called upon to legitimate a contested practice.[22]

In another question the monk Gaṇimāṇikyavijaya asks if it is permitted for a lay person to pick flowers himself or herself to offer to the Jina. The question arises because picking flowers involves an act of violence or *hiṃsā*. In his reply Vijayasena says that it is allowed and the source he quotes to legitimate the practice is a biography of the Jina Śāntinātha.[23]

In these examples, biography texts are called upon to legitimate practices and beliefs that were significant sources of contention between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras and between different monastic lineages within the Śvetāmbara community itself. But their role was not always so simple. Biography texts could themselves also be the focal point of contention between groups. The Kharataragaccha accepted that there were six auspicious events in the life of Mahāvīra, the usual five, descent to earth, birth, initiation, Omniscience, and *nirvāṇa*, and a sixth, the removal of the foetus from the Brahmin mother Devānandā to the *kṣatriya* mother Triśalā. While all Śvetāmbaras accept that this happened, in contrast to the Digambaras, who do not believe that the embryo was transferred, only the Kharataragaccha monks counted this as a sixth "auspicious event." It necessitates considerable work on the part of Samayasundara to get around the fact that the accounts of the life of Mahāvīra either explicitly mention "five auspicious events" or do not call the embryo transfer an "auspicious event." The issue is important, since festivals are held to celebrate the five auspicious events; the debate thus has to do not only with terminology, but also with practice.[24] It is clear from this discussion that biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras are important in

22 *Senapraśna*, question 405, p. 91. This question is also taken up in the *Sāmācārīśataka* of Samayasundara, where it is acknowledged that the Kharatara prohibition of women worshiping has to do only with young women and with certain types of worship and was instituted because of the declining morality of the times. This is Dilemma 51. On Samayasundara, who was a leading Kharatara monk, see Nalini BALBIR, "Samayasundara's Sāmācārīśataka and Jain Sectarian Divisions in the Seventeenth Century," in P. BALCEROWITZ (ed.), *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*, *Warsaw Indological Studies*, Vol. 2, 2002, pp. 253–277.

23 *Senapraśna*, question 474, p. 98.

24 See Nalini BALBIR, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–267.

many ways. In what follows I draw some brief conclusions about the material reviewed here.

III. Conclusions

The lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras continued to be told and written throughout the history of Jainism; indeed, they are still written today. Given the sheer number of the texts, the diversity of languages in which they were written, the long period of time over which they were composed, it cannot surprise us that different versions of events existed. Biographies of the Jinas were complex and rich texts, which included the past lives and numerous didactic stories; this complexity, too must have led to the incorporation of new details and to stories that migrated from one character to the next. And we have seen that there were added complications: hymns, written in great number in every language of India, and pilgrimage texts, also included accounts of the lives of the Jinas, sometimes in detail and sometimes in brief. Given the diversity of audiences and purposes of the texts, we would also expect different emphases and different ways of telling.

All of this makes it completely natural that biographies of the Jinas should sometimes be in conflict with each other. What is more surprising is the fact that their disagreements were singled out and discussed in the *Senapraśna*, a 17th century text. As we follow the ways in which these texts appear in the questions of the monks, I think we can conclude that their interest in the details of the biographies was not purely academic. We have seen that biography texts are used by Vijayasena to justify practice, for example that women can worship the image, which in turn legitimates the stance of Vijayasena's own monastic group, the Tapāgaccha, against their rivals, the Kharataragaccha monks, who prohibited women from contact with Jina images. Biography texts are called upon to justify Śvetāmbara beliefs against the Digambaras, and to legitimate the relatively new practices of erecting *stūpa*s and footprints of important monks. This was a period of intense debate among different Jain groups, and Vijayasena used every possible means he could find to make his points. He found in the biography texts, which continued to be com-

posed and which often mentioned the new practices, a useful tool to accomplish his overall goal, which was to legitimate certain aspects of Jain practice against others. For Vijayasena accounts of the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras are as authoritative as the canonical *sūtra*s. And it is as authoritative texts that they must stand up to the kind of scrutiny that the questions of these monks imply. Complex in their composition, the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras were also complex in the uses to which they were put.

HELMUT KRASSER

Bhāviveka, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila*

1. Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti

1.1 On apoha

A certain topic common to the *apoha* theories of Bhāviveka[1] and Dharmakīrti, the so-called *tadvatpakṣa*, or equivalently *sāmānyavatpakṣa* or *jātimatpakṣa*, i.e., the thesis that a word signifies an entity (*vastu*) which has a real universal, has recently been dealt with by Tom TILLEMANS (2011). This thesis of the Realist was criticized by Dignāga (PS 5.4), who substituted the *sāmānya* or *jāti* with the *anyāpoha* or *anyavyāvṛtti*, i.e., the exclusion from that which is different. Dignāga rejected

* This is a slightly revised version of an essay with the same title that has been published in Toru Funayama, *Chūgoku-Indo syūkyō-shi tokuni bukkyō-shi ni okeru syomotsu no ryūtsū-denpa to jinbutsu-idō no chiiki-tokusei* 中国印度宗教史とくに仏教史における書物の流通伝播と人物移動の地域特性 [Regional characteristics of text dissemination and relocation of people in the history of Chinese and Indian religions, with special reference to Buddhism] (A Report of Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B): Project Number 19320010. March, 2011), pp. 193–242. A draft of this paper was presented at the *XVth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies. Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, June 23 – June 28, 2008* under the title: "Much ado about incest – Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti on some habits of the Brahmins, the Persians and the *nāstika*s. A reconsideration of their relationship." I would like to express my gratitude for comments and help of various kinds to Vincent Eltschinger, Eli Franco, Toru Funayama, Kazuo Kano, Kei Kataoka, Taiken Kyuma, Parimal Patil, Isabelle Ratié, Akira Saito, Albrecht Wezler and Chizuko Yoshimizu, as well as to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for correcting the English.

1 For the different names applied to this person, as well as to one or more later persons with the same or a similar name, cf. ELTSCHINGER 1998: 58 n. 3. In the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* he is called Bhāviveka; cf. YONEZAWA 2004: 119. For the sake of convenience I will use this name.

the *tadvatpakṣa* by showing a number of grammatically absurd consequences that it would produce. His solution, namely the substitution of the real universal by the unreal *apoha*, was subsequently criticized by Kumārila (ŚV *apoha* 120),[2] who argued that the same absurd consequences apply in the case of *apoha*. In order to escape these problems, Dharmakīrti (PVSV 34,19–21 on PV 1.64) adopted a soft version of the *tadvatpakṣa*, claiming that the real entity (*vastu*) and its property are not different from one another.[3] For our purposes, this quite short summary of Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's position, as based on Tillemans, may suffice.

Dignāga's theory was not only criticized by Kumārila, but also by Bhāviveka, who adopts a *tadvatpakṣa* similar to that of Dharmakīrti. This is described by Tillemans as follows:

> In short, Bhāviveka clearly opts for a *tadvatpakṣa* quite similar to what Dharmakīrti will endorse in PV I.64. [...] There is also other relevant evidence for a possible ancestry for Dharmakīrti's theory. First of all, in k. 61 and k. 62 [of chapter 5, H. K.], Bhāviveka seems to give a causal account as to how the *sāmānyavad vastu* causes the cognition. Such causal accounts linking thought with entities are absent in Dignāga but become *the* major component of Dharmakīrti's position on how thought bears upon the world. I think it is fair to say that this directional change is so important that it represents virtually a new *apohavāda* [...] Striking too is the resemblance in choice of words. In k. 63 Bhāviveka says: *pṛthag na ca*, which may well be the same idea that finds its way into the verse from Dharmakīrti that we quoted earlier, viz., *pṛthaktve hi syād doṣo jātitadvatoḥ,* "Indeed, there would be a fault if the universal and that which has it were to be separate. [But they are not separate, and so there is no fault.]" (TILLEMANS 2011: 455)

In concluding his overview, Tillemans cautiously writes:

> An audacious historical conclusion would be to say that not only is Bhāviveka an *apohavādin*, but that he had a clear and direct influence on Dharmakīrti's *apohavāda* – it was his objections to Dignāga as well as his proposed solutions which

2 See FRAUWALLNER 1932: 261, with n. 2. Dignāga's position is also refuted by Uddyotakara (*atha vā – asvatantratvād iti* NV 307,21). For Kumārila's refutation of Dignāga's *apoha* theory, see HATTORI 1973 and 1975; see also KATAOKA 2008 and 2009.

3 Similarly, for Kumārila a universal (*sāmānya*) *qua* similarity (*sādṛśya*) is not absolutely distinct from an individual (ŚV *ākṛti* 76: *sādṛśyasāmānyam eva sādṛśyaṃ bhaved vā vyaktimātrakam* | *tena nātyantabhinno 'rthaḥ sārūpyam iti varṇitam* ||); see KATAOKA 2011b: 342 n. 385.

> then led to the position of Dharmakīrti. To be honest, without clear quotations of Bhāviveka in Dharmakīrti's works, I'm not fully convinced of this 'lineage' and I'm not sure what kind of evidence would be convincing [...] A more moderate and defensible conclusion would be that Dharmakīrti simply wasn't particularly original in coming up with his *apoha* theory – the basic ideas were already 'in the air:' he tapped into a discussion in which Bhāviveka and perhaps several others had already somehow participated. (TILLEMANS 2011: 457–458)

This much on Tillemans' material. In the following I would like to examine some more similarities that can be found between the works of Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti.

1.2 On the Veda

The first passage I will discuss is from the ninth chapter of Bhāviveka's *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (MHK), with its commentary *Madhyamaka-hṛdayakārikāvṛtti*, also known as *Tarkajvālā* (TJ),[4] which is devoted to refuting the Mīmāṃsā.[5] In MHK 9.4cd, an opponent claims that the Veda is accepted as authoritative *āgama* since it has been transmitted without interruption.[6]

> *sampradāyānupacchedād āgamo 'sau* ‖ MHK 9.4cd$_1$
> Since (the Veda) has been transmitted without interruption it is (accepted as our) *āgama* [i.e. scripture].

4 For convenience's sake, I follow the habit of earlier scholars and refer to the commentary on the MHK, the Madhyamakahṛdayakārikāvṛtti, with the name Tarkajvālā as found in the colophon of its Tibetan translation (*dbu ma'i sñiṅ po'i tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa* rtog ge 'bar ba, TJ D329b2, P380a3). As the colophon of the Sanskrit ms. of the MHK shows, the name *Tarkajvālā* was also used for the verses alone: *tarkajvālā nāma sūtraṃ samāptam* (LINDTNER 2001: 110).

5 The text of the ninth chapter was first edited by KAWASAKI (1976, 1987, 1988). In the first paper of this series, in which the *pūrvapakṣa* (verses 1–17) is reproduced, the Sanskrit edition with the Tibetan text is accompanied by a translation. All three papers are revised in KAWASAKI 1992, where the entire chapter is translated into Japanese. The entire chapter is also edited and translated in LINDTNER 2001.

6 The similarity of Bhāviveka's and Dharmakīrti's arguments related to *āgama* and Mīmāṃsā has been dealt with in two excellent papers by ELTSCHINGER (1997 and 1998). This argument is also treated in ELTSCHINGER 1997: 1099f. and in ELTSCHINGER 2007: 148–150, "Éternité de la tradition védique," where references to Mīmāṃsā sources are also listed.

This claim is refuted in MHK 9.19 and TJ with the argument that if this were the case, then all 363 doctrines referred to in the commentary[7] would be *āgama* and thus we would have no access to truth.

> *sampradāyānupacchedād āgamasyāgamatvataḥ* |
> *sarvasyāgamatāsiddheḥ kiṃ tattvam iti dhāryatām* || MHK 9.19
> If *āgama* has the status of *āgama* because it has been transmitted without interruption, then it would be established that all (363 doctrines) are *āgama.* How could one then know the truth?

Again, Dharmakīrti's refutation is along the same lines.[8]

> PVSV 125,9–10: *astu vedam adhyayanam adhyayanapūrvatāsādhanam,*
>> *sarvathānāditā sidhyed evaṃ nāpuruṣāśrayaḥ* |
>> *tasmād apauruṣeyatve syād anyo 'py anarāśrayaḥ* || PV 1.244
>
> PVSV 125,19–24: *anāditvād apauruṣeyatve bahutaram idānīm apauruṣeyam. tathā hi –*
>> *mlecchādivyavahārāṇāṃ nāstikyavacasām api* |
>> *anāditvāt tathābhāvaḥ pūrvasaṃskārasaṃtateḥ* || PV 1.245
>
> *mlecchavyavahārā api kecin mātṛvivāhādayo* […] *anādayaḥ, nāstikyavacāṃsi cāpūrvaparalokādyapavādīni.*
> Or may this recitation (of the Veda) establish that it has been preceded by (another) recitation,
>> in this way (the Veda's) being beginningless would be established at the very best [*sarvathā*], but not its not relying on human beings [*apuruṣāśraya*]. If (then the Veda) is authorless just because of this (beginninglessness as such),[9] then also the other (traditions) would not rely on human beings [*anarāśraya*].
>
> If (the Veda) is authorless because it has no beginning, then most [*bahutara*] (traditions) would not have a human creator [*apauruśeya*], for
>> the habits of the Barbarians [*mleccha*], etc. (and) even the nihilist [*nāstikya*] teachings would thus (also) be so, because they are beginningless since there is a continuation through the previous disposition [*pūrvasaṃskārasaṃtati*].

7 TJ D279a3, P315a8: *lta ba sum brgya drug cu rtsa gsum po thams cad kyaṅ* […]. On the 363 views or doctrines, see ECKEL 2008: 30–32.

8 The following passages of the PV(SV) are translated into French in ELTSCHINGER 2007: 310–312; see also the notes to that translation.

9 PVSVṬ 455,28–29 *atha* tasmād *anāditvamātrād* [PVSVṬms 162b5 *apauruṣeyamātrād* PVSVṬ; cf. PVṬ] *evāpauruṣeyatvam iṣyate, tadā* syād anyo 'pi *lokavyavahāro 'nādipravṛttatvād* anarāśrayo *'pauruṣeyaḥ*. = PVṬ D Je 286a1–2, P Je 343b7–8 *ci ste thog ma med pa ñid yin pa* deʾi phyir *skyes bus ma byas pa ñid du ʾdon* [corrupt for *ʾdod*] *na deʾi tshe* | *thog ma med pa nas ʾjug pa ñid yin pa deʾi phyir* | *ʾjig rten gyi tha sñad* gźan yaṅ mi min rten can du ʾgyur *te* | *skyes bus ma byas pa ñid du ʾgyur ro* ||.

> Some habits of the Barbarians, like the marriage (of the son) with the mother (when the father is dead), are beginningless, and also the nihilist teachings which deny *apūrva* [i.e. *dharma* and *adharma*][10] as well as rebirth [*paraloka*].

Dharmakīrti does not refer to the 363 *darśana*s/*dṛṣṭi*s as Bhāviveka does; he only mentions other habits and teachings, such as the Barbarians' habit of a son marrying his mother when his father dies, and the teaching of the *nāstika*s, who do not even accept the law of karma, etc. In a later passage, Dharmakīrti identifies the habit of a son having intercourse with his mother as belonging to the Persians (*<u>pārasīka</u>mātṛmithyācāravat* | PVSV 170,20–21).[11] Bhāviveka does not directly mention the *mleccha*s and the *nāstika*s as Dharmakīrti does, but they can be considered part of what is referred to by the word 'all.' In MHK 9.31, however, where he proves that the Veda has been produced by an evil human being, he compares the Veda with the book of the Magas (*magaśāstravat*), and in the commentary thereon he mentions the Persians who live in the country of the Barbarians.[12]

> *anumeyaś ca vedo 'yam asatpuruṣakartṛkaḥ* |
> *bhūtahiṃsāsurāpānakriyokter <u>magaśāstra</u>vat* || MHK 9.31[13]
> Moreover, one can infer this Veda to have been made by an *evil* human being, because it teaches deeds such as harming living beings and drinking wine like the book of the Magas.[14]

10 PVSVṬ 457,1–2 apūrva*sya dharmādharmasya* paraloka*sya c*āpavādīni *pratikṣepakāṇi*.

11 PVSVṬ 601,22–24 *kim iva*? pārasīke*tyādi*. *yathā bahubhiḥ pārasīkair mātari maithunācaraṇān na tan nyāyyaṃ bhavati*.

12 Already in the commentary on MHK 1.33 Bhāviveka referred to the *mleccha*s as one of the eight unfavourable circumstances in which to be born (TJ D49a7, P52b4); translated in GOKHALE 1985: 106.

13 TJ D281b1, P318a4–5 (on 9.31): *<u>ma ga</u> la sogs pa phyin ci log gi brtul źugs can* | *<u>par sig</u> la sogs <u>kla klo</u>ʾi gnas na gnas pa de dag gi grub paʾi mthaʾ ni ʾdi ltar grags te* |.

14 The statement that the Veda was composed by an immoral author has a parallel in Bhāviveka's Prajñāpradīpa, which has been translated into English from the Tibetan and the Chinese translations by VAN DER KUIJP (2006: 196): "*rig byed ni byed pa po tshul khrims ʾchal bas byas par shes par bya ste* | *ʾtshe ba dang* | *bgrod par bya ba ma yin par ʾgro ba dang* | *chang ʾthung ba chos su ston paʾi phyir* | *dper na par sig la sogs paʾi bstan bcos bzhin no* || One should know that the Veda was composed by author(s) with bad ethics and morals [*tshul khrims ʾchal ba, *duḥśīla*], because,

Later in his long commentary, Bhāviveka refers to the Persians having intercourse with their mother, sisters and daughters, and has them state:

> *de bźin du* […] *ma daṅ* | *sriṅ mo daṅ* | *bu mo la sogs pa la bgrod par bya ba ma yin no źes zer ba ni legs pa ma yin no* || TJ D281b3–4, P318a6–8
> In the same way […] it is not right to say that one's mother, sisters, daughters, and so forth are improper as one's object of sexual intercourse. (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102, 1992: 510)

When concluding his long refutation of the Veda's uninterrupted transmission, Bhāviveka, like Dharmakīrti, strangely enough compares the Veda not only with the book of the Magas, but also with the teaching of the *nāstika*s, although a conclusion usually repeats what has been claimed earlier. In neither the *kārikā* nor in his commentary does he refer to them.

> *rig byed ni chos rtogs pa la tshad mar gyur pa ma yin te* | *gaṅ gi phyir bgrod par bya ba ma yin pa la yaṅ bgrod par bya bar ñe bar ston paʾi phyir med pa pa daṅ* | *par sig gi bstan bcos bźin no* || TJ D283b7–284a1, P321a2–3
> The Vedas are not a proper means for knowing the Dharma. As they teach the illicit sexual relation (*agamyāgamana*), they are like the books of the Nāstikas and of the Persians. (KAWASAKI 1975: 1100, 1992: 511)

While it is clear that both refute the argument of the Veda's uninterrupted transmission in more or less the same way, again it remains unclear who made use of whom, if at all. Both may have used the samesource for their reference to the bad habits of the Persians, namely Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (AKBh). At least in the TJ there

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as a (form of) religion [**dharma*], it teaches violence [*ʾtshe ba, hiṃsā*, that is, ritual sacrifice], going for something that should not be gone for [**agamyāgamana* = incest], and the drinking of alcohol; for example, like the treatise(s) of the *Pārasīka [**pārasīkaśāstra*], etc."

are passages, as has already been mentioned by KAWASAKI (1975: 1098, 1992: 512f.), that correspond more or less literally to passages in the AKBh.[15]

15 Of interest is the example that Vasubandhu gives for the transgressions (*atipāta*) arising from *moha*. Vasubandhu first refers to the Persians' habit of having intercourse with their mother, etc. (*yathā pārasīkānāṃ mātrādigamanam*) and then to the Vedic ritual of killing bulls and having illicit sexual relationships. Likewise, Bhāviveka first speaks of having intercourse with one's mother, sisters, and daughters (TJ D281b3–4), and then refers to the Vedic ritual in the same way as Vasubandhu (TJ D281b7–282a1). The corresponding passages in the AKBh and the TJ appear in regular typeface. That Bhāviveka was familiar with the AK(Bh) is also supported by the fact that in his Prajñāpradīpa (PP D210b2–3, P263b3) he quotes AK 4.6.
AKBh 240,19–241,10 *tatra lobhajaprāṇātipāto yathā* […] *pārasīkānāṃ ca* | *te hy evam āhuḥ* | *mātāpitarau jīrṇau vā glānau vā hantavyāv iti* | […] *mohajo yathā pārasīkānāṃ mātrādigamanam*, gosave ca yajñe yathoktam – brāhmaṇo gosavaneṣṭyā saṃvatsaragovratī bhavati, upahā udakaṃ cūṣati tṛṇāni cchinatty upaiti mātaram upa svasāram upa sagotrām *iti* |.
TJ D281b3–4, P318a6–8 *de bźin du* […] *ma daṅ* | *sriṅ mo daṅ* | *bu mo la sogs pa la bgrod par bya ba ma yin no źes zer ba ni legs pa ma yin no* || "In the same way […] it is not right to say that one's mother, sisters, daughters, and so forth are unproper as one's object of sexual intercourse." (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102, 1992: 510).
TJ D281b7–282a1, P318b4–6 ba laṅ gi brtul źugs can gyi mchod sbyin las bstan te | bram zes ba laṅ gi mchod sbyin byas nas lo gcig gi bar du ba laṅ gi brtul źugs la gnas par bya ste | ba laṅ bźin du chu btuṅ źiṅ rtsva yaṅ gcad (D : *ya bcas* P) par bya la | ma la yaṅ gźon (P : *bźon* D) par bya | ma'i spun zla la yaṅ gźon (P : *bźon* D) par bya | raṅ gi rigs la yaṅ gźon (P : *bźon* D) par bya ste | "It is taught in the sacrificial rite (*yajña*) of the bull-observances (*go-vrata*): A Brahmin shall perform a sacrificial rite of a bull (*go-sava*) and keep himself in the bull-observances for one year (*saṃvatsara-govratin*). He should drink water like a bull, take herb like a bull, have a sexual relation with his mother, with his aunts, with his own offsprings like a bull. Taking pleasure out of whomever and whatever are available, then by so doing he will reign over everything in the world (*upa mātaram īyād upa svasāram upa sagotrām upāvahāya udakam ācāmed upāvahāya tṛṇāny ācchindyād. yatra yatra enam viṣṭhā vindet tat tad vitiṣṭheta anuḍuho ha lokaṃ jayati.* Cf. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2.113)." (KAWASAKI 1975: 1101, 1992: 510) This passage and Avalokitavrata's comments on *gosava* in the parallel passage of the Prajñāpradīpa (cf. n. 14) are dealt with in SILK 2008b nn. 16 and 17.
As there are many earlier texts that deal with the habits of the Maga-Brahmins (some of them have already been referred to in KAWASAKI 1975 and more have been added by SILK 2008b [see also SILK 2008a]), it is also possible that Vasubandhu and Bhāviveka used a common source.

1.3 On Buddhist āgama

1.3.1 āgama must withstand a critical analysis

There is yet another point I would like to draw attention to, namely, how Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti conceive *āgama*, the word of the Buddha. Bhāviveka's position is very clear and easy to grasp:[16]

> *atrocyate pramāṇaṃ naḥ sarvaṃ tāthāgataṃ vacaḥ* |
> *āptopadeśaprāmāṇyād bhadro hi pratipadyate* || MHK 5.8
> To this (*pūrvapakṣa* of the Yogācāra) we reply: All the words of the Tathāgata are authoritative [*pramāṇa*] for us, because the teachings of a reliable person are authoritative. A good one puts (this *pramāṇa*) into practice [*pratipadyate*].[17] (See also HOORNAERT 2000: 90)

Dharmakīrti's position is quite different. When explaining in his PVSV how Dignāga's definition of *āgama* is to be understood, he concludes that Dignāga was of the opinion that the validity or truth of the *āgama* must be established through a critical analysis:[18]

> *yat tarhīdam* [a]*āptavādāvisaṃvādasāmānyād anumānate*[a]*ty āgamasyānumānatvam uktam*, *tat katham. nāyaṃ puruṣo 'nāśrityāgamaprāmāṇyam āsituṃ samarthaḥ, atyakṣaphalānāṃ keṣāñcit pravṛttinivṛttyor mahānuśaṃsāpāyaśravaṇāt*[19] *tadbhāve virodhādarśanāc ca. tat sati pravartitavye varam evaṃ pravṛtta iti parīkṣayā prāmāṇyam āha*. PVSV 108,2–6; [a–a] = PS 2.5ab
> How[20] is it then (to be understood) when (Dignāga,) with (the verse): "The statement of a trustworthy person is inference, because it is similar in (its) reliability," said that *āgama* is inference? A person cannot live without relying on the validity of scripture because he has heard that in the case of certain (activities) the results of which cannot be perceived, engaging or not engaging (lead to) extremely praiseworthy or disastrous (results), and because he does not see anything that

16 The text of MHK 5.8, with its commentary, is published in HOORNAERT 2000: 78.

17 *pratipadyate* is translated into Tibetan as *sgrub par byed*, "to accomplish," etc. On the different meanings of *pratipad*, see ECKEL 2008: 226 n. 22.

18 As I intend to deal with Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's *āgama* theory elsewhere (KRASSER 2012), I will not go into all the details here.

19 °*āpāya*° PVSV$_{\text{ms}}$ 25a2 (TSP 4,22–23; PVSVṬ$_{\text{ms}}$ 140b6; *ṅan soṅ* PVSV$_{\text{Tib}}$ D322a4/P478b3) : °*āpāpa*° PVSV, PVSVṬ 390,25.

20 The following passage has been translated into English by VAN BIJLERT (1989: 119) and by DUNNE (2004: 361), who provides a translation of PV 1.214–223 with PVSV, and into French by ELTSCHINGER (1998: 59). Cf. also ELTSCHINGER 2007: 73ff.

contradicts the presence of those (results). Therefore (Dignāga) taught that the validity (of scripture) is due to a critical examination (of it, having in mind) "given that one has to proceed, it is better to proceed in such a way [i.e. critically examining the scripture]." Thus, he has said that the validity (of scripture) is due to a critical examination (of it).[21]

These two positions are, as can easily be seen, quite different. What is interesting, however, is that the opinion expressed by Dharmakīrti can also be found in Bhāviveka's MHK, albeit in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa*:

yat parīkṣākṣamaṃ yuktyā vacanaṃ cet tad āgamaḥ |
tad eva tāvan mīmāṃsyaṃ paścāt tenoditaṃ hi yat || MHK 9.20
If that statement is (accepted as) *āgama* which withstands a critical analysis through arguments, (well, then) first this very (statement) must be examined (and) then what it teaches.

Interestingly enough, this *pūrvapakṣa* is presented in the Mīmāṃsā chapter immediately after the refutation of the Veda's uninterrupted transmission. It is certainly not expressing the view of a Mīmāṃsaka, for according to the explanation in the TJ, this means that although what has been uninterruptedly transmitted is/may be true, one first must examine by whom and with which arguments something has been taught, and then also his statements must be examined as to whether they stand a critical analysis.[22] I understand the phrase "his words that have been

21 A possible source for this procedure for establishing the validity of scripture, which is attributed by Dharmakīrti to Dignāga, may be the Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya: "Die Unterweisung, zu der diese Wahrnehmung und [diese] Schlußfolgerung in keiner Weise im Widerspruch steht (und von der) diese nicht abweichen, ist *āptāgama*, weil er Vertrauen erweckt. [*yatropadeśe tat pratyakṣam anumānaṃ ca sarvathā na virudhyete na vyabhicarataḥ sa āptāgamaḥ sampratyayitvāt*, ASBh 153,5f]" (OBERHAMMER *et al.* 1991: s.v. *āptāgama*). This method of testing the validity of scripture is also found in Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti, cf. VERHAGEN 2008, especially the text presented in the appendix.

22 TJ D279a5–7, P315b3–6 *brgyud nas ʾoṅs pa rgyun chad med pa bden du ẓin kyaṅ ston pa raṅ gi tshig* rigs pas brtag bzod pa yin par *ʾdod paʾi* tshig de ñid re źig *ʾdi ltar ston pa ji lta bu źig gis rigs pa gaṅ gis ʾdi lta bu bstan pa yin źes* brtag par bya ba *yin la* | phyi nas *ni deʾi tshig don cuṅ źig daṅ bcas par bstan pa de rnams kyaṅ* | *ci brtag* (D : *rtag* P) *bzod pa źig yin nam ma yin źes dpyad par bya ba yin no* || "Although its being transmitted without interruption is [may be?] true, *one first must examine that very statement* which is assumed to stand a critical analysis, (namely) the teacher's own words, in the following way [*ʾdi ltar*]: 'With which arguments

taught with a certain meaning” (*deʾi tshig don cuṅ źig daṅ bcas par bstan pa de rnams*; see n. 22) as referring to, or at least implying, *nīta-* and *neya-artha*. The term *parīkṣākṣama* is certainly taken from Dignāga. At the end of his Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti (PSV), Dignāga states that the reasoning (*tarka*) of the opponents does not withstand a critical analysis.[23] Although Bhāviveka accepts all the words of the Buddha as *pramāṇa*, and although this method of establishing *āgama* is introduced as a *pūrvapakṣa*, it is in fact his way of refuting the Yogācāra interpretation of the Buddhist *āgama* and of establishing Madhyamaka as the true teaching. The *kārikā* at the end of the Yogācāra chapter and the commentary leave no doubt:[24]

> *ato yuktyāgamopetaṃ tattvaṃ yat prāg udāhṛtam* |
> *parīkṣyamāṇaṃ yuktyaivaṃ tad evāvyāhataṃ sthitam* ||
> *de ltar luṅ rigs ldan pa yi* || *de ñid gaṅ źig sṅar bstan pa* ||
> *rigs pas yoṅs su brtags na yaṅ* || *de las ñams pa med par gnas* || MHK 5.113
> *gaṅ* <u>*rnal ʾbyor spyod pa pas*</u> *yoṅs su brtags paʾi de kho na ñid ni rnam par brtags pa na dpyad bzod pa ma yin no* || […] *de ltar na de kho na ñid* […] <u>*bdag*</u> *daṅ* <u>*gźan*</u> *gyi* <u>*rtog ge pa rnams*</u> *kyi rjes su dpag pas kyaṅ bskyod* (D : *bskyed* P) *par nus pa ma yin par yaṅ dag par rab tu gnas pa yin no* || TJ D227a3–7, P253b2–6
> Thus, (even) if the true nature of things explained before, which is in conformity with reason and scripture, is carefully examined by means of rational arguments [*yukti*], it stands as it is without being defeated (by those arguments). MHK 5.113
> When one carefully examines the Yogācāra understanding of the true nature of things [*tattvam*], (one finds that) it does not withstand rational analysis [*vicāra*]. […] Thus, the true nature of things [*tattvam*] […] stands firmly as it is without being shaken even by the inferences of Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophers [*tārkika*] alike. (cf. HOORNAERT 2003: 169–170)

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has such a thing [*ʾdi lta bu*] been taught (and) by which teacher?’ And later one must examine whether the words that have been taught with a certain meaning stand a critical analysis or not.”

23 PSV Peking 5702, 176b7–8 *rtog ge de yaṅ de ltar brtag bzod pa ma yin no* ||; for the context and the Sanskrit as available in Jinendrabuddhi’s commentary (*evaṃ na parīkṣākṣamas tarkaḥ*), see KRASSER 2004: 140–141 n. 32.

24 This conclusion of the Yogācāra refutation was commenced with the words that their teachings do not stand a critical analysis (although I do not really understand the construction of the Tibetan sentence): <u>*khyed*</u> *kyis brtags paʾi gsuṅ rab daṅ* | *skur pa ʾdebs pa ji skad smras pa dag gis ni* rigs pa mi bzod pas […] TJ D203a2, P223a8.

This passage, too, does not allow one to decide whether Bhāviveka was inspired by Dharmakīrti or the other way round.

1.3.1.1 Who is the opponent in MHK 5.8–9?

Strangely, Bhāviveka commences his refutation of the Yogācāra *pūrvapakṣa* somehow out of the blue, with the statement that for him all words of the Tathāgata are *pramāṇa* (s. MHK 5.8 above p. 542), although this was not the topic of the *pūrvapakṣa* and although all Yogācāras before Bhāviveka known so far accept the Buddha's word to be *pramāṇa*. In his comments on *bhadro hi pratipadyate*, he makes it clear that someone who is good should not disagree (*mi mthun par mi byed*) with the words of the Buddha, and then he characterizes his opponent as being someone who is in doubt and confused by other *āgama*s, and who does not put this *pramāṇa* into practice.[25] HOORNAERT (2000: 90–91 n. 1) was puzzled by the meaning of 'others' (*paraḥ*), and assumed it might refer either to non-Buddhists or to Śrāvakas. Thus, the opponents addressed at the beginning of the refutation of the Yogācāra would be either non-Buddhists or Ś rāvakas who are being misled by the *āgama*s of other Buddhists or non-Buddhists. Neither interpretation makes much sense when refuting the Yogācāra tenets. The only Yogācāra teacher known to me who does not accept Dignāga's definition of *āgama* (*āptavādāvisaṃvādasāmānyad anumānatā*, see above, p. 542 which is echoed in MHK 5.8 (*āptopadeśaprāmāṇyāt*, see above, p. 542), is Dharmakīrti, who agrees with Kumārila[26] that this type of definition is faulty,[27] and who thus is misled by Kumārila.

Based on such an understanding I would like to propose the following interpretaion of MHK 5.8–9:

> *atrocyate pramāṇaṃ naḥ sarvaṃ tāthāgataṃ vacaḥ* |
> *āptopadeśaprāmāṇyād bhadro hi pratipadyate* ||
> *nāgamāntarasaṃdigdhaviparyastamatiḥ paraḥ* | *tasmāt tatpratipattyarthaṃ tanmṛgyo yuktimannayaḥ* || MHK 5.8–9

25 TJ D203a1, P223a6 *de* dag gis *tshad ma de sgrub par* mi byed *pas* […].

26 This so-called *ekadeśasaṃvāda* argument is refuted at length in ŚV *codanā* 121–132; see also below n. 79.

27 On Dharmakīrti's interpretation of Dignāga's *āgama* definition see the passages adduced below p. 586; see also KRASSER 2012.

To this (*pūrvapakṣa* of the Yogācāra) we reply: All the words of the Tathāgata are authoritative [*pramāṇa*] for us, because the teachings of a reliable person are authoritative. A good one puts (these) into practice. The other one, whose mind is in doubt and confused by other scriptures, does not. Therefore the path of reasoning [*yuktimannaya*] should be followed by him in order to put these into practice.

luṅ gźan dag gis the tshom daṅ || *log paʾi blo can gźan mi byed* ||
de phyir de dag sgrub gźug phyir || *rigs pa ldan paʾi tshul btsal bya* || MHK 5.9
źes bya ba la luṅ las gźan paʾi luṅ ni luṅ gźan dag *go* || *de* dag gis the tshom *du gyur pa ni de yin nam* | *ʾon te ma yin sñam du the tshom za bar gyur paʾo* || log pa *źes bya ba ni grub paʾi mthaʾ ʾdi las gźan bdag la rnam par g.yeṅs śiṅ ʾdi la mi ltos pas de ni ʾdi lta bu ñid ma yin no źes log par źugs paʾo* || *gaṅ dag la de lta buʾi blo yod pa de dag ni* luṅ gźan dag gis the tshom daṅ log paʾi blo can *dag ste* | *sun ʾbyin par byed pa byuṅ rgyal du smra ba* gźan *dag go* || *de* dag gis *tshad ma de sgrub par* mi byed *pas deʾi phyir* de dag sgrub tu gźug paʾi phyir | *smra ba po* rigs pa daṅ ldan paʾi tshul *phyogs daṅ* | *gtan tshigs daṅ dpeʾi skyon med pa gźan gyis smras paʾi ñes paʾi gnas su ma gyur paʾi mthaʾi rigs paʾi lam* btsal bar byaʾo || TJ D202b6–203a2/P223a2–8

‘*Other scriptures*’[28] (*luṅ gźan dag*) means ‘scriptures that are different from (our Buddhist) scripture.’ *Being in doubt by* these (other scriptures) means ‘having doubt whether they are really [this, namely scriptures of the opponents].’ ‘*Confused*’ means ‘entered into the confusion that these (other scriptures) are not of that kind [i.e. scriptures of the opponents]’ because by erroneously taking [*rnam par g.yeṅs śiṅ*] the teaching [**siddhānta*] which is different from this (Buddhist scripture) [’*di las gźan*] to be his own [*bdag la*] he does not rely on this (Buddhist scripture). He who is endowed with such a mind is the *one whose mind is in doubt and confused by other scriptures*, i.e. the *other* [*gźan dag*] who riposts [*smras ba dag*] refutations in a stupid way [*byuṅ rgyal du*]. Because he [*de dag gis*] does not put into practice these authoritative (words of the Tathāgata) [*tshad ma de*], therefore, *in order to put these into practice*, (this) disputant [*smra ba po*, **vādin*] *should follow the path of reasoning*, i.e., a rational way [*rigs paʾi lam*], namely a position [*mthaʾ*] in which the thesis, the logical reason and the example are impeccable (and) in which the faults brought forward by the opponent [*gźan gyis smras paʾi ñes pa*] (against the Buddhist scripture) are not supported [*gnas su ma gyur pa*].

28 For text critical notes and different translations, see HOORNAERT 2000: 78 & 90, or ECKEL 2008: 225–227 & 394–395. As in so many cases, the commentary is far from being clear and states the obvious so that the main points have to be added, which not really enhances the certainty of our interpretation. *paraḥ* which is translated by *gźan* is explained as plural in the commentary (*blo can dag* [...] *gźan dag go*). In the translation I keep to the singular reading.

1.3.2 āgama must be examined in its entirety and must offer a proper means; sarvajña refers to the Buddha's knowledge of the four Nobles' truths

There is yet another feature that plays a major role in Dharmakīrti's *āgama* theory, namely that an *āgama* must be examined in *its entirety* to be accepted, not only in part,[29] and that this *āgama* must be coherent, must offer a *proper means*, and must state a human goal. Other scriptures are not worthy of being examined.[30]

It is exactly along these lines that Bhāviveka claims that Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikā is correct, while the Veda is faulty.

> <u>*dbu maʾi bstan bcos*</u> ma lus pa las *rigs pa daṅ ma rigs pa dpyad pa byas pa yin pas khyod kyi gźuṅ kho na ñes par smras pa yin gyi* || <u>*kho bo cag*</u> *gi gźuṅ ni ma yin par rab tu grags pa yin no* || TJ D320a3, P367a1–2
> Because the Madhyamakaśāstra[31] has been examined in *its entirety* [*ma lus pa las, *aśeṣataḥ*] as to whether it is correct or not, one can say that your scripture [*gźuṅ*] alone is faulty, and our scripture is established to be not.

And when answering the objection presented in MHK 9.16, namely that the teaching of the Buddha is not a means of valid cognition (*apramāṇa*) and that he is not omniscient (*asarvajña*) because his talk is produced and because he is human,[32] Bhāviveka explains that the word *sarvajña* is used for the Buddha in its primary meaning (*yul ʾgaʾ źig la ji bźin*) with regard to certain objects, just like the word 'lion' (*seṅ ge*, *siṃha*) also is sometimes used in the real sense, and that some apply the word *sarvajña* only figuratively. Figuratively, the word *sarvajña* is used for the *muni*s

29 PVSV 109,3–4 *seyaṃ śakyaparicched* āśeṣa*viṣayaviśuddhir avisaṃvādaḥ*. DUNNE 2004: 363: "The scripture's purity [i.e., its lack of contradiction] in regard to *all* those objects which can be determined in the above manner constitutes its trustworthiness." (My emphasis H. K.)

30 PV 1.214 *sambaddh*ānuguṇopāyaṃ *puruṣārthābhidhāyakam* | *parīkṣādhikr̥taṃ vākyam ato ʼnadhikr̥taṃ param*. DUNNE 2004: 361f.: "A statement that is a worthy subject of examination is one that is coherent [*sambaddha*], offers *a suitable method*, and cites some human aim. Other statements are not worthy subjects of examination."

31 Madhyamakaśāstra, which is attributed in TJ D42b1, P45b1 to the *ācārya* (*slob dpon gyis kyaṅ de* <u>*dbu maʾi bstan bcos*</u> *su rgya cher bstan gyi* | "Although that is explained in extenso also by the teacher in the Madhyamakaśāstra [...]"), refers to Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikā.

32 For the translation and text of MHK 9.16, see §2.3.

Jaimini (*mdzes mi*, here wrong for *mdzeʾi mi ni*, cf. TJ D319b5, P366b1), Kapila (*ser skya*) and Kaṇāda (*gzegs zan*) by referring to their knowledge of one part (*phyogs gcig, ekadeśa*) of what is knowable, namely to their knowledge of the past and the future (*ʾdas pa la sogs pa*),[33] although they do not know the *means for the benefit* (*phan paʾi thabs*) of those beings that are still afflicted with *kleśa*s.[34]

That the application of the word omniscient (*sarvajña*) to the Buddha in the proper sense is meant for certain objects only (*yul ʾgaʾ źig la ji bźin*) may be understood from the commentary (on MHK 9.164)[35] to the effect that the Buddha certainly knows how to turn gods and humans away from sins and make them act towards bliss,[36] and that he teaches the Nobles' eightfold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*) after having realized that this is the cause for obtaining liberation (*apavarga*).[37] In his commentary

33 This is a reference to MHK 9.148, where the opponent claims that the way taught by the three Vedas is true, because it has been taught by Brahmā or by those who know the past and the future, just like the medical part of the Veda, the Āyurveda, which has been taught by them and which is true (*yathārtho hi trayīmārgo brahmokter vaidyakādivat | atītānāgatajñair vā taduktes cet prasādhyate* || MHK 9.148). My interpretation of this verse and of *vaidyakādivat* is based on Pakṣilasvāmin's explanation of the validity of the Veda, which, according to Praśastapāda, has been taught by Brahmā (cf. ELTSCHINGER 2007: 283 with n. 272; on those who know the past and the future, cf. ELTSCHINGER 2007: 77–78 with n. 35). Pakṣilasvāmin argues as follows: "That part of the Veda whose object is invisible [*adr̥ṣṭa*] can be inferred to be a means of valid knowledge on the basis of the Āyurveda, which is a teaching of a trustworthy person (and) whose objects are visible, because the logical reason consisting in the validity of the trustworthy person is the same." (*dr̥ṣṭārthenāptopadeśenāyurvedenādr̥ṣṭārtho vedabhāgo 'numātavyaḥ pramāṇam iti, āptaprāmāṇyasya hetoḥ samānatvād iti.* NBh 97,8–9 on NSū 2.1.68).

34 *kun mkhyen źes byaʾi sgra ʾdi yaṅ* || *yul ʾgaʾ źig la ji bźin yin* ||
seṅ geʾi sgra yaṅ la la bden || *kha cig ñe bar btags pa ñid* || MHK 9.159
gaṅ yaṅ <u>*mdzeʾi mi ni*</u> (corr.: *mdzes mi* D, *mdzeʾi mi* P) *daṅ* | <u>*ser skya*</u> *daṅ* | <u>*gzegs zan*</u> *la sogs pa thub pa rnams ni ñon moṅs pa daṅ bcas paʾi* sems can la phan paʾi thabs la mi mkhas pa (D : *mkhas pa* P) *daṅ* | *de bźin du ʾdas pa la sogs paʾi śes byaʾi phyogs gcig śes paʾi dbaṅ du byas nas de rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ces bya baʾi sgra ñe bar ʾdogs pas* (D : *pa* P) *brtags pa pa yin te* | *thub pa* <u>*ser skya*</u> *kun mkhyen ñid* || *ces bya ba la sogs paʾo* || (TJ D318a5–7, P364a8–b2).

35 On MHK 9.164, see p. 563.

36 TJ D319b7, P366b4–5 *de ni ʾdi ltar mkhyen pa kho na ste* | *sdig pa las ldog par byed ciṅ dge ba la ʾjug par byed paʾi chos ni lha daṅ mi ñid kyi lam yin no* ||.

37 TJ D319b7–320a2, P366b5–7 *yaṅ dag paʾi lta ba daṅ* | *yaṅ dag paʾi rtog pa daṅ* | *yaṅ dag paʾi ṅag daṅ* | *yaṅ dag paʾi las kyi mthaʾ daṅ* | *yaṅ dag paʾi ʾtsho ba daṅ* |

on the verse, Bhāviveka does not comment on the phrase *yul ʾgaʾ źig la ji bźin*, but only states that one must ascertain that the one who knows all the *dharma*s in all their aspects, who is free of all the *kleśa*s, and who *benefits all living beings* is omniscient, although no omniscient being can be seen in the world today.[38]

By reducing the domain of a Buddha's omniscience to knowledge of the four Nobles' truths (*caturāryasatya*),[39] the MHK and TJ display yet another feature that plays an important role in Dharmakīrti's treatment of scripture. This corresponds to his second, and favourite interpretation of Dignāga's *āgama* definition.[40]

> *heyopādeyatattvasya sopāyasya prasiddhitaḥ* |
> *pradhānārthāvisaṃvādād anumānaṃ paratra vā* ‖ PV 1.217
> *heyopādeyatadupāyānāṃ tadupadiṣṭānām avaiparītyam avisaṃvādaḥ. yathā catūrṇām āryasatyānāṃ vakṣyamāṇanītyā*. PVSV 109,15–16
> Or (scripture) is inference with regard to the other (domain of super sensible objects,) because it is reliable with regard to the main issues, since the true nature of what is to be abandoned [i.e., *duḥkha*] and what is to be appropriated [i.e., *nirodha*] together with their means [i.e., *samudaya* and *mārga*, respectively,] are well established (in it).
> Reliability is the fact that what has been taught in the (scripture, namely,) what is to be abandoned and what is to be appropriated and their means, is correct, like the four Nobles' truths in the way that will be explained [in PV 2].

This reduction of a Buddha's omniscience to the knowledge of the main issues, namely the four Nobles' truths, is the principle underlying his proof (in PV 2) that the Buddha can metaphorically be called a *pramāṇa*;[41] see, for example:

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yaṅ dag paʾi rtsol ba daṅ | *yaṅ dag paʾi dran pa daṅ* | *yaṅ dag paʾi tiṅ ṅe ʾdzin źes bya baʾi ʾphags paʾi lam yan lag brgyad pa ni byaṅ grol ʾthob paʾi rgyu yin par mkhyen nas bstan pa yin no* ‖.

38 TJ D318b1, P364b3–5 *ʾdir ma mthoṅ du zin kyaṅ chos thams cad rnam pa thams cad du mkhyen pa ñon moṅs pa thams cad daṅ bral ba* | sems can thams cad la phan pa mdzad pa ni | *thams cad mkhyen pa ñid yin źes ṅes par gzuṅ bar bya ste*.

39 The 'Nobles' eightfold path' constitutes only the fourth Nobles' truth, the way leading to the cessation of suffering (*duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipat*) and thus to liberation, but it presupposes knowledge of the preceding three truths.

40 The following passages have been dealt with quite often, e.g., in KATAOKA 2003: 45ff. with n. 13, or ELTSCHINGER 2007: 89, 111, 225–226, 263–264.

41 On the metaphorical use of *pramāṇa* as an epithet for the Buddha, see KRASSER 2001.

heyopādeyatattvasya sābhyupāyasya vedakaḥ |
yaḥ pramāṇam asāv iṣṭo na tu sarvasya vedakaḥ || PV 2.34
The one who makes known the true nature of what is to be abandoned and what is to be appropriated, together with their means, is assumed to be a *pramāṇa*, not the one who makes known everything.[42]

Again we see here a correspondence between Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti, but again we have no clue for solving the problem of their relationship, as neither refers to the other.

1.4 cintāmayī prajñā and liberation

Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti also share the same opinion that 'critical analysis' (*anumāna, yukti, parīkṣā, vicāra*) plays an important role in the path to liberation, for it serves to distinguish between true and false conceptions and is functional on the *cintāmayī prajñā* level. To my knowledge, this idea cannot be found in Dignāga. There are even statements to the contrary. At the end of his PS(V) there are two passages in which he says (1) that if one examines *dharmatā* with *tarka*, then one has left the Buddhist path, and (2) that his aim in composing the Pramāṇasamuccaya is, in addition to establishing the qualities of his own *pramāṇa*s and refuting the faults of the others, merely to turn the followers of the outsiders away from their mistaken views.

1) (Those) who examine the *dharmatā* by way of *tarka* have gone far away from [*sudūranaṣṭa*] the teaching of the *munīndra*. Nevertheless, the characterisation [*lakṣaṇa*] of an entity [*dharma*] (as propounded) by the Tathāgata must be examined as long as [*yadi*] (an entity as expounded by the *tīrthika*s) undergoes a change (when being analysed).
2) I composed this (work) in order to turn those who are inclined towards [*źen pa rnams*] the assumptions of the outsiders away from them, because they are without

42 That the Buddha knows all the religious matters which are relevant for liberation was later termed *upayuktasarvajña*, "knowing everything that is helpful," in contrast to *sarvasarvajña*, "knowing all and everything"; cf. Ratnakīrti's Sarvajñasiddhi (R 1,16–18):
heyopādeyatattvasya sābhyupāyasya vedakaḥ |
yaḥ pramāṇam asāv iṣṭo na tu sarvasya vedakaḥ || PV 2.34
ityādi. tad idānīm upayuktasarvajñam *eva tāvat prasādhayāmaḥ. paryante tu* sarvasarvajña*dohadam apy apaneṣyāmaḥ*. Translated in BÜHNEMANN 1980: 2.

essence as the valid cognitions [*pramāṇa*], and their objects [*prameya*] (as taught by them) are not arranged properly. However, by (doing) that much [*iyatā*] I do not aim at their introduction into the teaching of the Tathāgata, because his teaching is not in the realm of logic. But those being turned away (from the assumptions of the outsiders) can easily understand [*dharmatā*], as it is absent/remote (from their teaching) and present (in his teaching). (For the text and Jinendrabuddhi's explanation, see KRASSER 2004: 134)

With this view of Dignāga in mind, Bhāviveka may have formulated the following *pūrvapakṣa* in his chapter on Yogācāra:

tattvasyātarkagamyatvāt tadbodho nānumānataḥ |
nātas tarkeṇa dharmāṇāṃ gamyate dharmateti cet || MHK 5.104
If (you say): "Since the true nature of things [*tattvam*] is not accessible to logical reasoning [*tarka*], it cannot be known through inferential reasoning [*anumāna*]. Therefore, the true nature of things [*dharmatā*] is not understood by logical reasoning." (HOORNAERT 2003: 166–167).

Bhāviveka's reply makes clear that, although *tattva* is not directly the object of inference, inference serves to get rid of the *vipakṣa*s that hinder *tattvajñāna* from being brought about:

ihānumānān nirdoṣād āgamānuvidhāyinaḥ |
kalpitāśeṣavividhavikalpaughanirākr̥teḥ || MHK 5.105
sakalajñeyayāthātmyam ākāśasamacetasaḥ |
jñānena nirvikalpena buddhāḥ paśyanty adarśanāt || MHK 5.106
ato 'numānaviṣayaṃ na tattvaṃ pratipadyate |
tattvajñānavipakṣo yas tasya tena nirākriyā || MHK 5.107
Here (according to Madhyamaka), the *buddha*s, their minds similar to space, by means of (their) non-dual [*nirvikalpa*] knowledge, see by way of non-seeing all the knowable things exactly as they are, because they (first, in the course of their career) have turned back the floods of all the various concepts regarding the imagined (objects) by means of flawless inferential reasoning in conformity with scripture. The object known by inferential reasoning is therefore not the true nature of things (itself). (Inferential reasoning) does, however, eliminate everything that opposes [*vipakṣa*] the knowledge of the true nature of things. (Cf. HOORNAERT 2003: 167; ECKEL 2008: 294–295 with n. 126)

This *pūrvapakṣa*,[43] as well as the answer, is also found in an appendix to Bhāviveka's Madhyamakakārikāprajñāpradīpa, chapter 25 (D248 a4–6;

43 ECKEL, based on his arguments given in 2008: 294 n. 126, proposes correcting *rtag tu med pa* of the *pūrvapakṣa* of the TJ (HOORNAERT 2003: 148, 24–27), which is

the text has been edited in LINDTNER 1984: 95; for text critical notes, cf. LINDTNER):

> *ci ste mdo sde las don dam pa ni brtag par mi nus pa daṅ | rtog ge'i spyod pa ma yin par bstan pa'i phyir rjes su dpag pas bstan par bya ba ma yin no źe na | luṅ daṅ mthun pa'i rjes su dpag pa'i stobs ñid kyis rnam par rtog pa thams cad bkag pas rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye śes 'grub pa'i phyir don dam pa ni rjes su dpag pa'i yul ma yin yaṅ de gtso bo ma yin pa ma yin te | yaṅ dag pa daṅ yaṅ dag pa ma yin pa brtag pa'i sgrub pa gźan med pa'i phyir de ni rigs pa ma yin no* ||
> Someone may say that, according to a *sūtra* the ultimate cannot be investigated and is not accessible to logical reasoning, hence it cannot be expressed through inference. But this is wrong. Inference [*anumāna*] in harmony with scripture [*āgama*] negates all concepts and brings about non-conceptual insight. The ultimate is therefore not the object [*viṣaya*] of inference. (Inference) nonetheless has priority, for there is no other way to investigate what is true and false. (ECKEL 1986: 268; cf. also ECKEL 1985: 73–74 and ELTSCHINGER 1998: 76–77)[44]

That *anumāna* is the basis for understanding what is true and false is, although in other words, also stated by Dharmakīrti in the opening passage of the Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti (PVSV), and repeated in the PVin, where he replaces *anumāna* with *samyagjñāna*:

> *arthānarthavivecanasyānumānāśrayatvāt tadvipratipattes tadvyavasthāpanāyāha* […]. PVSV 1,8
> Because discerning what is beneficial and what is harmful is based on inference, he says, in order to establish this (inference) because there are false opinions about it […]. (KELLNER 2004: 153.)
> *hitāhitaprāptiparihārayor niyamena samyagjñānapūrvakatvād aviduṣāṃ tadvyutpādanārtham idam ārabhyate*. PVin 1 1,5–7

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translated by HOORNAERT (p. 166) as "a permanent non-existence," to *brtag mi nus pa*, *atarkya* (ECKEL 2008: 442,1 & 294). I agree that the text needs correction, but think that *brtag tu med pa* is easier and carries the same meaning.

44 It goes without saying that Nāgārjuna already claimed that without *vyavahāra* also the highest truth cannot be known and thus *nirvāṇa* cannot be obtained (*vyavahāram anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate* || *paramārtham anāgamya nirvāṇaṃ nādhigamyate* || MMK 24.10), but there is a long way to go from Nāgārjuna to Bhāviveka's elaborate explanations.

> Since obtaining what is profitable [*hita*] and avoiding what is not profitable are necessarily preceded by correct cognition, I compose this (treatise) in order to explain that (correct cognition) to those who do not understand it.[45]

Also at the beginning of the refutation of the tenets of the Yogācāra, Bhāviveka makes it clear that one must make use of *yukti* to get rid of doubts and wrong conceptions:

> *nāgamāntarasaṃdigdhaviparyastamatiḥ paraḥ* |
> *tasmāt tatpratipattyarthaṃ tanmṛgyo yuktimannayaḥ* || MHK 5.9
> The other one, whose mind is in doubt and confused by other scriptures, does not (put the words of the Tathāgata into practice). Therefore the path of reasoning [*yuktimannaya*] should be followed by him in order to put these into pratice.[46]

That *yukti* operating with correct relative truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) is the ladder leading to the palace of reality has already been stated in the third chapter:[47]

> *tattvaprāsādaśikharārohaṇaṃ na hi yujyate* |
> *tathyasaṃvṛtisopānam antareṇa yatas tataḥ* || MHK 3.12
> *pūrvam saṃvṛtisatyena praviviktamatir bhavet* |
> *tato dharmasvasāmānyalakṣaṇe suviniścitaḥ* || MHK 3.13
> *abhiyujyeta medhāvī samādhānāya cetasaḥ* |
> *tathā śrutamayajñāne tadanyajñānahetutaḥ* || MHK 3.14
> Surely it is impossible to climb to the top of the palace of reality without the steps of correct relative (truth). For that reason, one should first discriminate according to relative truth, then one should analyze the particular and universal characteristics of things. (ECKEL 2008: 42)
> Similarly, for the purpose of the concentration of the mind a scholar should apply the knowledge born from listening, because that causes the other forms of knowledge.

45 Cf. also PV 1.85–86 *dharmadharmivyavasthānaṃ bhedo 'bhedaś ca yādṛśaḥ* | *asamīkṣitatattvārtho yathā loke pratīyate* || *taṃ tathaiva samāśritya sādhyasādhanasaṃsthitiḥ* | *paramārthāvatārāya vidvadbhir avakalpyate* || "Auf die Unterscheidung von Eigenschaft und Träger, auf die Verschiedenheit und Gleichheit, wie sie ohne Rücksicht auf das wahre Wesen (der Dinge) von den Menschen vorgestellt wird, gründen die Weisen das Verhältnis von Grund und Folge, um zur Wahrheit zu führen." (FRAUWALLNER 1932: 268).

46 This verse is dealt with above §1.3.1.1.

47 MHK 3.12 is also dealt with by LINDTNER (1986: 64), who on p. 59 also considers the role of *cintāmayī prajñā*.

The idea that *yukti* operates on the *cintāmayī prajñā* level and is indispensible for obtaining the highest goal is clearly stated by Dharmakīrti:

> *yoginām api ś rutamayena jñānenārthān gr̥hītvā yukticintāmayena vyavasthāpya bhāvayatāṃ tanniṣpattau yat spaṣṭāvabhāsi bhayādāv iva, tad avikalpakam avitathaviṣayaṃ pramāṇaṃ pratyakṣam.* PVin 1 27,9–11
> The *yogi*s cultivate objects after they have (first) grasped (them) through a cognition born of listening (to treatises that are favourable to cultivation), and (then) ascertained (them) through a (cognition) born of reflecting (upon them) by means of reasoning [*yukti*, i.e. by means of *pramāṇa*s; of these *yogi*s,] the (cognition) which, at the completion of this (cultivation), appears as vividly as in cases such as fear (or sorrow, and hence is) non-conceptual (but also) has a true object (because it bears upon an object that has been formerly ascertained by *pramāṇa*s), this is also the *pramāṇa* (that consists in direct) perception. (ELTSCHINGER 2007a: 467)
> *sāṃvyavahārikasya caitat pramāṇasya rūpam uktam, atrāpi pare mūḍhā visaṃvādayanti lokam iti. cintāmayīm eva tu prajñām anuśīlayanto vibhramavivekanirmalam anapāyi pāramārthikapramāṇam abhimukhīkurvanti.* PVin 1 44,2–5
> And it is this nature of the conventional cognition that has been explained. (Not only with regard to the ultimate means of valid cognition, but) also with regard to this (conventional cognition), others who are confused lead the world astray. Those, however, who cultivate the very wisdom born of reflection realize the ultimate *pramāṇa*, which due to its being devoid of error is immaculate (and) without return. (cf. ELTSCHINGER 2007a: 464)

Again, nothing in these passages clearly indicates whether Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti knew each other, or who was influenced by whom.[48]

1.5 Bhāviveka's Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha and Dharmakīrti

Before presenting the last passage in which these two authors share an idea, it may be worthwhile mentioning another point that may be of significance for determining their relationship. One of the works attributed to Bhāviveka in the Tibetan translation of its colophon, the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha, is not accepted by specialists as having been written by the author of the MHK. It is thought rather to be by a later author with the same or a similar name,[49] because, in addition to displaying a more

48 It goes without saying that the concept of the three *prajñā*s is widespread among Yogācāra works; cf. ELTSCHINGER 2007a.

49 Ejima, e.g., attributes this text to a Bhavya living in the eighth century; see no. 4) in the letter printed in LINDTNER 1982: 183.

advanced terminology, it clearly resorts to a theorem assumed to have been developed by Dharmakīrti and which is one of the cornerstones of Dharmakīrti's system.[50] In this Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha, the author distinguishes two ways of being real, *paramārthasat* and *saṃvṛtisat*. *saṃvṛtisat* is further divided into two, a correct one and a false one. The correct one is defined as that real entity (*dṅos po*, *vastu*) which is capable of an effective action (*don byed nus, arthakriyāsamartha*).[51]

This definition of the correct *saṃvṛtisat* is exactly what Dharmakīrti defines, on a *sāṃvyavahārika* level, to be *paramārthasat*:

> *arthakriyāsamarthaṃ yat tad atra paramārthasat* | PV 3.3ab = PVin 2.55ab[52]
> Here (the entity) that is capable of an effective action is (called) ultimately real.

The second reason for not accepting the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha to be a work of Bhāviveka, the author of the MHK/TJ and PP, is, as already mentioned, the application of a more advanced terminology, a terminology pointing to Jñānagarbha in the eighth century (SEYFORT RUEGG 1990: 67–68). However, this argument alone is of no value, as it rests on the first one, namely that the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha must be a later work as it displays a clear knowledge of Dharmakīrti. Terms themselves do not indicate who used them first, but this fact is attributed to them by us based on external evidence. Since the work is too short to display any other evidence, here the only 'external evidence' is the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha's knowledge of Dharmakīrti. Thus, we have a work attributed to Bhāviveka that displays knowledge of Dharmakīrti and uses a

50 Cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1990: 67–68.

51 *yod paʾi mthaʾ daṅ med paʾi mtha* || *gñis po thams cad spaṅs pa ste* ||
de lta bu ni don dam mo || *kun rdzob ji ltar snaṅ ba yin* ||
de yaṅ gñis su śes bya ste || *log pa yi ni kun rdzob daṅ* ||
yaṅ dag pa yi kun rdzob po || don byed nus paʾi dṅos po ni ||
yaṅ dag kun rdzob ces bya ste || *snaṅ yaṅ don byed mi nus pa* ||
log pa yi ni kun rdzob po || […]
<u>*dbu ma don bsdus pa*</u> *slob dpon* <u>*legs ldan byed*</u> *kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* || Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha (D no. 3857, 229b7–330a1).
It may be mentioned that the concept of the *arthakriyāsāmarthya* does not play a major role in the MHK, the TJ or the Prajñāpradīpa; cf., e.g., HEITMANN 1995: 401–402 with n. 36.

52 Cf. also *arthakriyāyogyalakṣaṇaṃ hi vastu* HB 3,14, and *tad eva paramārthasat*, *arthakriyāsāmarthyalakṣaṇatvād vastunaḥ* NB 1.14–15.

terminology that was not yet applied in the MHK/TJ and PP, although the basic ideas, without reference to Dharmakīrti, can already be found in the TJ on MHK 3.7 (SEYFORT RUEGG 1990: 67).

1.6 On sattvānumāna

Finally, we should look at a very short passage in the MHK that might give a clue as to who of the two authors, Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti, had knowledge of whom. In *kārikā*s 6–7 of the Mīmāṃsā chapter, the opponent proved that the words of the Veda must be eternal. In reply to this, Bhāviveka states:

> *sattvād anityaḥ śabdo 'yaṃ kriyāvat kiṃ na gr̥hyate* |[53] MHK 9.45ab
> Why do you not accept that this word is impermanent, because it exists, just like an action (such as walking or washing)?[54]

The commentary on this statement is quite short, probably the shortest in the TJ, but it at least makes clear that Bhāviveka intended this formulation to be a formal proof with a property possessor (*dharmin*), a property to be proved ([*sādhya*]*dharma*), a reason (*hetu*), and an example (*dr̥ṣṭā-nta*).

> *yod phyir sgra ni mi rtag ste* || *ci phyir bya ba bźin mi gzuṅ* || MHK 9.45ab
> sgra ni *CHOS CAN no* || mi rtag pa *ñid ni CHOS so* || yod paʾi phyir *źes bya ba ni GTAN TSHIGS te* | *gaṅ daṅ gaṅ yod pa de ni mi rtag ste* | *dper na ʾgro ba daṅ btso blag la sogs paʾi* bya ba *yin no* || TJ D287b7–288a2, P324a8–b1

Now, to the best of my knowledge, this type of inference, the so-called *sattvānumāna*, did not exist before Dharmakīrti but was developed by Dharmakīrti himself in several stages, although components of the ar-

53 For stylistic reasons one might assume that the author of MHK 9.45 and MHK 4.37 (*jātaṃ duḥkhasvabhāvena śūnyaṃ tat* kiṃ na gr̥hyate ||) is the same.

54 In an excursus (*prasaṅga*) in the Prajñāpradīpa, which is placed in the fifth chapter between the explanation of MHK 5.4ab and 4cd (*ʾdir mkhas su re baʾi mṅon paʾi ṅa rgyal can kha cig* […] *źar la bśad pas chog go* || PP D91b6–92a6, P111b1–112a3), we also find the reason *kr̥takatvāt* applied in this inference: <u>*khyed*</u> *kyi mtshan ñid kyi gźi daṅ mtshan ñid dag sṅa phyir sgro btags nas gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid du brjod pa ni dper na* sgra ni mi rtag ste | byas paʾi phyir ro *źes smras pa la* […] PP D91b7, P111b2.

gument are already present in PV 1.269–283ab (PVSV 141,17–150,5).[55] One of its formulations runs like this:

> *yat sat tat sarvaṃ kṣaṇikam, yathā ghaṭādayaḥ, saṃś śabda iti* […] HB 5*,18ff.
> Whatever exists is momentary, like a pot, etc., and sound exists […]

An inference like this cannot be formulated in a serious way just out of thin air; it must have been explained somewhere. Since it is not explained by Bhāviveka himself, and since modern experts agree that this theory is Dharmakīrti's, a fact that is also supported by Arcaṭa, a commentator on Dharmakīrti's Hetubindu,[56] I can see no other possibility than to assume that this formulation of the *sattvānumāna* in the MHK presupposes knowledge of Dharmakīrti,[57] unless we postulate some un-

55 See YOSHIMIZU 2003, n. 1. See also YOSHIMIZU 1999.

56 SAKAI 2011 n. 37: "Arcaṭa, the commentator of the HB, sharply distinguishes the traditional inference from *sattvānumāna*. He attributes the former to previous teachers (*pūrvācārya*) and the *sattvānumāna* to the author of the treatise (*śāstrakāra*), i.e., Dharmakīrti. According to him, previous teachers prove the momentariness of a produced and impermanent thing by the traditional inference and, as to the non-produced, they negate its existence on the basis of its lacking of spatio-temporal and essential restriction (*deśakālasvabhāvaniyama*), whereas Dharmakīrti's *sattvānumāna* can infer the momentariness universally (*sāmānyena*) without drawing any distinction between what is produced and what is not produced (HBṬ 76,20–77,9; 143,23–144,13). Meanwhile, Śāntarakṣita applies the traditional inference to the produced and *sattvānumāna* to the non-produced. Cf. IHARA 1965: 24–26, MIMAKI 1976: 10, 33, 235 n. 114."

57 In fact, Uddyotakara twice mentions a kind of *sattvānumāna*: 1) *anityam iti bruvāṇenāvaśyaṃ nityam abhyupeyam* (NV 444,15 on NSū 4.1.28) […] *sattvād anityam iti sādhayet, tasyāpy uttarapadasiddhyā nityatvasiddhir iti pratijñādoṣād vākyaṃ nivartata iti* (NV 445,5–6 on NSū 4.1.28). "One who says 'impermanent' necessarily has to assume 'permanent' […] (If) one were to prove that (everything) is impermanent, because it exists, in that case too permanence would be established because the former word (i.e. impermanent) is established. Thus this sentence is annulled for (its) being a fault of the thesis." 2) *atha sarvam anityaṃ sattvād iti sadhayet tasyāpi nānvayo na vyatirekaḥ* (NV 513,18–514,1 on NSū 5.1.34). "If one were to prove that everything is impermanent, because it exists, in that case, too, there would be no positive and negative concomitance."
The reason *sattvāt* used above can be classified as Uddyotakara's sixteenth pseudo-reason; cf. KYUMA 2007: 477 n. 31 with the references given there. As Uddyotakara, when explaining the different kinds of pseudo-reasons, also presents proofs in which the permanence of the word is inferred from its non-existence (*sādhyatajjātīyavipakṣāvṛttiḥ, nityaḥ śabdo 'sattvāt* NV 159,15 on NSū 1.2.4; *sādhyataj-*

known factors or assume that Bhāviveka applies a logical reason that was already shown by Uddyotakara to be faulty.

Be this as it may, up to now we have seen that Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti have a lot of theories in common. If both of them developed their theories independently, as "the basic ideas were already 'in the air'," as cautiously proposed by Tillemans, then the air must have been quite thick. But the material presented so far seems rather to indicate that there must have been a relationship between these two scholars. Of course it goes without saying that when we look at the dates of Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti, which are accepted by the majority of the scholars, i.e., 490/500–570 for Bhāviveka and 600–660 for Dharmakīrti, there is only one direction of influence possible, Dharmakīrti must have been influenced by Bhāviveka.

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jātīyāvr̥ttir avidyamānavipakṣaḥ, anityaḥ śabdo 'sattvāt NV 160,1 on NSū 1.2.4; *sādhyāvr̥ttir avidyamānasajātir vipakṣāvr̥ttiḥ, nityaḥ śabdo 'sattvāt* NV 160,4 on NSū 1.2.4) the application of the *sattvānumāna* does not imply that he is referring to a *sattvānumāna* that has been applied by a Buddhist in order to prove the impermanence of words, or to the one developed by Dharmakīrti. Also his use of the optative (*sādhayet*) might indicate a more hypothetical assumption. In any case, this certainly can be excluded as Bhāviveka's source.

Interestingly enough, Kumārila, in his Br̥haṭṭīkā, uses the reason *sattva* in order to refute the Buddha's omniscience: "Who indeed [*ko nu*] would postulate this (omniscient being) [*tam*], for whose (existence) there are reasons characterized as being knowable [*jñeya*], being object of a valid cognition [*prameyatva*], being real [*vastu*] and *being existent* [*sattva*], etc., which are capable of denying it" [*yasya jñeyaprameyatvavastu*sattvā*dilakṣaṇāḥ* | *nihantuṃ hetavaḥ śaktāḥ ko nu taṃ kalpayiṣyati* || TS 3156); cf. the translation of ŚV *codanā* 132 in KATAOKA 2011b: 357, with nn. 408 and 409.

2. Bhāviveka and Kumārila

2.1 An omniscient being is not seen today

Another point that is worth mentioning is the similar idea and wording of a *pūrvapakṣa* in the Mīmāṃsā chapter of the MHK and in Kumārila's Ślokavārttika (ŚV):[58]

> na *cāsti kaścit* sarvajño nedānīṃ dr̥śyate *yataḥ* | MHK 9.15ab
> But an omniscient being does not exist at all, because it is not seen today.
> sarvajño dr̥śyate *tāvan* nedānīm *asmadādibhiḥ* | ŚV *codanā* 117ab and Br̥haṭṭīkā[59]
> First, an omniscient being is not seen by (ordinary) people like us today.[60]

According to the accepted dating of Kumārila, who is assumed to be an elder contemporary of Dharmakīrti (600–660), this similar wording leads to the conclusions that Kumārila either 'borrowed' his view and wording from Bhāviveka, or that both drew on an unknown common source, unless one wants to declare the similarity to be a mere coincidence.

2.2a The omniscience of the cintāmaṇi-like Buddha is advocated in order to win public confidence

There are other ideas shared by Bhāviveka and Kumārila. In the following half-verse, Bhāviveka has the opponent claim that "[t]he omniscience of the Buddha is advocated with an intention of winning public confidence" (KAWASAKI 1976: 15).[61] In the Ślokavārttika, and with more details in the Tantravārttika, Kumārila presents a Buddhist saying that the teaching of the Buddha in meditation, being motionless like a

58 Already LINDTNER (2001: 3) referred to these "significant historical allusions to […] Kumārila."

59 See FRAUWALLNER 1962: 80; also KATAOKA 2003: 51f.

60 This argument is already found in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra attributed to Nāgārjuna and translated into French by LAMOTTE (1944: 152): "Question. – Dans le monde, il ne peut y avoir d'Omniscient. Pourquoi? Parce que personne ne voit l'Omniscient." I thank Kiyotaka Yoshimizu for this reference.

61 MHK 9.15cd: *sarvajñatā hi buddhasya kalpitā lokapaktaye*.

cintāmaṇi, does not flow out of his mouth but, according to the wish of his devotees, even out of a wall. Kumārila's response is similar to the claim in Bhāviveka's *pūrvapakṣa*: Some things you teach seem attractive only for devotees. I will quote more than necessary in order to give the context, and because the passage nicely displays the struggle for the religious market.

> [62]When he attains (the state of) meditation and stays like a wish-fulfilling jewel, (his) teachings flow even out of a wall, etc. as desired (in the same manner as everything wished-for appears from the presence of a wish-fulfilling jewel). […] But such things that (you) teach seem attractive (only) to devotees. And we, not being devotees, seek reasoning. And these (teachings) which have flowed out of a wall, etc. cannot have been taught by a trustworthy person. And (we) won't trust the (teachings), (because we have a doubt:) by whom have these (teachings) been uttered? (Are they) taught by the Buddha (himself)? Or (are they) taught by those who are playing to deceive brahmins by means of distant echoes? Or (are they) stated by unseen *evil-minded* ghosts and the like? – Therefore those who regard (themselves) as wise men should not trust these (teachings). (KATAOKA 2011b: 371–373 nn. 430–433)[63]

2.2b The Veda and the Buddhist teachings have been produced by an evil being

Similar to the statement that the Buddhist teachings may have been uttered by an evil-minded ghost,[64] we have seen Bhāviveka claiming that

62 TS 3240–3245: *tasmin dhyānasamāpanne cintāratnavad āsthite* | *niścaranti yathākāmaṃ kuḍyādibhyo 'pi deśanāḥ* || […] *ityādi kīrtyamānaṃ tu śraddadhāneṣu śobhate* | *vayam aśraddadhānās tu ye yuktīḥ prārthayāmahe* || *kuḍyādiniḥsṛtānāṃ ca na syād āptopa diṣṭatā* | *viśvāsaś ca na tāsu syāt kenemāḥ kīrtitā iti* || *kiṃ nu buddhapraṇītāḥ syuḥ kiṃ nu brāhmaṇavañcakaiḥ* | *krīḍadbhir upadiṣṭāḥ syur dūrasthapratiśabdakaiḥ* || *kiṃ vā kṣudrapiśācād yair adṛṣṭair eva kīrtitāḥ* | *tasmān na tāsu viśvāsaḥ kartavyaḥ prājñamānibhiḥ* ||.

63 Here, Kataoka also edits and translates the relevant portions of the Ślokavārttika.

64 Compare also the following passages from Kumārila's Bṛhaṭṭīkā and Tantravārttika referred to and translated in KATAOKA (2011a: nn. 33 and 38 respectively):
ye hi tāvad avedajñās teṣāṃ vedād asambhavaḥ | *upadeśaḥ kṛto yas tair vyāmohād eva kevalāt* ||
śiṣyavyāmohanārthaṃ vā vyāmohād vātadāśrayāt | *loke duṣṭopadeṣṭṝṇām upadeśaḥ pravartate* ||

the Veda is produced by an evil human being (*asatpuruṣakartr̥ka*; cf. above p. 539, MHK 9.31). And similar to the rejection of the Buddhist teachings on the ground that they lack reasoning (*yukti*), Bhāviveka emphasizes quite repetitively that it is reasonable to reject the three Vedas:

> *dr̥ṣṭvā kleśātmikāṃ caryāṃ* yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī ‖ MHK 9.59
> *ayuktiyuktaṃ mīmāṃsyaṃ* yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī ‖ MHK 9.94
> *dr̥ṣṭvā durvihitaṃ trayyāṃ* yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī ‖ MHK 9.120
> *dr̥ṣṭvā durvihitaṃ trayyāṃ* yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī ‖ MHK 9.127
> *dr̥ṣṭvā durvihitaṃ trayyāṃ* yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī ‖ MHK 9.139[65]

"To explain, first, it is impossible that (the teaching of) those who do not know the Veda is based on the Veda. The teaching delivered by them is solely based on delusion alone. Or in order to delude disciples; or out of delusion which is not based on the Veda [i.e. delusion not out of false Vedic learning]. (For these reasons,) teaching of evil teachers takes place in the world."
Tantravārttika ad 1.3.11, A 234.25–26: *śākyādinirmite* dharmaśāstrā*bhāse nirākr̥te* | […] "Alternatively, having rejected a pseudo *Dharma-teaching* [i.e. Smr̥ti] composed by the Buddha or some other (teacher) […]."

65 The phrase *yuktaṃ yat tyajyate trayī* is the response to the accusation that the teaching of Buddha cannot be *pramāṇa* because it refutes the views proposed in the three Vedas, like the teaching of the Naked, i.e., the Jains (*apramāṇaṃ vaco bauddhaṃ trayīdarśanadūṣaṇāt | yad yathoktaṃ tathoktaṃ tad yathā nagnāṭadarśanam* ‖ MHK 9.17). The Jains are refuted in ŚV *codanā* 141–142; cf. the synopsis in KATAOKA 2003: 38. That there is no difference between the Buddha and the Jina is also stated in the Br̥haṭṭīkā (*jinabuddhādisattvānāṃ viśeṣo nāvadhāryate* ‖ TS 3149cd); cf. also KATAOKA 2011b: 350 n. 397. That the view of the Buddhists and others are opposed to the Vedas is also said by Praśastapāda (*trayīdarśanaviparīteṣu śākyādidarśaneṣu* PDhS 41.14). Compare also Kumārila's Tantravārttika where it is said that the Buddha's conduct deviates from and is contrary to the path of the three Vedas: "*śākyādivacanāni tu katipayadamadānādivacanavarjaṃ sarvāṇy eva samastacaturdaśavidyāsthānaviruddhāni, trayīmārgavyutthitaviruddhācāraṇaiś ca buddhādibhiḥ praṇītāni, trayībāhyebhyaś caturthavarṇaniravasitaprāyebhyo vyāmūḍhebhyaḥ samarpitāni–iti na vedamūlatvena saṃbhāvyante. svadharmātikrameṇa ca yena kṣatriyeṇa satā pravaktr̥tvapratigrahau pratipannau, sa dharmam aviplutam upadekṣyatīti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ*. The statement of the Buddha, etc., except for a few statements concerning restraint, giving and the like, are all contradictory to all 14 branches of science; they are composed by the Buddha, etc., whose conduct deviates from and is contrary to the path of the three (Vedas); they are offered to those stupefied people outside the three (Vedas), who are in most cases fixed in the fourth *varṇa* [i.e. *śūdra*]. Therefore they cannot be conceived as based on the Vedas. And, how can one believe such a person, who, transgressing his own duty, has taken on being a teacher and receiving (a gift) though he is a

And at the end of the third chapter, Bhāviveka states that the Buddha, the Lord of all, for the sake of those being instructed (*vineya*), can take on any form with his body and speech which are like a wish-fulfilling gem (*cintāmaṇi*).[66]

2.3 The Buddha and his teaching cannot be pramāṇa

In verse 16 of the *pūrvapakṣa*, Bhāviveka presents the opponent as applying a double strategy: 1) the word of the Buddha cannot be *pramāṇa*, and 2) the Buddha is not omniscient.

> *apramāṇaṃ vaco bauddhaṃ kr̥takatvāt tadanyavat* |
> *asarvajñaś ca sambuddhaḥ puruṣatvāt tadanyavat* || MHK 9.16
> The word of the Buddha is not a *pramāṇa*, because it is created like (the word of someone else that is) different from it. The Buddha is not omniscient, because he is a human like anybody else.

In a recent paper, van der Kuijp has referred to Bhāviveka's Prajñāpradīpa, where we find a similar discussion:

> *de bźin gśegs paʾi gsuṅ rab ni thams cad mkhyen pa ma yin pas smras pa yin te* | *byed pa po daṅ bcas paʾi phyir dper na* | *bye brag pa la sogs paʾi bstan bcos bźin no* || PP D215a4–5, P269b4–5
> The Word(s) [**pravacana*] of the Tathāgata [= Buddhist scripture] were (oral texts initially) spoken by one who is not omniscient, because they have a (human) agent/composer as, for example, treatise(s) of the Vaiśeṣika (tradition), etc. (VAN DER KUIJP 2006: 192)

This position is attributed by Bhāviveka to "'some[one]' belonging to the Mīmāṃsā tradition" (*dpyod pa can dag las kha cig gis smras pa*) (*ibid.*), and van der Kuijp draws our attention to the fact that this passage, and others referred to by him in n. 70 along with the commentary by Avalokitavrata, ask for

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kṣatriya (and not a brahmin), can teach an unpolluted dharma?" KATAOKA 2011b: 373 n. 433.

66 *sa cintāmaṇikalpena vapuṣā vacasāpi ca* | *vineyārthavaśād dhatte* (EJIMA : *datte* LINDTNER) *viśveśo viśvarūpatām* || MHK 3.359.

a study in which these are compared to *inter alia* what the formidable Mīmāṃsā philosopher Kumārila argued [*contra* the omniscience of the Buddha and *contra* the infallibility of his teachings] in the relevant passages in, for example, the Codanā chapter of his Ślokavārttika [I: 2, 116–46, 169] and his Bṛhaṭṭīkā, which survives only by way of quoted fragments (*ibid.*).

To this, I completely agree. The passage from the PP under consideration here is similar to MHK 9.16ab (see also above, p. 547). For a comparison of the Buddhist teaching with that of the Vaiśeṣika, one might consider Kumārila's Tantravārttika, where he calls both the Buddhist and Vaiśeṣika (*śākyavaiśeṣika*) *mīmāṃsakatrasta*, i.e. being afraid of the Mīmāṃsaka.[67]

Both arguments are quite prominent in Kumārila's refutation of the Buddhists, e.g. in the sections entitled "Denial of an omniscient being," "Denial of 'the omniscient Buddha'," and "Denial of 'being taught by an omniscient being'" (KATAOKA 2003: 51–59). Two examples from the Bṛhaṭṭīkā may suffice here:

yadā copadiśed ekaṃ kiñcit sāmānyavaktṛvat |
ekadeśajñagītaṃ tan na syāt sarvajñabhāṣitam || TS 3239
And if he, like an ordinary speaker, taught one particular thing, what (he teaches) would be that which is uttered by a cognizor of (only) one thing [*ekadeśajña*], not uttered by a cognizor of everything [*sarvajña*]. (KATAOKA 2003: 56)
yāvad buddho na sarvajñas tāvad tadvacanaṃ mṛṣā | TS 3232ab
As long as the Buddha is not omniscient, his teaching is false. (KATAOKA 2003: 54)

2.4 On the meaning of sarva in sarvajña

In MHK 9.164, Bhāviveka discusses whether the Buddha can know everything:

If (the opponent assumes) that (the Buddha) might know certain things [*cuṅ źig*, **kiñcit*] but not everything, (you must ask them): What does the Muni not know? If

67 Cf. KATAOKA 2003: 39 n. 8: "Tantravārttika […] ad 1.3.12, A 235.22–23: *yathā mīmāṃsakatrastāḥ śākyavaiśeṣikādayaḥ | nitya evāgamo 'smākam ity āhuḥ śūnya-cetanam*."

(they answer): The way to heaven [*mtho ris*, **svarga*] and liberation [*byaṅ grol*, **apavarga*], (you reply): (this) is certainly taught in this teaching (of his).[68]

In the parallel passage of the PP, when refuting the opponent's claim that the Buddha's body cannot be the basis of the cognition of an omniscient being,[69] Bhāviveka instructs his students as follows:

> Also with regard to the subject 'body' (you must show) the faults of the reason and the example in the same way. First, (you) also (have to question) the meaning of that thesis 'not omniscient': "What is it?" Does 'not knowing everything' mean a) 'knowing certain [things]' [*cuṅ zad mkhyen pa*] or b) 'knowing nothing at all'? *ad* a) If of these (two) he assumes as in the first alternative, (then you must ask) "what do you assume that he does not know?" If (the opponent says) "super sensible (matters)," (then you answer): He knows that, because (it) is object of (his) cognition [**jñeyatvāt*], just as an immaculate jewel put on the palm of one's/his own hand.[70]

While in the Ślokavārttika a discussion of the meaning of *sarva* in *sarvajña* is missing, the answer to the question what 'not knowing every-

68 *cuṅ źig śes kyi* (P : *kyis* D) *kun mi śes* || *źe na thub pas gaṅ ma mkhyen* || *mtho ris byaṅ grol lam źe na* || *bstan pa ʾdi las bstan pa ñid* || MHK 9.164 (D319b6, P366b2–3). The verse is not available in Sanskrit. For the commentary on this verse, see p. 548.

69 *yaṅ na de bźin gśegs paʾi sku ni thams cad mkhyen paʾi ye śes kyi gźi ma yin te* | *lus yin paʾi phyir dper na so soʾi skye boʾi lus bźin no* || D214a5–6, P568a7–8. Moreover, the body of the Tathāgata is not the basis of the cognition of an omniscient being, because it is a body like the body of an ordinary person (**pṛthagjana*).

70 *skuʾi phyogs la yaṅ gtan tshigs daṅ* | *dpeʾi skyon dag de bźin no* || *thams cad mkhyen pa ma yin no* || *źes dam bcas pa deʾi don kyaṅ re źig gaṅ yin* | *ci thams cad ni mi mkhyen la* | a) *cuṅ zad mkhyen pa yin nam* | b) *ʾon te cuṅ zad kyaṅ mi mkhyen pa yin* | ad a) *de la gal te brtag pa sṅa ma ltar ʾdod na ni des ci źig mi mkhyen par ʾdod* | *gal te dbaṅ po las ʾdas paʾo źe na des de mkhyen te* | *śes bya yin paʾi phyir ñid kyi phyag mthil du nor bu dri ma med pa la sogs pa bźag pa bźin no* || PP D214b1–4, P568b4–8. The example used by Bhāviveka, *ñid kyi phyag mthil du nor bu dri ma med pa la sogs pa*, **svakaratalaratnāmalādi*, might be an allusion to his work *Karatalaratna (Chang-chen-lun, TAISHŌ 1578), availabe in a Chinese translation by Xuanzang; see SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 63 with n. 196. For this argument, compare Laṅkāvatārasūtra where it is said that the *tathāgatagarbha* for the Tathāgatas is object of perception like the *āmalaka* fruit in [one's/their] hand (*tathāgatānām punar mahāmate karatalāmalakavat pratyakṣagocaro bhavati* LASū 91,2–3). I thank Kazuo Kano for this reference. See also Nyāyabhūṣaṇa 302,4–5: *tad yathā – vivādāspadībhūtāny adṛṣṭādīni kasyacit pratyakṣāṇi prameyatvāt karatalāmalakavad iti* […].

thing' means is an important topic in the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, with Kumārila devoting 29 verses to it; see KATAOKA (2011b: 321f., n. 357):

> In the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, however, Kumārila discusses *sarva* in the immediately following verses ([Tattvasaṅgraha H. K.] 3128–3156). This argument is not found in the Ślokavārttika.
> First, he questions the meaning of the word 'everything.' If 'everything' does not contain dharma, Kumārila accepts these kinds of *sarvajña*: […]

2.5 On 'uninterrupted transmission'

Similarly to Bhāviveka, who in MHK 9.19 refutes the possibility that the authority of the Veda can be established on the basis of its uninterrupted transmission (see above, p. 538), Kumārila in ŚV*codanā* 133–136 refutes the possibility that the omniscience of the Buddha can be established on the basis of an uninterrupted transmission.[71]

2.6 Other Mīmāṃsakas on the omniscience of Jaimini, Kapila and Kaṇāda

We have seen that in their treatment of the Buddha's omniscience, Bhāviveka and Kumārila share a lot of ideas and that one can easily read Bhāviveka as refuting Kumārila, unless one wants to postulate an unknown forerunner of Kumārila from whom he inherited all these ideas and even the wording of a half-verse found in MHK 9.15ab (s. §2.1). However, Bhāviveka certainly also draws on the ideas of some other Mīmāṃsakas. Already above we have mentioned the trio Jaimini, Kapila and Kaṇāda, who are, according to Bhāviveka, assumed by the opponents to be omniscient (cf. p. 548, with n. 33). The assumption that Jaimini is omniscient is also used in MHK 9.163 and TJ to refute a certain Mīmāṃsaka idea that the Buddha might have incorrect cognitions because he cognizes objects differently from Brahmā, etc. The verse is not unproblematic and has been translated by Lindtner as follows:

71 See "6.4.5 Denial of an uninterrupted transmission" in KATAOKA 2011b.

If, on the other hand, you think that they are omniscient in the sense that they know enough, this argument is not valid, for lepers etc. [also know 'enough,' without being truly omniscient]. (LINDTNER 2001: 52)

Here Lindtner certainly misunderstood *mdze mi* of the name *mdze/mdze'i /dzai mi ni* in the sense that *mdze* means 'leprosy' and *mi* 'human being.'[72] But also the reading (*m*)*chog*, 'enough,'[73] seems problematic to me. The text runs as follows:

yaṅ na 'di ltar thams cad mkhyen || (*m*)*chog*[1] *śes ñid du 'dod na ni* ||
gaṅ phyir <u>*mdze'i*[2] *mi ni*</u> *sogs kyis*[3] || *gtan tshigs 'di ni ma ṅes ñid* || MHK 9.163[74]
gal te *tshaṅs pa la sogs pa las phyin ci log tu śes pa'i rnam pa 'dis* <u>*saṅs rgyas*</u> *ni brdzun*[4] *par śes pa yin te* | *skyes bu yin pa'i phyir tha mal pa'i skyes bu bźin no źes smra na*[5] *yaṅ* | <u>mdze'i[6] mi ni</u> *la* sogs *pa* <u>*khyod*</u> *kyis thams cad mkhyen pa ñid du 'dod pas* ma ṅes pa ñid *yin te* | *skyes bu yin pa'i phyir* | *tha mal pa'i skyes bu bźin du phyin ci log tu śes pa źig yin nam* | *'on te* <u>*mdze'i*[6] *mi ni*</u> *bźin du skyes bu yin pa'i phyir* | *phyin ci ma log par śes pa źig yin źes bya ba yin no*[7] || TJ D319b3–6, P366a7–b2; Bo doṅ 293,6–294,3

[1] *chog* D, Bo doṅ; *mchog* P [2] *mdze'i* D : *mdze* P, Kawasaki ed.; *dzai* Bo doṅ [3] *kyis* Kawasaki ed., Bo doṅ : *kyi* DP [4] *brdzun* D : *rdzun* P, Bo doṅ [5] *smra na* DP : *smras* Bo doṅ [6] *mdze'i* DP; *dzai* Bo doṅ [7] *phyin ci ma log par śes pa źig yin źes bya ba yin no* // D, P; omitted in Bo doṅ

Moreover, if you assume the omniscient (Buddha) to have (*m*)*chog śes*/to cognize (*m*)*chog* in the way (explained before) [*'di ltar*], then (your) reason is not conclusive because of Jaimini, etc.
Even if (you) say: The Buddha cognizes falsely [*brdzun par*] on account of that aspect (of his cognition) which cognizes (objects) contrarily [*phyin ci log*, **viparīta*] to Brahmā, etc., because he is a human being like any ordinary human being, then (the reason *puruṣatvāt* in MHK 9.16d) is inconclusive because (you) assume Jaimini, etc., to be omniscient. (The Buddha) could be one who cognizes falsely, because he is a human being like any ordinary human being, or he could be one who cognizes correctly, because he is a human being like Jaimini.

Neither of the two variants *chog śes* and *mchog śes* in the verse seems to comprise the meaning expressed in the commentary. *chog śes* may be considered a translation for *tṛpta, saṃtuṣṭa* or something similar, or it may be understood as cognition (*śes, jñāna*) of *chog* (*alam, tuṣṭa*). *mchog śes* might mean something like the highest cognition or *prajñā*.

72 See VAN DER KUIJP 2006: 185.
73 KAWASAKI (1992: 401) understands *chog* to render Sanskrit *saṃtoṣa*.
74 For the verses MHK 149–167, no Sanskrit text is available.

The only way to make sense of (*m*)*chog śes* is to assume it to be an incorrect transmission of *log śes*, 'cognition contrary (to Brahmā).'[75]

Be this as it may, that Jaimini can be inferred as omniscient on account of one part (*phyogs gcig*, **ekadeśa*) of his knowledge, as suggested by Bhāviveka in MHK 143 with TJ (s. p. 548, nn. 33, 34), namely on account of his knowledge of the past and the future, is certainly not Kumārila's position.[76] He clearly states that perception does not even have the slightest capacity to see a future event, and that it also cannot be inferred since there is no logical mark (*liṅga*).[77] In addition to this, Kumārila clearly refutes the possibility of inferring omniscience from a single part of the knowledge that can be seen and checked.[78] If there were a Mīmāṃsaka with this view at all, it might be the so-called *vr̥ddhamīmāṃsaka*, the 'old Mīmāṃsaka,' also known as *jarajjaiminīya*, who has been identified by KATAOKA (2000: 169, 173, 177ff.) as the opponent whose *abhivyaktivāda* is presented in MHK 9.10. This *vr̥ddhamīmāṃsaka* is contrasted by Jayantabhaṭṭa with Śabara and Prabhākara, and thus Kataoka holds him to be earlier than these two (KATAOKA 2000: 173). The *vr̥ddhamīmāṃsaka* is also referred to by Dharmakīrti, at least according to Karṇakagomin. Dharmakīrti attributes him the view that, giving up the traditional Mīmāṃsā definition of the Veda as being

75 This type of reading is also supported by the parallel passage in the Prajñāpradīpa: *ci ste <u>gźan dag</u> gis ʾdas pa daṅ | ma ʾoṅs pa daṅ | da ltar du gtogs pa daṅ | ma gtogs pa dag ji ltar śes pa de ltar <u>bcom ldan ʾdas</u> kyis mi mkhyen to źe na ni grub pa la sgrub pa yin te | de dag gis* (*gis* P : gi D) log *paʾi śes pas śes bya dag* log *par śes paʾi phyir ro* || [...] *gtan tshigs thams cad ma ṅes pa ñid do* || <u>*dpyod pa can dag*</u> *gi ni <u>rgyal dpog pa</u> la sogs pa dag gis ma ṅes pa ñid de* | (PP D214b4–5, P268b7–269a3).

76 Jaimini's omniscience is also mentioned by Bhāsarvajña; cf. NBhū 167,28: <u>*jaiminer*</u> *api sarvajñatvāt*.

77 See KATAOKA 2003: 48. Here, Kumārila follows Śabara (on 1.1.2), according to whom past and future are known only through *codanā* and not through any other sense faculty (*codanā hi bhūtaṃ bhavantaṃ bhaviṣyantaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vyavahitaṃ viprakr̥ṣṭam ity evaṃjātīyakam arthaṃ śaknoty avagamayitum, nānyat kiṃcanendriyam* "Die Weisung vermag nämlich dergleichen wie Vergangenes, Gegenwärtiges, Zukünftiges, Feines, Verborgenes und Entferntes erkennen zu lassen, und sonst kein Sinnesorgan." (FRAUWALLNER 1968: 17–18).

78 See above, n. 26 and also below, n. 79.

apauruṣeya, Vedic statements are true in all cases because they are true in some cases, such as ‘fire is the remedy of cold.’[79]

* * *

As in the case of Dharmakīrti, the material presented in §2.1–5 suggests that there must have been some kind of relation between Kumārila and Bhāviveka, unless we assume an otherwise unknown forerunner of Kumārila who left no traces in the writings of later Mīmāṃsakas at all.

These parallels between Bhāviveka on one side and Dharmakīrti and Kumārila on the other might be seen as proving the claim of modern scholars, such as Ejima (see p. 554, n. 49), that parts of the commentary on the MHK are the product of a later author with a similar name who lived in the eighth century. If this were the case, then the argument that the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha is not a work by Bhāviveka, the author of the PP and MHK (s. §1.5), would also gain in weight. Thus, it seems

79 PVSV 173,16–19: *anyas tv apauruṣeyam āgamalakṣaṇa ṃ parityajyānyathā prāmāṇyaṃ vedasya sādhayitukāmaḥ prāha*: *avitathāni vedavākyāni yatrāpratipattiḥ*, *vedaikadeśatvāt*, *yathāgnir himasya bheṣajam ityādi vākyam iti* “But another one, renouncing the definition of scripture as (that which is) authorless, wishes to prove the authority of the Veda in another way (and) states (the following): (Those) Vedic statements for which there is no cognition (of their truth) are true, because they are part of the (same) Veda, just like a (Vedic) statement such as: ‘Fire is the remedy for cold.’” This passage is also referred to in PVin 2 72,10 (*ekadeśāvisaṃvādanam apy āgamalakṣaṇam āhuḥ*); cf. Steinkellner 1979: 78 n. 252. Kumārila ridicules this type of reasoning as ascribed to the *anya* (PVSV 173,16) in ŚV *codanā* 130 also with reference to fire: “This statement of mine [*vaco mama*] ‘the Buddha, etc. [*buddhādīnām*] are not omniscient’ [*asārvajñyam iti*] because it is stated by me [*maduktatvāt*], just like [*yathaiva*] (my statements) ‘fire is hot’ [*agnir uṣṇaḥ*] and [*api*] ‘fire is bright’ [*bhāsvara iti*]” Kataoka 2011b: 356; see also McCrea 2009: 64. The *ekadeśasaṃvāda* argument is extensively treated in Kataoka 2001b: n. 379.
This *anya* is identified by Śā kyabuddhi and Karṇakagomin just as Mīmāṃsaka (PVṬ D Ñe 62b2 = PVSVṬ 608,17: anyas tu *mīmāṃsakaḥ* […]), but the *apara* of the verse (PV 1.330) as ‘old Mīmāṃsaka’ (PVSVṬ 608,15–16: *evam* aparo *vṛddhamīmāṃsako* ’bravīd *uktavān*). Historically speaking I consider it quite unlikely that this *anya*/*apara* referred to by Dharmakīrti should be an ‘old Mīmāṃsaka’ as Karṇakagomin informs us. For me it seems more likely that the source for Dharmakīrti’s formulation might be, for example, a student of Kumārila who, based on such a statement as ŚV *codanā* 130 referred to above, ridiculed Dignāga’s *āgama* definition in PS 2.5ab and formulated such an argument.

worthwhile to consider the authorship of the TJ again. If it turns out that the TJ's entire chapter nine, or at least the passages dealing with the validity of the Veda and omniscience, were not authored by Bhāviveka but by somebody with a similar name living one or two hundred years later, the above-mentioned passages connecting statements of Bhāviveka with those of Kumārila (and in part those of Dharmakīrti) have no weight at all.

3. On the Authenticity of the Tarkajvālā[80]

3.1 Ejima against Bhāviveka's authorship

The main argument against the authenticity of the TJ has been brought forward by Ejima: "[i]n the present TJ the *mūla-kārikā*s are frequently introduced with wordings like '*ācārya āha*,' or commented '*ayam ācāryasyābhiprāyaḥ*,' etc." Thus, he concludes that although

> [t]he 'Ur'-TJ, a revised or enlarged recension of which is now handed down to us in the Tripiṭaka, was really composed by Bhāvaviveka […] [t]he present TJ was composed by another person named 'Bhavya.'

And this 'Bhavya' is assumed by Ejima to have lived "perhaps in the VIIIth century."[81] HALBFASS (1991: 100) seems to follow this attribution, but he does not provide any arguments.

80 As I have already dealt with this topic in KRASSER 2011, here I present only the main arguments. The topic has been recently dealt with also in YASUMA 2007 and 2008.

81 See the letter printed in LINDTNER 1982: 83. Ejima (*loc. cit.*) also attributes the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha to this Bhavya. The pros and cons are also discussed in SEYFORT RUEGG 1990.

3.2 Arguments by other scholars for Bhāviveka's authorship

The main argument of LINDTNER (1982: 184) and QVARNSTRÖM (1989: 21 n.1) against this assumption of Ejima is that wordings like '*ācārya āha*' are also found in other commentaries that were authored by the same person as the *mūla*-text. GOKHALE (1985: 77) considers the possibility that *ācārya* might refer to Atiśa, who was responsible for the translation of the TJ into Tibetan, and that these passages might reflect Atiśa's explanations given to his Tibetan co-translator. ECKEL (2008: 22–23) assumes that these passages might be interpolations or insertions by a student or a later editor. Moreover, he considers the possibility that these "*ācārya* passages" might reflect a kind of stylistic device.[82]

I do not subscribe to any of the explanations of Gokhale, Lindtner and Qvarnström, or to Eckel's "stylistic device,"[83] but I do consider the TJ as having been composed by Bhāviveka. Before considering these "*ācārya* passages" briefly, I will take a look at another text by Bhāviveka whose authenticity is unanimously accepted.

3.3 The relationship between the Tarkajvālā and the Prajñāpradīpa

As already mentioned above (p. 562), VAN DER KUIJP (2006) has drawn our attention to a passage in the PP in which we find a discussion on the omniscience of the Buddha similar to the one found in chapter 9 of the MHK/TJ. The passage consists in a digression or appendix (*prasaṅga*)[84] that begins at PP D214a3, P268a5 with *mu stegs can ṅan pa mig na bas ñi maʾi dkyil ʾkhor gyi ʾod zer mi bzod pa bźin du* | and ends with the formulation *źar la bśad pas chog go* || (PP D216a7, P271a7).[85] This

82 These positions have been dealt in more detail in another paper (KRASSER 2011 §3.2), where references are also provided.

83 It goes without saying that, in general, later insertions never can be excluded with certainty.

84 This *prasaṅga* is the topic of another paper (KRASSER 2011), and more details can be found there.

85 The next sentence probably also belongs to this digression as it is still dealing with omniscience. PP D216a7–b1, P271a7–8: *deʾi phyir de ltar thams cad mkhyen pa ni chos thams cad ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid phyin ci ma log par ston pa bkaʾ lha daṅ miʾi*

excursus draws heavily on the Tarkajvālā. The parallels to MHK 9.31 cum TJ for the passages dealing with the Maga Brahmins have already been indicated by VAN DER KUIJP (2006: 196–199), who also translates some of the passages. The beginning of this digression reflects on the refutation of the two accusations formulated in MHK 9.16,[86] namely 1) that the teaching of the Buddha is not a *pramāṇa* because it is produced like any other statement produced by humans, and 2) that the Buddha himself cannot be omniscient, because he is a human like any other ordinary being. As in the refutation of these two claims in the MHK and the TJ, the sequence of the accusations is turned around. The digression in the PP starts with enumerating the claims brought forward by certain evil outsiders, who are depicted much more harshly than in the parallel in the TJ:

> *mu stegs can ṅan pa mig na bas ñi maʾi dkyil ʾkhor gyi ʾod zer mi bzod pa bźin du | stobs bcu dri ma med paʾi dkyil ʾkhor ba sa* (*sa* P : *pa* D) *thams cad snaṅ bar byed paʾi gsuṅ ma nor baʾi ʾod zer mi bzod* (*bzod* D : *ba bon ma/bo nam* P) *pa dag gis smras pa |*
>
> 1) *de bźin gśegs pa ni thams cad mkhyen pa ma yin te | mi yin paʾi phyir dper na de las gźan bźin no ||*
>
> 2) *yaṅ na de bźin gśegs paʾi ye śes ni thams cad mkhyen paʾi ye śes ma yin te | śes pa yin paʾi phyir dper na so soʾi skye boʾi śes pa bźin no ||*
>
> 3) *yaṅ na de bźin gśegs paʾi sku ni thams cad mkhyen paʾi ye śes kyi gźi ma yin te | lus yin paʾi phyir dper na so soʾi skye boʾi lus bźin no ||* PP D214a3–6, P268a5–8
>
> Certain evil outsiders who cannot stand the rays of the *maṇḍala* of the immaculate ten powers (of the Buddha to know everything), his unerring teaching that illuminates all places, like those suffering from eye disease cannot stand the rays of the sun *maṇḍala* [i.e. the disc of the sun], state:[87]
>
> 1) The Tathāgata is not omniscient, because he is a human like anyone else.
>
> 2) Moreover, the cognition of the Tathāgata is not the cognition of an omniscient being, because it is knowledge like the knowledge of an ordinary person.
>
> 3) Moreover, the body of the Tathāgata is not the basis of the cognition of an omniscient being, because it is a body like the body of an ordinary person.

---

bla ma rnams kyis (D : *kyi* P) *bkur ba de | de ñid bcom ldan ʾdas stobs bcu mṅaʾ ba yin no || gtam ha caṅ ʾphros pas chog gi* (em.: *gis* DP) *| skabs ñid la ʾjug par byaʾo.*

86 See above, §2.3.

87 This argument is also treated in IIDA 1985.

The third *pūrvapakṣa* is not explicitly stated in the MHK/TJ, but included in the refutation in MHK 9.160.

> *gaṅ yaṅ ʾdi skad du |*
>
> 1) *saṅs rgyas ni thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ma yin te | skyes bu yin par mtshuṅs paʾi phyir skyes bu gźan bźin no* (cf. MHK 9.16cd) *źes zer ba daṅ |*
>
> 2) *saṅs rgyas kyi ye śes kyaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ma yin te byas pa yin paʾi phyir skyes bu gźan gyi śes pa bźin no* (cf. MHK 9.16ab) *źes zer ba de la yaṅ |*
>
> i) *chos daṅ sprul paʾi sku dag ni || ṅa la mi ñid du ma grub ||*
>
> ii) *de bźin gśegs paʾaṅ ma grub ste || des na ma ṅes pa ñid yin ||* MHK 9.160 (TJ D318b4–5, P364b8–365a2)
>
> And it has been said:
>
> 1) The Buddha is not omniscient, because he is human-like like any other human being, and
>
> 2) the cognition of the Buddha, too, is not omniscient, because it is produced like the cognition of another human being. Also with regard to this (we say):
>
> i) For me, the *dharma-* and the *nirmāṇakāya* are not established as being human.
>
> ii) Also the Tathāgata is not established (as being such); therefore (your reason 'being human-like' is established as) inconclusive.

In the TJ, first MHK 9.160ab is explained and then MHK 9.160cd. As a presentation of all the parallel passages is far beyond the range of this paper, I will just highlight the main points.

> *ad* i): TJ D318b5–319a2, P365a2–8 (*skyes buʾi mtshan ñid* […] *stoṅ pa yin no*) – The faults in the claim of the opponent are that the reason adduced in MHK 9.16d, i.e. *puruṣatvāt,* is not established and that the example, i.e. *tadanyavat*, lacks the property to be proved (*skyes bu yin paʾi phyir źes bya baʾi gtan tshigs ma grub pa ñid yin la | skyes buʾi dpe yaṅ bsgrub byas stoṅ pa yin no ||* TJ D319a1–2, P365a8).
>
> *ad* ii): TJ D319a2–4, P365a8–365b4 (*de bźin du bcom ldan ʾdas* […] *dpe yaṅ ma grub pa yin no ||*) – The fault shown here is that the example in MHK 9.16b is not established (*des na skyes buʾi śes pa bźin || źes bya baʾi dpe yaṅ ma grub pa yin no ||* TJ D319a4, P365b4).

These two refutations in the TJ have their counterparts in PP D214a6–b6, P268a8–269a5.

> 1): PP D214a6–b1, P268a8–268b3 (*de la ʾdir don dam pa paʾi* […] *dpeʾi skyon dag kyaṅ brjod par byaʾo ||*) – The faults addressed here are, as in the corresponding passage of the TJ (D318b5–319a2), those of the reason and the example (*mi yin*

paʾi phyir źes bya baʾi gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid de || PP D214a6, P268b1 and *dpeʾi skyon dag kyaṅ brjod par byaʾo* || PP D214b1, P268b3).

2): PP D214a7–b1, P268b3–4 (*ye śes kyi* […] *skyon dag kyaṅ brjod par byaʾo* ||) – In comparison to TJ D319a2–4, this argument seems to be more advanced insofar as, in addition to the fault of the example, it also addresses the fault of the reason (*gtan tshigs daṅ* | *dpeʾi skyon dag daṅ* PP D214a7–b1, P268b3).

3): PP D214b1–6, P268b4–269a5 (*skuʾi phyogs la* […] *rgya cher brjod par byaʾo* ||) – The faults addressed here are the same as before (*skuʾi phyogs la yaṅ gtan tshigs daṅ*, *dpeʾi skyon dag de bźin no* || PP D214b1). What follows is a refutation based on the meaning of 'omniscient.' Does 'not knowing everything' mean a) 'knowing certain (things)' or b) 'knowing nothing at all'? (*ci thams cad ni mi mkhyen la* | a) *cuṅ zad mkhyen pa yin nam* | b) *ʾon te cuṅ zad kyaṅ mi mkhyen pa yin* | PP D214b1–2). These two possibilities, which are treated up to PP D214b6, have a long counterpart in MHK 9.161–164 with TJ D319a4–320a2, P365b4–366b7 (*gźan yaṅ* | *gal te ji ltar* […] *mkhyen nas bstan pa yin no* ||). The argument is structured more clearly in the treatment of the PP, which is of great help for understanding the cryptic arguments in MHK/TJ.

The next *pūrvapakṣa* in the PP (D214b6–215a4, P269a5–b4), which is introduced by the statement of some erroneous people because they are wise in their conceit (*gaṅ dag* <u>*mkhas par rlom pas ʾkhrul pa dag*</u> *gis smras pa* […] *dper na mi phal pa bźin no* ||) and which still discusses the meaning of 'omniscient', has a parallel in the introductory commentary to MHK 10.1 (TJ D320b5–321a2, P367b6–368a4 *gal te ʾdir gcer bur rgyu ba rnams* […] *tha mal paʾi skyes bu bźin no*. *źe na* ||).

It is only now that the refutation of MHK 9.16ab (*apramāṇaṃ vaco bauddhaṃ kr̥takatvāt tadanyavat* |) is taken up in PP D215a4–6, P269b4–6. The *pūrvapakṣa* that has been translated by van der Kuijp has been discussed above (p. 562). While in the TJ the *pūrvapakṣa* of MHK 9.16ab has been rephrased as <u>*saṅs rgyas*</u> *kyi ye śes kyaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ma yin te byas pa yin paʾi phyir skyes bu gźan gyi śes pa bźin no* (TJ D318b4, P364b8–365a1) in order to refute it, here in the PP this *pūrvapakṣa* is taken up without changing its meaning. The rephrasing of MHK 9.16*ab* in such a way that it means "the cognition of the Buddha, too, is not omniscient, because it is produced like the cognition of another human being" is quite problematic. This is nothing but a related argument to that addressed in MHK 9.16*cd*, which says that the Buddha is not omniscient. Thus, in fact, MHK 9.16ab is not really answered in MHK/TJ. In the digression in the PP, this mistake is not found,

as this argument is treated as belonging to the refutation of MHK 9.16cd. This is treated above under "2): PP D214a7–b1."

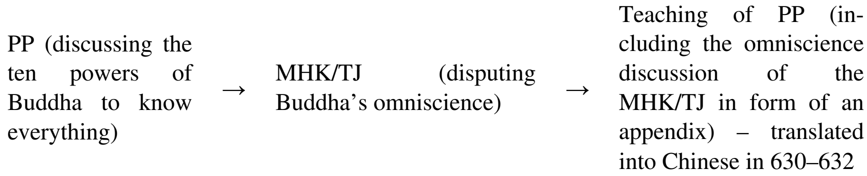
Then follows the refutation of the *pūrvapakṣa* formulated in MHK 9.4ab (*kartur asmaraṇāc ceṣṭo vedo 'puruṣakartṛkaḥ* |), namely, that the Veda could not have been created by a human being, because we do not remember who may have created it. In the PP, this is recapitulated in similar words: *ci ste rig byed kyi tshig dag ni byas pa ma yin te* | *byed pa po mi dran paʾi phyir ro źe na* (PP D215a6, P269b7). The discussion of this topic, including the reference to the illicit sexual behaviour of the Maga Brahmins, extends to the end of this digression. In the MHK/TJ, the argument of MHK 9.4ab is refuted in the verses MHK 9.27–42, with the corresponding commentary (*gaṅ yaṅ rig byed ma byas pa yin te* [...] *daṅ ma bral baʾi phyir ro* || TJ D280a7–287a5, P316b8–324b4).

Although, unlike in the Tibetan translation of the appendix dealing with the refutation of the Yogācāra tenets,[88] neither the MHK nor TJ are mentioned directly in this digression, I believe this analysis leaves no room for doubt whether this digression is based on material taken from the MHK/TJ. It is certainly structured more clearly and there may be some additional ideas not found in MHK/TJ, but this needs a separate in-depth study.

If we now relate the PP and the MHK/TJ with regard to the topic *sarvajñatva*, as discussed above, it seems to have not been a serious issue when the PP was composed, since it had to be added later in the form of a digression. After the original composition of the PP, the topic is addressed in the MHK/TJ but is not well structured and it leaves the *pūrvapakṣa* formulated in MHK 9.16ab (*apramāṇaṃ vaco bauddhaṃ kṛtakatvāt tadanyavat* |) unanswered. Later, when the PP was taught, the much better structured digression was added. This gives the impression that the issue of omniscience entered the market sometime between the composition of the PP and the MHK/TJ.[89]

88 Cf. van der KUIJP 2006: 195, with nn. 78–79.

89 It goes without saying that from the very beginning the Buddha's omniscience was not undisputed. Already the Ājīvika Upaka, a naked ascetic, just shook his head and left after the Buddha told him about his being omniscient, among other things; cf. the chapter "The Buddha's encounter with Ājīvika Upaka" in KAWASAKI 1997: 2–7; see also IIDA 1985.



3.4 Arguments for the authenticity of the TJ

However, even if we now have gained the knowledge that the main points of the *sarvajña* discussion of the MHK/TJ are reflected in this digression of the PP, what does this mean for our problems, namely, whether the TJ was authored by Bhāviveka, and whether this chapter of the MHK/TJ was a later interpolation? It certainly does not help to answer the question whether there was some sort of *ur*-MHK/TJ containing less chapters that was later expanded upon by Bhāviveka or a later author with a similar name, as has been assumed by Ejima. But since this digression dealing with the problem of omniscience in the PP, which we examined above in its Tibetan translation, is also included in the Chinese translation, which was prepared by Prabhākaramitra in 630–632,[90] we can certainly exclude that the assumed manipulation took place after the translation of the PP into Chinese. Thus, we can certainly also exclude that the chapter dealing with the Mīmāṃsā tenets was manipulated by another 'Bhāviveka' living one or two hundred years later. Still more significant to our argument and, indeed, the reason for looking at this digression, is the following: we can be sure that the main arguments against the Buddha's omniscience as we find them formulated by Kumārila, who is assumed to be a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (ca. 600–660), must have been fully developed before 630, because they found their way, in this highly developed form, first into a digression in the PP based on the MHK/TJ, and then into the Chinese translation. Thus, I consider it justified to assume the main arguments of the Mīmāṃsā chapter of the MHK/TJ as having been authored by Bhāviveka. This does not mean, however, that the TJ (and maybe even the verses of the MHK) were written by Bhāviveka himself.

90 See VAN DER KUIJP 2006: 171.

As in the case of the digressions in the PP, the Sanskrit manuscript of the TJ, upon which the Tibetan translation was based, was certainly never written down in this form by Bhāviveka himself, but rather by a Buddhist student monk. This has been shown in detail in another paper (KRASSER 2011). Here, one passage from Qvarnström's translation of the Vedānta chapter of the MHK/TJ may suffice to make the point clear that it would be better to understand these passages in the TJ referring to *ācārya* as having been written down by a student.

> *gźan yaṅ dṅos po rtag pa thams cad la khyab paʾi bdag dṅos po thams cad kyi rten du gyur pa nam mkhaʾ daṅ ʾdra ba yin no źes smras pa de la* | *de las gźan du rtog geʾi gnod pa ñe bar dgod paʾi sgo nas* SLOB DPON *gyis smras pa* |
> rgyu las ñe bar ma byuṅ ba || nam mkhaʾ dṅos por mi ʾdod do ||
> de ni gcig kyaṅ ma yin te || mo gśam gyi ni bu bźin no ||
> *nāpi hetvanupādānād ākāśaṃ bhāva iṣyate* |
> *vandhyātanayavan nāpi tad ekam ata eva hi* || MHK 8.68
> nam mkhaʾ *źes bya ba ni* CHOS CAN *no* || *de ni* dṅos po ma yin te *źes bya ba ni deʾi* CHOS *so* || rgyu las ñe bar ma byuṅ baʾi phyir *źes bya ba ni* GTAN TSHIGS *so* || TJ D266a1–3, P300a2–5
> Moreover, as to the statement (of the opponent) that the Self [*ātman*] is a permanent [*nitya*] entity [*bhāva*] and is all pervasive [*sarvatraga*] and is the support [*ādhāra*] of all entities [*bhāva*] like space, as to that, in order to adduce a disproof differently from that, the *ācārya* [i.e. Bhavya] says the following:
> MHK 8.68 states:
> Again, space cannot be regarded as an entity, since it does not stand in relation to a cause. It is, therefore, not one, (but inexisting), just as (the unreal) son of a barren woman (is not one).
> TJ 8.68 explains:
> The SUBJECT [*dharmin*] is 'space,' the PROPERTY (which is to be proved) [*sādhya-dharma*] of (the subject in the thesis) is 'that is not an entity.' The LOGICAL REASON [*hetu*] is 'because it is not originated [*anupapannāt*] from a cause [*hetu*].' (QVARNSTRÖM 1989: 122f.; the text of TJ is edited in n. 141, the Tibetan text of the *kārikā* on p. 146) [my emphasis H. K.]

I do not think that Bhāviveka would have impressed anyone by showing his skills in identifying what is the property possessor (*dharmin*), the property to be proved (*sādhyadharma*) or the reason (*hetu*) in the verse formulated by himself. It is much more likely that these are notes taken

by a beginner student who still had to learn the basics, namely, what the *dharmin* and the *hetu*, etc., consist of in a proof formulation.[91]

4. Conclusion

Whatever the circumstances of the composition of the MHK/TJ may have been, the material on the notion of omniscience suggests that the MHK, or at least portions of it, presuppose Kumārila. This would also make sense with regard to the other material presented above, because Bhāviveka, to my knowledge, does not develop logical theories such as a "virtually new *apohavāda*," but rather seems to make use of them. Seen from this perspective, Bhāviveka may have been using the new theories of his contemporary Dharmakīrti – which the latter had developed in reaction to the criticism of Kumārila – in order to refute the famous Yogācāra master Dignāga and to establish the truth and fame of the Mādhyamikas. This may also explain why Bhāviveka placed the *pūrvapakṣa*, according to which *āgama* must withstand a critical analysis (§1.3.1), in the Mīmāṃsā and not in the Yogācāra chapter: it does not make a good impression to rely on a contemporary Yogācāra scholar whose understanding of *tattva* is completely wrong.

It goes without saying that none of these parallels alone would have enough weight to feed such an assumption. There are still too many unknown and uncertain factors that prevent us from having a clear picture of the development of the religious and philosophical ideas of this time, both in general and with regard to the mutual influence. And this is also the case with regard to the authors addressed in this paper. We know nearly nothing about their lives or the places where they were active. This holds good also for their time of activity. In most cases the dating is merely based on a relative chronology, which again in most cases, unless they name or quote each other, is derived from the chronology of ideas and theories. But ideas do not have a label that displays who introduced

91 Already above (§1.6), in the comments on MHK 6.45ab, we have seen that the explanation of the *sattvānumāna* only consists in identifying the members of the *prayoga*.

them first. We do not know, for example, who the opponents presented in Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika* are. Is Kumārila the first Mīmāṃsaka to address the omniscience of the founders of the other religious groups, or has this been the target of an unknown predecessor or even of an unknown Lokāyata who ridiculed the Buddhist monks for standing in front of a wall and listening to the teachings of the Buddha? Keeping this in mind, we might also presume that Bhāviveka and Kumārila took part in a discussion without even having had knowledge of one another, or that Bhāviveka was one of the addressees of Kumārila or vice versa. The passages adduced above do not allow us to determine the direction of dependence, if there is one at all, although it is clear that there is some sort of relation between them, be this direct or indirect. Confronted with all these uncertainties and impediments, which we should not underestimate and always keep in mind, the only possibility remaining for us to gain a clearer picture of the situation is to sketch the most plausible scenario by relating the known facts.

Before doing so, it might be worthwhile to summarize the points we have presented above that suggest some sort of relationship between Bhāviveka, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila.

4.1 Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti

- We have a "virtually new *apohavāda*" applied by Bhāviveka, which we know of as having been developed by Dharmakīrti, and which includes "causal accounts of linking thought with entities" that "are absent in Dignāga but become *the* major component of Dharmakīrti's position of how thought bears upon the world" (§1.1).
- We have similar refutations of the Veda's validity inferred from its uninterrupted transmission by Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti, who both refer to the *mleccha*s, the *pārasīka*s and the *nāstika*s (§1.2).
- In a *pūrvapakṣa* in the Mīm āṃsā chapter of the MHK/TJ (and applied elsewhere), we find the main pillar of Dharmakīrti's *āgama* theory, namely, that the validity of *āgama* must be established by means of an examination of all points that can be checked and it must offer a proper means (§1.3.1, §1.3.2).

- Dharmakīrti is, to my understanding, the only candidate matching all the characteristics attributed by Bhāviveka, in MHK 5.9 cum TJ, to the opponent (§1.3.1.1).
- We find another cornerstone of Dharmakīrti's *āgama* theory, namely, that the Buddha knows enough by knowing the four Nobles' truths, also in the MHK/TJ, where the Buddha is proved to be a *sarvajña* on a *sāṃvyavahārika* level (§1.3.2).
- For both Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti, *cintāmayī prajñā* is essential for obtaining liberation (§1.4).
- We have a work attributed to Bhāviveka that clearly displays knowledge of Dharmakīrti, the Madhyamakārthasaṅgraha (§1.5).
- We have a *sattvānumāna* in the MHK that was otherwise not known before Dharmakīrti (§1.6).
- Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā (composed between 612 and 625(?)), refers to both Kumārila and (maybe) Dharmakīrti; see note 101.
- Sthiramati (ca. 510–570, see nn. 96 and 97) refers to three kinds of reason, namely *kārya*-, *svabhāva*-, and *anupalabdhihetu*, which are not known to us before Dharmakīrti; see note 99.[92]

4.2 Bhāviveka and Kumārila

- We have a verse found in the works of both that is nearly identical (§2.1).
- Both address the omniscience of the *cintāmaṇi*-like Buddha (§2.2a).
- Both are of the opinion that the scriptures of the opponent were composed by an evil being (§2.2b).
- Bhāviveka refutes arguments against the omniscience of Buddha that we only know from the works of Kumārila (§2.3).
- In Kumārila's Bṛhaṭṭīkā we find an answer to a question that is formulated in Bhāviveka's PP (§2.4).
- Both refute the possibility that the authority of the opponent's *āgama* can be established on the basis of its uninterrupted transmission (§2.5).

92 To this we may add that Alexis SANDERSON (2009: 50) leaves open the possibility for an earlier date of Dharmakīrti: "c. 550–650."

The situation we are facing now is that for Śabarasvāmin, the author of a Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṃsasūtra, who is commonly placed in the first half of the sixth century and thus assumed to be a contemporary of Bhāviveka (490/500–570), omniscience is not very important. The two authors who vehemently discuss this topic, Kumārila, who commented on Śabara's Bhāṣya, and Dharmakīrti, are placed in the first half of the seventh century, thus leaving Bhāviveka without any known opponent in this regard. Moreover, this topic, so hotly disputed by Bhāviveka, is then completely ignored until the time of Kumārila and Dharmakīrti. A quite unlikely scenario.

4.3 On the dates of Bhāviveka and Dharmakīrti

If we accept Bhāviveka's dates as 490/500–570 and that Dharmakīrti and Kumārila were active in the first half of the seventh century, the facts listed above cannot be accounted for. Even if it were to turn out that one assumption or another is wrong, the cumulative evidence asks for a decision in one way or another. We might argue that our limited knowledge of the development of this highly interesting period of Indian religion and philosophy is so inadequate that it must be assumed that, without leaving any traces in other texts, a fully developed discussion on the omniscience of the Buddha, a fully developed *apoha* theory, etc., were available to Bhāviveka, and then these were taken up again more than fifty years later by Kumārila and Dharmakīrti, who earned their fame from them.[93] Or we might follow a Mīmāṃsā exegetical rule to the effect that the postulation of less unseen factors is to be preferred.[94] Of these two possibilities, I opt for the latter, and thus I see no other way than to shift the dates of Bhāviveka and Kumārila/Dharmakīrti in one direction or the other.

93 One argument against a developed omniscience discussion before Bhāviveka may be drawn from his works. At the time of the composition of the PP, the topic of omniscience did not play a role and had to be added in the form of an appendix, when teaching on the basis of PP, by summarizing arguments put forward in the TJ. If the arguments against the omniscience of the Buddha, as found in Kumārila's work, were already known to Bhāviveka when composing the PP, we might expect that he would have included the refutation in the text of the PP. See above, p. 575.

94 See KATAOKA 2003: 40, with n. 10.

The dates of Bhāviveka, 490/500–570, at least the sixth century, seem quite firm since he was refuted by Sthiramati,[95] who, based on inscriptional evidence,[96] has been dated by Frauwallner to around 510–570.[97] Moreover, we have the "Dharmapāla-Bhāvaviveka debate" (HOORNAERT 2004) in Dharmapāla's commentary on Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka 16.23, where Dharmapāla refutes Bhāviveka. Of the dates of Dharmapāla as proposed by Hakuju UI (1929: 128–132) and later by FRAUWALLNER (1961: 132–134), i.e. 530–561, the year of his death is not unanimously accepted.[98] Nevertheless, to place Bhāviveka's main activity in the sixth century seems quite safe. Thus, only the date of Dharmakīrti is left to be reconsidered.[99] Dharmakīrti's dates as proposed in

95 For references, see KAJIYAMA 1969.

96 The inscription has been translated by Gregory SCHOPEN (1997: 262), who assigns it to "Dharasena II dated to 575 CE."

97 FRAUWALLNER 1961: 136–137. Frauwallner, following Sylvain Lévi, ascribes this inscription to "king Guhasena of Valabhī, who is known to have ruled from 558–566 AD." If Schopen's assignment to Dharasena II is correct (cf. above, n. 96) – this is not the place to deal with that question – Sthiramati's dating should be reconsidered.

98 KIMURA (1999: 211) proposes Dharmapāla's death to be about ten years earlier than Xuanzang's arrival at Nālandā, which is assumed as being 631/633/634 (cf. FUNAYAMA 2000: 7 n. 38). FUNAYAMA (2000: 7–11) also questions the date of Dharmapāla's death, and adds material from Chinese sources to the effect that Dharmapāla did not die at the age of 32 but lived longer. HOORNAERT (2004: 120) also adds a question mark to the date 530–561. For references on the life and date of Dharmapāla, cf. HOORNAERT 2004: n. 4. On Dharmapāla's date, see also the chapter "B. Lives and Works of Ā ryadeva, Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti" in TILLEMANS 1990: 5–14, especially p. 8, n. 21.

99 Another argument for shifting the dates of Dharmakīrti into an earlier era might be Sthiramati's (ca. 510–570, s. above nn. 96 and 97) commentary on Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra 18.82a, where he refers to three kinds of reason, namely *kārya-*, *svabhāva-*, and *anupalabdhihetu*, which are not known to us before Dharmakīrti; see Derge no. 4034, Mi 95a7–b2: *tshigs sgrub paʾi rigs pa ni gsum ste* | ʾbras buʾi rgyu *daṅ* | raṅ bźin gyi rgyu *daṅ* | mi dmigs paʾi rgyuʾ*o* || *de la* ʾbras buʾi rgyu *ni gaṅ na du ba yod pa de na me yod do źes bya ba lta buʾo* || raṅ bźin gyi rgyu *ni śiṅ źes bya bas śiṅ śa pa daṅ thaṅ śiṅ la sogs pa kun la khyab pas na ʾdi ni śiṅ yin te* | *ciʾi phyir źe na* | *śiṅ śa pa yin paʾi phyir ro źes bya ba lta buʾo* || mi dmigs paʾi rgyu *ni sa phyogs ʾdi na dmigs su ruṅ baʾi mtshan ñid kyi bum pa mi snaṅ ba ni bum pa med do źes bya ba lta buʾo* ||. I am very much obliged to Yasuhiro Ueno for sharing this passage with me, and to Kazuo Kano for making me aware of Mr. Ueno's work on

FRAUWALLNER's famous "Landmarks in the history of Indian logic" are 600–660. These dates have been more or less accepted by the scholarly community, with the exception of Christian Lindtner and Toshihiko Kimura, who have proposed 530–600[100] and c. 550–620,[101] respectively. These attempts have not been received positively by specialists on Dharmakīrti. Thus, let us examine whether Dharmakīrti's dates are indeed as firm as those of Bhāviveka.

Sthiramati. As pointed out by Ueno in a lecture in Koyasan (19th July, 2008), the Tibetan translation of Sthiramati's commentary is, however, not without problems.

100 See LINDTNER 1980 and 1992. Lindtner's main argument in his 1980 paper was that "Dharmakīrti was quoted by Bhavya (ca. 500–570) […] in his *Ratnapradīpa*." As I do not accept the Ratnapradīpa to have been written by Bhāviveka, the author of the MHK/TJ and PP, the reference to Dharmakīrti in the Ratnapradīpa is of no help for dating Dharmakīrti. The arguments against Bhāviveka's being the author of the Ratnapradīpa are presented in ECKEL 2008: 23–27. The arguments of Lindtner's first paper have been dealt with in STEINKELLNER 1991. The main argument of LINDTNER's 1992 paper is that Dharmapāla, in his commentary on Dignāga's Ālambanaparīkṣā, quotes Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. As this commentary is available only in its Chinese translation, Lindtner himself does not display much confidence when he says: "Due to the nature of the language it may be a bit difficult to be absolutely certain about the original Sanskrit" (1992: 58); see also the references in n. 101. Other problems addressed by Lindtner in these two papers still need to be considered.

101 Kimura adduces two arguments. 1) Dharmakīrti's name is mentioned in Dharmapāla's commentary on the Ālambanaparīkṣā. However, this does not seem very likely, as has been shown by FUNAYAMA (2000: 1–6) and TILLEMANS (2000: xiii–xv). 2) Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā, which KIMURA assumes to have been written between 612 and 625 (1999: 213; Hoernle, as referred to by Kimura in n. 21, assumed 606–612 as the date of composition), not only alludes to Uddyotakara, Kumārila and Dignāga, but, according to the commentator Śivarāma, also to Dharmakīrti. This argument is very welcome and supports my assumption. I must confess, however, that of the five allusions of Subandhu presented by Kimura (1999: 211f.), although I can easily understand the third one as referring to Kumārila (*kecij jaiminimatānusāriṇa iva tathāgatamatadhvaṃsinaḥ* "like some followers of Jaimini's teaching are destroying the teaching of the Tathāgata"), at first glance the reference to Dharmakīrti in "(5) *Bauddhasaṅgatim iva alaṅkāra-bhūṣitam* […]" is not obvious to me.

4.4 On Frauwallner's dating of Dharmakīrti

Frauwallner introduces his dating of Dharmakīrti by referring to "the great logician Dharmakīrti, whose life-time can be inferred from Chinese sources." Then he rejects the accounts of Dharmakīrti's life as described by Bu ston and Tāranātha on account of the fact that "the Indian tradition in them is distorted so much that only in rare cases can anything useful be gleaned from it." From the fact that Dharmakīrti was not known to Xuanzang, who left Nālandā in the year 644, and that he was mentioned by Yijing, who stayed at Nālandā from 675 to 685 and who mentions Dharmakīrti in a list that classifies famous teachers into "the older, the middle, the recent and the present" as belonging to the list of the "recent teachers," Frauwallner infers that

> Dharmakīrti was no longer alive when Yi-tsing was staying at Nālandā. But his death cannot have been very much earlier, since, still in Yi-tsing's time, logic in Nālandā was not studied according to the works of Dharmakīrti, but those of Dignāga. Therefore Dharmakīrti had at that time not yet fully made his way, while later on his works had almost completely replaced those of Dignāga. Further, if we take into consideration that Dharmakīrti, according to his own statement, failed to achieve recognition for many years, then we may fix his life-time from about 600 to 660 AD.

After assigning this date to Dharmakīrti, Frauwallner rejects the report of Tāranātha, according to which "Dharmakīrti was ordained a monk by Dharmapāla," on account of the fact that "Tāranātha's statements are totally unreliable especially when it is a question of linking together famous personalities."[102] It is quite clear that in his conclusion Frauwallner

102 FRAUWALLNER uses the information gained from the Tibetan tradition so arbitrarily that his arguments are sometimes, as in the case of Īśvarasena, of no value at all. Referring to Bu ston and Tāranātha, he dates Īśvarasena in the following way (1961: 141): "Tradition mentions him as a pupil of Dignāga and as the teacher of Dharmakīrti. Considered from the point of view of time, these two things are not possible at the same time. Yet his relation to Dignāga as a pupil is a mere external linking together of famous teachers, which is in itself a highly suspicious procedure. On the contrary, in the accounts of the life of Dharmakīrti he appears as very closely connected with him. Besides, his teachings are, in some respect, similar to those of Dharmakīrti. Hence it is probable that he was really the teacher of Dharmakīrti, and thus his life-period can be calculated to be about 580–640 A. D." According to Frauwallner, the traditional Tibetan account is not possible because a lifetime is

tries to make sense of the silence of Xuanzang and of Yijing's mention of Dharmakīrti.[103] However, we still have no idea why, at the time of Yijing, Dharmakīrti had "not yet fully made his way" in Nālandā. And above all, we do not know how long it then took for Dharmakīrti to make his way in Nālandā. In any case, the basis for Frauwallner's dating is not a firm one. If we now look at the list of famous teachers mentioned by Yijing, it lists Dharmakīrti and Śīlabhadra directly after Dignāga and Dharmapāla, which fits quite well with the arguments presented above if taking into consideration that Dharmakīrti, according to Tāranātha, was ordained by Dharmapāla. According to the translation of TAKAKUSU (1966: 181), the three lists display the following names:

> Of an early age (遠): Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa.
> Of the middle age (中): Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Saṅghabhadra, Bhāviveka.
> Of late years (近): Jina [= Dignāga, H.K.], Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Siṃhacandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prajñāgupta, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha (or Paramaprabha).

Since Bhāviveka, who both used Dignāga's epistemological theories and refuted them, is listed before Dignāga, we should not give too much weight to the sequence "Dignāga, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīla-

about sixty years ("Where nothing is mentioned about the duration of life of an author, I assume an average of sixty years, and I calculate the time-distance between master and pupil to about twenty to thirty years. All this is, of course, only a reckoning of probability and allows a certain latitude." 1961: 129). Calculating this way is fine if one only needs rough dates for an author where nothing more is known, but to use it as an argument is, methodologically speaking, questionable. In addition, Frauwallner does not tell us why, on one hand, the linking of Īśvarasena and Dignāga constitutes a "highly suspicious procedure," but on the other hand the linking of Īśvarasena and Dharmakīrti does not. Thus, the only argument that remains is that Īśvarasena's "teachings are, in some respect, similar to those of Dharmakīrti," which Frauwallner announces he will discuss somewhere else ("I shall discuss this point at greater length in another place." 1961: 141 n. 59). As is well known, no work by Īśvarasena has come down to us and the fragments we do have are only found in passages where Dharmakīrti is refuting Īśvarasena's teachings (and in the commentaries on these passages). Thus, one wonders which material Frauwallner intended to use to show us that the teachings of these two scholars are "in some respect" similar.

103 On Dharmapāla/Dharmakīrti and the whole problem of dating Dharmakīrti (including the silence of Xuanzang), see the brief but insightful remarks by TILLEMANS (2000: xiii–xv).

bhadra," unless we assume that Bhāviveka lived a very, very long time. We have no evidence for this, but also no counterevidence. After presenting this list, Yijing relates that Dharmakīrti led to further progress in the study of logic (TAKAKUSU 1966: 182).

4.5 On a new date of Dharmakīrti

In any case, if we accept that Bhāviveka had knowledge of Kumārila and Dharmakīrti and if we push their time of activity back into the middle of the sixth century, which I consider the only way to make sense of the material presented above, the silence of Xuanzang creates a big problem. The question is "why did he not know him?" or rather "why did he not mention him?" The textual basis for an answer is nearly zero. Nevertheless, the problem allows us to proceed in a certain direction. As mentioned above, Frauwallner stated that "Dharmakīrti, according to his own statement, failed to achieve recognition for many years." Here, Frauwallner does not give an exact reference, but is referring to the *maṅgala-śloka* of the PVSV, where Dharmakīrti bitterly complains that people are not only disinterested in his work, but are even hostile towards it.

> *prāyaḥ prākr̥tasaktir apratibalaprajño janaḥ kevalaṃ*
> *nānarthy eva subhāṣitaiḥ parigato vidveṣṭy apīrṣyāmalaiḥ* |
> *tenāyaṃ na paropakāra iti naś cintāpi cetaś ciraṃ*
> *sūktābhyāsavivardhitavyasanam ity atrānubaddhaspr̥ham* || PV 1 *maṅgala* 2
> Usually people are addicted to vulgarity and lack the wisdom equal to the task (of understanding learned treatises); they are not only disinterested in what is said well, but, *being afflicted with the filth of envy, are even hostile towards it* [my emphasis, H. K.].
> Therefore, although I believe this work to be of no use to others, my heart, its determination increased through repeated study of eloquent works for a long time, has become eager for it. (HAYES & GILLON 1991: 1)

What could have been so terrible in Dharmakīrti's texts that people, for instance, the officials at Nālandā, even became hostile towards them? Certainly not his "virtually new *apoha*-theory." The only point that could have incurred such displeasure, as far as I can see, might be his claim that *āgama*, including the words of the Buddha, is not a *pramāṇa* on a

sāṃvyavahārika level.[104] This is something Dharmakīrti stresses several times.

When concluding his comments on Dignāga's definition of *āgama* (PS 2.5ab with PSV, see above p. 542), Dharmakīrti admits that the two ways he has proposed for understanding *āgama* are problematic.

> na khalv evam anumānam anapāyam*, anāntarīyakatvād artheṣu śabdānā m iti* PVSV 109,21–22
> *Indeed, this kind of inference is not without problems*, for words are not invariably concomitant with the real objects.

He refers again later to this statement, there leaving no doubt that *āgama* is not a *pramāṇa*.

> *agatyā cedam āgamalakṣaṇam iṣṭam.* nāto niścayaḥ. tan na pramāṇam āgama ity apy uktam. PVSV 168,1–3
> And this definition of *āgama* (as presented above in PVSV 108,1–109,19) we only assumed as there is no other way.[105] *From that (āgama results) no certainty. Thus, we also have said that āgama is not a pramāṇa.*[106]

In the last chapter of his PV, Dharmakīrti refers to these passages.

> *prāmāṇyam āgamānāṃ ca prāg eva vinivāritam* | PV 4.101ab
> And the validity of *āgama*s has already been refuted previously.

Such statements were certainly not seen favourably by the leaders of a big religious institution like Nālandā, especially since there was, as depicted above, a lot of competition in the area of religion. How were they to propagate Buddhism if the Buddha is not even a *pramāṇa*, if there is no certainty whether what he has said about super sensible matters is true? Imagine the career of a smart theologian at the Vatican who claims that we cannot be certain about the truth of what is written in the Bible! Dharmakīrti seems to have been a *persona non grata*. This might have been the reason why Xuanzang did not mention Dharmakīrti in the report

104 The only reference to this I have been able to locate so far is Bhāviveka's remark in MHK 5.8–9 cum TJ; see above §1.3.1.1.

105 For possible interpretations of *agatyā*, see KATAOKA 2011a and "4.1 On *agatyā*" in KRASSER 2012.

106 For a discussion of this and other relevant passages, cf. ELTSCHINGER 1998: 62–93 and ELTSCHINGER *et al.* 2012.

presented to the Tang Emperor Taizong to propagate Buddhism, a 'pure' Buddhism of course. That not everything reported by Xuanzang corresponds to reality, and much is of a propagandistic character has been shown recently by Max DEEG (2007). On the other hand, as Shoryu Katsura has pointed out, Xuanzang may have known Dharmakīrti's logic.[107]

Although I am aware of the fact that changing the dates of Dharmakīrti and Kumārila has consequences with regard to the dating of many other Indian thinkers of the period, consequences and new problems that I cannot begin to assess or solve, I would nevertheless like to propose, as a working hypothesis, the time of activity of Kumārila and Dharmakīrti to be the middle of the sixth century.

References and Abbreviations

Primary sources

AK(Bh) = Abhidharmakośa(bhāṣya). P. PRADHAN (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Patna, 1967.

Bo doṅ = Bo doṅ Paṇ chen ʾJigs med grags pa. *sPyod* [read: *dPyod*] *pa paʾi tshad maʾi gnas gtan la dbab pa* and *sPyod* [read: *dPyod*] *pa paʾi lugs dgag pa, Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo doṅ Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal.* Ed. S. T. KAZI, Vol. 7, New Delhi: Tibet House, 1969, pp. 85–297, 370–419.

D = sDe dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka bsTan ḥgyur – Preserved at the Faculty of Letters, University of Tōkyō. Tshad ma 1–21, ed. J. TAKASAKI, Z. YAMAGUCHI & Y. EJIMA. Tōkyō, 1981ff.

HB = Hetubindu. Ernst STEINKELLNER (ed.), *Dharmakīrti's Hetubinduḥ I. Tibetischer Text und rekonstruierter Sanskrit-Text*. Wien, 1967.

LASū = Laṅkāvatārasūtra. P. L. VAIDYA (ed.), *Saddharmalaṅkāvatārasūtram*, Dharbhanga, 1963.

MHK = Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā. Chr. LINDTNER (ed.), *Madhyamakahṛdayam of Bhavya*, Adyar, 2001.
See also ECKEL 2008, HOORNAERT 2000, 2003, KAWASAKI 1976, 1987, 1988, 1992, and LINDTNER 2001. The third chapter has been critically edited and translated into

107 KATSURA 1985. Cf. also Shōryū KATSURA, "Ronrigakuha". In: NAGAO *et al.* (eds.), *Iwanami kōza tōyō shisō daihakkan. Indobukkyō 1.* Tokyo 1988: 342 n. 16 [not seen; referred to in FUNAYAMA 2000: 6 n. 33].

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NBh = Nyāyabhāṣya. Anantalal THAKUR (ed.), *Gautamīyanyāyadarśana with Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana*, New Delhi, 1997.

NBhū = Nyāyabhūṣaṇa (Bhāsarvajña). Svāmī YOGĪNDRĀNANDA (ed.), *Śrīmadācārya-Bhāsarvajña-praṇītasya Nyāyasārasya svopajñaṃ vyākhyānaṃ Nyāyabhūṣaṇam*, Vārāṇasī, 1968.

NV = Nyāyavārttika. Anantalal THAKUR (ed.), *Nyāyabhāṣyavārttika of Bhāradvāja Uddyotakara*, New Delhi, 1997.

P = The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking edition, ed. D. T. SUZUKI. Tōkyō-Kyōto 1955–1961.

PDhS = Padārthadharmasaṅgraha (Praśastapāda). Johannes BRONKHORST & Yves RAMSEIER (eds.), *Word Index to the Praśastapādabhāṣya. A Complete Word Index to the Printed Editions of the Praśastapādabhāṣya*. Delhi, 1994.

PP = Prajñāpradīpamūlamadhyamakavr̥tti. D dBu ma vol. 2, no. 3853, Tsha 45b4–259b3 = P vol. 95, no. 5253, Tsha 53b3–326a6.

PS = Pramāṇasamuccaya (Dignāga).

PV 1 = Pramāṇavārttika, chapter 1. See PVSV.

PV 2, 3, 4 = Pramāṇavārttika, chapters 2, 3, 4: Yūsho MIYASAKA (ed.), *Pramāṇavārttika-Kārikā (Sanskrit and Tibetan). Acta Indologica* 2 (1971/72), 1–206 (PV 2 = pramāṇasiddhi; PV 3 = pratyakṣa; PV 4 = parārthānumāna).

PVin 1, 2 = Pramāṇaviniścaya, chapters 1, 2. Ernst STEINKELLNER (ed.), *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya. Chapters 1 and 2*, Beijing/Vienna, 2007.

PVSV = Pramāṇavārttikasvavr̥tti. Raniero GNOLI (ed.), *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti. The First Chapter with the Autocommentary. Text and Critical Notes*, Rome, 1960.

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PVSVṬ = Pramāṇavārttikasvavr̥ttiṭīkā. Rāhula SĀṄKR̥TYĀYANA (ed.), *Karṇakagomin's Commentary on the Pramāṇavārttikavr̥tti of Dharmakīrti*, Kyōto, 1982. [Reprint.]

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PVṬ = Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā (Śākyabuddhi). D Tshad ma no. 4220, Vol. 3, Je 1b–328a7, Vol. 4, Ñe 1–282a = P Vol. 131, no. 5718 Je 1b1 – Ñe 348a8.

R = Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali. Anantalal THAKUR (ed.), *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvaliḥ (Buddhist Nyāya Works of Ratnakīrti)*, Patna, 1975 [2nd ed.].

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TJ = Tarkajvālā. D dBu ma Vol. 3, no. 3856, Dza 40b7–329b4 = P Vol. 96, no. 5256, Dza 43b7–380a7.

TS = Tattvasaṅgraha. See TSP.

TSP = Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā. Dwarikadas SHASTRI (ed.), *Tattvasaṅgraha of Ācārya Shāntarakṣita with the Commentary 'Pañjikā' of Shri Kamalashila*, 2 Vols, Varanasi, 1981, 1982.

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Gregory Schopen

The Buddhist Nun as an Urban Landlord and a 'Legal Person' in Early India

The compilers of the Buddhist monastic codes or *vinaya*s, who were presumably all male, put in place a surprisingly large number of rules for nuns that would seem to suggest that the nuns they knew, or were trying to govern, might well be engaged in a wide range of legal matters and business affairs. In both the Pāli Vinaya, which some take to be the earliest of these codes, and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, which some think is the latest, there are, for example, rules governing the legal right of nuns to the estate of a deceased nun – the rules are not the same in both codes and the Pāli Vinaya requires the presence of a prior oral or nuncupative will on the part of the deceased.[1] Both Vinayas have a rule making it a monastic offense for a nun to go to court – to sue – for recovery of debt or property – in both this is a serious offense, a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, and there is no counterpart to it in the rules for monks, suggesting, perhaps, that nuns were thought to be particularly prone to litigation by the compilers of these codes.[2] Both Vinayas have a rule against nuns lending on interest – Horner takes this to be "usury," and the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya allows it, in fact requires it, if it is for religious purposes.[3] Both have a rule against their nuns setting up or bankrolling a woman as a prostitute and taking the profits – the Pāli here being characteristically clipped, the Mūlasarvāstivādin characteristically

1 Pāli Vinaya, Oldenberg (1879–1883 Vol. II: 267–268) = Horner (1938–1966 Vol. V: 371); discussed at some length in Lingat (1937: 461–466) and briefly at Schopen (2004: 185 and n. 44). For a presentation and discussion of the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts see Schopen (2008a) where the Pāli text is not mentioned.

2 Pāli Vinaya, Oldenberg (1879–1883 Vol. IV: 223–225) = Horner (1938–66 Vol. III: 177–181); discussed in von Hinüber (1995: 29–30) and see also now for the difficult term *ussayavādikā* Cone (2001). For a presentation and discussion of the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts see Schopen (forthc.).

3 Pāli Vinaya, Oldenberg (1879–1883 Vol. II: 267.9) = Horner (1938–1966 Vol. V: 370). For the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts and discussion see Schopen (forthc.).

rich: it refers in separate texts to both underwriting brothels and funding what appear to be streetwalkers.[4] And both have rules against nuns setting up taverns – the Pāli again abbreviated, the Mūlasarvāstivādin not: the latter has a separate rule against nuns doing the work of a distiller or brewer, and both Guṇaprabha and other Indian sources indicate that, as in medieval Europe, distilling, brewing, and selling alcohol was pre-eminently women's work (*gr̥hiṇīśilpa*).[5]

Different people will, of course, make different things from the fact that rules governing the engagement of nuns in the same sorts of litigious and entrepreneurial activities occur in both the Pāli Vinaya and the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya. Those who think the former is early, and the latter late, might want to maintain that such rules are very old and must go back to some hypothetical, 'presectarian,' and utterly conjectural core Vinaya or set of rules.[6] Others, who might think – like the still pertinent Vasilyev – that all the Vinayas as we have them are late,[7] might want to suggest that such shared material could have resulted from a long process of leveling and cross-contamination carried forward by the continual itinerancy of a good part of the South Asian Buddhist monastic population. Or they might simply be content – until much more is known about *all* Buddhist monastic codes – to note that such rules governing nuns appear to have been far flung.

But if there will necessarily be a range of opinions about the significance of the literary fact that different Buddhist Vinayas have common or shared rules concerning the legal and economic activities of nuns, there will also be almost certainly differing opinions about what such rules can tell us about actual nuns or real women. There is a distinct pos-

4 Pāli Vinaya, OLDENBERG (1879–1883 Vol. II: 267.7) = HORNER (1938–1966 Vol. V: 370). For references to the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts see SCHOPEN (2009: 376–377 and n. 31).

5 Pāli Vinaya, OLDENBERG (1879–1883 Vol. II: 267.8) = HORNER (1938–1966 Vol. V: 370). One of the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts is partially translated at SCHOPEN (2009: 376). The other is at Kṣudrakavastu, Derge 'dul ba 182b.3–184a.3 – all Tibetan references are to the Derge printing reprinted in BARBER (1991), and all citations are from it. For Guṇaprabha see Vinayasūtra, SANKRITYAYANA (1981: 68.27). I hope to treat all these texts in detail in the near future.

6 For some discussion of this approach see SCHOPEN (1997: 25–30).

7 VASILYEV (1896), which is cited with approval and extension in LÉVI (1907: 116–117) – this position is erroneously, but not infrequently, presented as if it were somehow unique to me: e.g. PRASAD (2008: 74–75).

sibility that these rules, for example, tell us *directly* very little about actual nuns. In fact this may be a virtual certainty: both the rules themselves and the narrative accounts of the behavior of nuns that are presented as having required them were almost certainly written by monks and, although the accounts are presented as actual occurrences, they may just as well be literary fictions – the stereotyped or stenciled nature of many of the narratives may also support the latter.[8] On this view both rule and narrative may tell us more about some monks than they tell us about nuns. But even here there are issues of interpretation that are not amenable to easy solution. If it is argued, for example, that the rules and narratives that we have can only tell us something about the monks who wrote them, we still do not know what exactly that something is. It could be argued that to be plausible for their intended audience the narrative accounts of the behavior of nuns presented as the justification of a rule could not be too far removed from actual observable behavior – here such accounts would have to correspond, at least broadly, to what the nuns that the compilers of the codes knew actually did. This is certainly possible. But it is equally possible that such accounts only represent what monks imagined – in every sense of the term – or feared that nuns might do: here too, however, such activities would have to be at least conceivable – for a monk to imagine or fear, for example, that a nun might go to court for the recovery of property this must at least have been legally possible in the compiler's world. Even when these narratives have what appear to be obvious literary elements or intent, like satire or entertainment – and they not uncommonly have[9] – for the satire to work or the humor to fly they must play off known or rumored fact. Then too there is the much invoked historical principle that rules are rarely written against behavior that does not, or has not, occurred.[10]

8 The second and third texts treated below are a good example of the stenciled nature of some of these narratives, but stenciled narratives are equally, if not more common in accounts dealing with monks, and are in fact a characteristic of almost all Buddhist narrative literature.

9 See for one example SCHOPEN (2008b).

10 As one of a very long list of possible examples note the assertion at OLIVELLE (2005: 252) in regard to Dharmaśāstric rules: "In law, as in moral discourse, we know that injunctions are levelled against existing and often prevalent practice; we can, therefore, be certain that these rules presuppose precisely their opposite."

In the end, and until we know otherwise, it may then have to be said that either the nuns our compilers knew engaged in a wide variety of legal and economic enterprises, or our compilers could imagine that they might and feared they would. How seriously our compilers took these matters – whether real or imagined – can moreover be roughly gauged by the penalties they assign them: going to court was made a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, the second most serious category of offense in both the Pāli and Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayas, but setting up or operating a tavern was only "an offense of wrong-doing" (*āpatti dukkaṭassa*) in the Pāli Vinaya; in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya the nun who does so is simply said to be "guilty of an offense" (*'das pa dang bcas par 'gyur ro* = *atyaya*), making it in both a minor infraction without any serious consequences. But whether a *saṃghāvaśeṣa* or a minor infraction the preoccupation of the compilers of our codes, especially the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, with the engagement of nuns in legal and especially business concerns is also evident in the long list of such activities that are mentioned: their number alone is impressive.

To treat all such activities here is of course impossible. Here it must suffice to note that the business activities that nuns are represented as engaging in are overwhelmingly associated – not surprisingly – with 'women's work:' weaving, garland making, prostitution, brewing, etc. And they are predominantly urban – this too should not be surprising since there is good and mounting literary evidence that Buddhist nunneries were, unlike male monasteries, to be located inside cities and towns, and Buddhist nuns would have to have therefore lived their lives, and made their way, in urban environments, and probably not the best of them.[11] It also needs to be noted that although there is a good deal of overlap between the activities mentioned, for example, in the Pāli Vinaya and those treated in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, there are – predictably – interesting differences as well. Given such differences, and given that Mūlasarvāstivādin sources on nuns have been little studied and are not easily available, the one thing that can be done here is to present as economically as possible a group of short texts from the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya that deal with nuns engaging in a type of economic

11 On the urban location of Buddhist nunneries see SCHOPEN (2009, esp. pp. 359–364) and SCHOPEN (2008b, esp. pp. 246–248 for their location in less desirable parts of town).

activity that appears to be ignored in the Pāli Vinaya: renting property to laymen.

The first thing to be said about this group of texts is that their grouping is not mine. All three come from the Kṣudrakavastu and although the first is there separated from the second by a dozen folios, the third immediately follows the second without a break. Moreover, Guṇaprabha had already brought the three together in his early medieval handbook, the Vinayasūtra, although both the Sanskrit text of the Vinayasūtra that we have, and some of the Tibetan translations of it might make this hard to see. The Sanskrit text in Sankrityayana's edition, for example, reads:

> *na varṣakam u*[*t*?]*krameṇa dadyāt. na gr̥havastv āpaṇavastu vā.*[12]

Because the reading of what is printed as *u*[*t*?]*krameṇa* is both conjectural and uncertain, and its meaning – if it is accepted – is far from clear in this context, the purport of these two *sūtra*s is not immediately available. Even the Tibetan, which is so often helpful in similar circumstances, does not, moreover, solve the problem here, at least initially. The separate Tibetan translation of the Vinayasūtra reads:

> *dbyar khang slar mi btang ngo. khang khyim gyi gzhi dang tshong khang gi gzhi yang ngo.*[13]

and the Tibetan translation of Guṇaprabha's auto-commentary has essentially the same reading, differing only in having *gtong* for *btang*.[14] Unfortunately, this Tibetan only confirms what is already clear in the Sanskrit – that the two *sūtra*s forbid something in regard to the *varṣaka*, or nunnery, and in regard to what today would be called "residential" and "commercial" property. But what that something is is again not immediately obvious, and this is because – as the Tibetan translations of the Ṭīkā, Vyākhyāna, and Vr̥tti on the Vinayasūtra all show – the reading *slar mi btang ngo* is also a corruption. When all three of these sources quote our *sūtra*s the reading is not *slar*, but *glar*,[15] and whereas *slar* can

12 Vinayasūtra, SANKRITYAYANA (1981: 70.8).

13 Vinayasūtra, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Wu 54b.1.

14 Vinayasūtravr̥ttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Zu 46b.7.

15 Vinayasūtraṭīkā, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Yu 59b.4; Vinayasūtravyākhyāna, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Ru 159a.4; Vinayasūtravr̥tti, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Lu 201a.7.

only mean "again" or "afterwards," *glar* means "for a fee or pay," or "for rent." Even in Modern Tibetan *khang gla* means "the rent for the house," for example,[16] and that *glar* is the correct reading for our *sūtra*s is fully confirmed – as we will see – by the canonical texts they are based on. Given the visual similarity, it is easy enough to see how a hastily written *glar* could have been mistaken for *slar* in the Tibetan script. This, however, only accounts for the corruption of the Tibetan text, and the correction *glar* does not help much in regard to *u*[*t*?]*krameṇa* since attested equivalents for *gla* are *vetana* and *bhṛti*, and it is not easy to see how they, or *stoma* – a standard Sanskrit term for "rent" – could be corrupted into *u*[*t*?]*krama*. The only other possibility that comes to mind is that *u*[*t*?]*krama* is somehow related to, or was meant for, *avakraya*, "rent," "letting out for hire," and until we have further materials here the issue must remain.[17] The fact that this leaves the Sanskrit as we have it untranslatable is compensated for, in part, by having now a corrected Tibetan text that is fairly straightforward:

> The nunnery is not (to be) let out for rent (by a nun). Also a residential property and a commercial property.

Even in light of what has already been said about the activities of nuns in Vinaya texts these may seem surprising rules to be formulated for Buddhist nuns, and one might want to know something more about what was behind them. Fortunately, the canonical texts that Guṇaprabha's *sūtra*s are based on can be identified, and – as is very often the case – here the best commentaries on these *sūtra*s are in fact the canonical texts he was digesting. In his auto-commentary Guṇaprabha himself identifies his sources, without of course giving precise references. He says:[18] *'dir mdo de gnyis kyi gzung ni phran tshegs dag las* "Here, in regard to the (canonical) texts for both the *sūtra*s, they are from the Kṣudrakavastu," and indeed they are. All three texts he was working from are now found in the long section of the Kṣudrakavastu devoted to nuns which takes up nearly ninty folios or a hundred and eighty pages.

Although all three texts are of interest in themselves the first of them may be particularly so since much has been said in secondary sources

16 GOLDSTEIN (2001: 113).

17 For Sanskrit terms for "rent" see VIGASIN (1993).

18 Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna, Derge bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Zu 47a.1.

about possible relationships between Buddhist monks or monasteries and traveling merchants,[19] but very little has been noted about Buddhist nuns or nunneries and their interactions with such merchants, and our first text deals precisely with one instance of that. Given that Buddhist nunneries were to be located in towns or cities interactions between nuns and merchants could, moreover, have been far more frequent than they were between merchant and monk. Unfortunately, a Sanskrit text of the Kṣudrakavastu has not yet come down to us so the first and second of our texts will be translated here from the Tibetan translation of it – the third will only need to be summarized.

> The[20] setting was in Śrāvastī.
> The Nun Sthūlanandā deeply affected (*dad par byas te* = *prasādayati*) another householder, and when she had him build a retreat house (*dbyar mo khang* = *varṣaka*) many nuns came to live there.
> Later five hundred merchants from the south carrying merchandise arrived in Śrāvastī. Those merchants looked for a house to rent (*khang pa glas bstal pa*) where they could store their goods but did not find one. They looked then everywhere in Śrāvastī but still did not find anything. When they piled up their goods in the market place and on the streets and crossroads and stayed there, thunder was heard during the day, then towards evening it began to drizzle. The merchants sat there, their chin in their hand, feeling miserable.
> Sthūlanandā saw them and said: "What, sirs, are you doing sitting out on the street in the rain? Where is the harm in at least putting your goods some place?"
> They said: "Noble One, since we looked everywhere in Śrāvastī, but the whole world is inhospitable and we could not even get a house to rent (*gla*), what else are we to do?"
> Sthūlanandā said: "Sons, you must know what it will be like at night – giving even more rent, you must find a place! This will be ruinous for your merchandise, and if it gets drenched by the rain, no one will buy it!"
> They said: "Noble One, the whole world being inhospitable, even if we paid them double rent for a house still no one will let to us. We will see what turns up for us, but however that be, when the day is past we are going elsewhere."
> Sthūlanandā said: "Just so, sons, pay even more than that house rent and stay in my retreat house!" (*bdag gi dbyar mo khang* = *mama varṣake*)
> The merchants said: "Very well – we will go there."
> Sthūlanandā then that evening drove the nuns out of the retreat house and rented (*glar btang ngo*) that retreat house to those merchants.

19 A good example is KOSAMBI (1955) or HEITZMAN (1984).
20 Kṣudrakavastu, Derge 'dul ba Da 171a.6–172a.1.

> Those nuns – since it had been raining – went to another retreat house with their robes drenched. The nuns there asked: "Elder Sisters, why have you come here in the evening with your robes so drenched?"
> They told them everything. Nuns who were of few wants were contemptuous, critical, and complained, saying, "How is it right to rent out a house that a donor (*sbyin bdag* = *dānapati*) made as a retreat house for nuns?"
> When the monks heard what had occurred they reported it to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One said: "Monks, the point is that nuns are contemptuous – therefore, nuns must not rent out a retreat house! (*dbyar mo khang glar ma btang zhig*) If a nun rents out a retreat house, she comes to be guilty of an infraction."

It is worth noting here first, because it is not always the case, that the language used by Guṇaprabha to formulate the rule in his Vinayasūtra (*dbyar khang glar mi btang ngo*) is very much the same as the language used in the canonical text (*dbyar mo khang glar ma btang zhig*), at least to judge by the Tibetan. Then one might note that the narrative elements in the account are not in themselves implausible, except perhaps the stereotyped number "five hundred," which probably only indicated "a great many." That traveling merchants or traders (*tshong pa* = *vaṇik*) could be in need of temporary storage facilities within the safety of the city would not be surprising. That Buddhist nunneries, being located in cities or towns, could therefore provide them would not either – indeed not only might they have available space, but being 'religious' establishments they might well have been more protected from the actions of thieves or the government, two groups that in early India too were probably not always easy to distinguish. The characterization of the Nun Sthūlanandā as well is not only wonderfully human because contradictory, but entirely in keeping with what is said of her elsewhere in these texts. She is not only able to 'convert' a presumably wealthy householder and inspire him to build a nunnery, but she is also so business savvy that she gets the merchants themselves to name a high price – double the normal rent for a house – and then charges them even more. This can only remind one of the more famous ruse used by Anāthapiṇḍada to purchase the site of the Jetavana.[21] Although unfortunately little is known about it, renting out property of all sorts – houses, fields, dams, and even clothes – is referred to in texts like the Arthaśāstra and the Nāradasmṛti, the first of these giving the fine for evicting a renter (*avakray-*

21 See SCHOPEN (2000: 98–99, 117–118, 170–171).

in) without reasonable cause, so it too is perfectly plausible.[22] Finally, a nun driving other nuns out of a nunnery seems to have been thought common enough that to do so out of anger was made a *pāyantika* offense in the Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa. Indeed, it was also a *pāyantika* offense in the Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa for a monk to do the same to another monk, and in both Prātimokṣas the action is expressed by the Tibetan verb *skrod pa*.[23] Our Kṣudrakavastu text uses the same verb *skrod pa* to express what Sthūlanandā did in regard to the other nuns, and its meaning is not in doubt – "to expel, drive out, eject" – and the Sanskrit it is translating is almost certain: forms of *skrod pa* are well-attested translations for forms of Sanskrit *niṣkarṣati*, which in Buddhist usage means "to expel or eject a person from a place," and it is precisely this verb that is used in the extant Sanskrit versions of the Prātimokṣa rule.[24] Note, incidentally, that since the Prātimokṣa rule requires for the ejection to be an offense that it must be done out of anger or ill-will, Sthūlanandā's action in our text does not technically constitute an offense – she did not eject the other nuns out of anger, but rather so she could use the *varṣaka* for her own business purposes, and it is this that our text rules against.

If, then, the narrative elements in our account are by and large not in any significant way implausible there is, however, one thing that at first sight might seem to be, and it is in fact the main action of the story, and the very thing the rule forbids. If the account and rule concerned a monk, or male, renting out the *vihāra* – there is no such account or rule in this Vinaya, as far as I know – it might be surprising, or off-putting, but not implausible. But we are not in the habit of thinking of women in early India as having the legal capacity to enter into contracts, or being 'legal persons,'[25] and yet the compiler of our Vinaya story apparently did, and this is not the only instance. The rule against nuns going to court for the recovery of property or debt already mentioned, and treated elsewhere, makes no sense unless it was known or assumed that they could, and had the legal right to do so. The Mūlasarvāstivādin account of this rule is

22 See the references cited in VIGASIN (1993).

23 Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa, Derge 'dul ba Ta 21a.2; Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga, Derge 'dul ba Ta 277b.6; Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa, Derge 'dul ba Ca 12a.4 – for the Sanskrit see the next note.

24 Prātimokṣasūtra, BANERJEE (1977) *pāyantika* 16 – see also the Sarvāstivāda-prātimokṣa, FINOT (1913) *pātayantikā* 16.

25 But see now OLIVELLE (2005: 247–260) and Jamison (2006).

particularly germane because the two remaining texts to be treated here are narratively only variant versions of it, and go very much to the same point.

The[26] setting was in Śrāvastī.
A householder who delighted in giving lived in Śrāvastī. On one occasion he was struck with an illness and, the time for his body ending, he thought: "I as such am dying," and whatever he personally owned (*bdag dbang ba* = *svāpateya*) and was in his house, all that he gave to ascetics and brahmins and friends, companions, and kinsmen as well. But when Sthūlanandā heard that there was a single house remaining, she went scurrying and, having hurried, when she arrived she said to the householder: "Householder, for a woman there are few donations," and she made a sign.
The householder, moreover, understood and said: "Noble One, since you were late in coming whatever there was, I have already given all of that, and apart from a single house nothing remains, so there is nothing further to give."
Sthūlanandā said: "Householder, when you are praised as high as an elephant's trunk and I have come to you, am I to go away just like that?"
He said: "Noble One, did I not say apart from a single house nothing remains? If you want it, please take it!"
She said: "Just so, householder, it must be accepted!" And having said "May you be without illness," she set out and departed.
When later that householder died his kinsmen, having ornamented a bier with blue and yellow and red and white cloth, went carrying him to the burning ground. But when Sthūlanandā heard how that householder had died she very hurriedly went, and having locked the door of his house, she sealed it (*rgyas btab ste* = *mudrayati*) and remained there to one side.
After his kin had cremated him and came there, they said: "Who has sealed (*rgyas btab* = *mudrita*) this house?"
Sthūlanandā said: "The one who owns it (*dbang ba* = *īśitṛ*, *svāmin*) has sealed it."
They said: "To whom was it given?"
She said: "To me, Sthūlanandā."
They said: "If, Noble One, that is so we still would occupy it by paying rent (*gla dbul gyis 'jug go*)."
"You will pay?" she said.
They saying "We will pay," she broke the seal (*rgya* = *mudrā*) and they occupied it.
While they were occupying and living in it, brahmins and householders came there and having met with them they were contemptuous, critical and complained, saying, "Monks who are sons of the Śākyan ascetic are gone up in flames, the religious

26 Kṣudrakavastu, Derge 'dul ba Da 184a.3–184b.5.

> life has gone up in flames, on account of which now houses are being rented out and rents accepted (*da ltar khyim glar gtong zhing len pa'o*)."[27]
> The monks heard of the situation and reported it to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One said: "Since, monks, the contempt expressed by brahmins and householders has foundation, therefore nuns must not rent out houses and accept rents! (*de lta bas na dge slong ma rnams kyis khyim glar gtang zhing blang bar mi bya'o*) If a nun rents out a house and accepts rent she comes to be guilty of an offense (*'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro = sātisāro bhavati*)."

Before anything else is said about this text it needs to be noted that it is – as might have been expected from Guṇaprabha's *sūtra*s – only the first of two almost identical texts: it is immediately followed without a break or separate *nidāna* or introduction by another which repeats almost all of it *verbatim*, the only significant difference being that where the first text refers to a residential house, the second refers to a shop or commercial building (*tshong khang = āpaṇa*).[28] This difference requires, of course, some other small related differences in wording in the two texts. In the first, for example, where the renters say they will "occupy" the house and are said to do so, in the second text they say they will display their goods (*zong dgram pa*) in the shop. But apart from differences of this sort the wording of the two texts is all but identical, and what can be said of one applies equally to both. A third version of the same narrative is also used in the Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga to deliver the rule against nuns going to court to recover a debt.[29]

Both texts, then, appear to present a remarkable picture of the early Buddhist nun – a woman – as a *legalis homo*, "a person who has full legal capacity and full legal rights."[30] This is a woman who had, or was assumed to have, both the legal right and capacity to both accept and to

27 There is an ambiguity both here and in the expression of the concluding rule. Given the construction it is possible to take both as referring to either (1) letting houses for rent and accepting that rent, or (2) letting houses for rent and accepting (as gifts) houses. If *len pa* (= *prati*-GRAH) is taken in a strong sense then both could be understood to be referring to (3) letting houses for rent and seizing them (i.e. sealing them, as Sthūlanandā did). Without a Sanskrit text this is not easily settled, and the most that might be said is that to judge by the corrected Tibetan text (!) of the Vinayasūtra Guṇaprabha took this and the next text to be referring only to rent.

28 Kṣudrakavastu, Derge 'dul ba Da 184b.5–185b.2.

29 Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga, Derge 'dul ba Ta 123a.5–124a.2; translated in SCHOPEN (forthc.).

30 GARNER (1999: 904).

own real property without any need for, or reference to, a male agency or guardianship. The texts or text – since the two accounts are virtually identical – explicitly indicate that the house and shop were given directly to her, not to the Community, and that she was the owner. Although less clearly stated this was very likely also understood to be the case in the account of the *varṣaka* as well: the *varṣaka* was built by a layman who had been moved by her and she had him do it – the verb is causative; she also explicitly refers to it as "my retreat house."[31] Moreover, she alone and independently initiates and enters into the rental agreement, which is, of course, a form of contract. More remarkable still is the manner by which she expresses her legal control of the properties and enforces her ownership: while the families are absent she locks them out – i.e. she holds the keys – and she seals (*mudrayati*) both shop and house. That the Sanskrit being translated by *rgyas btab ste* is *mudrayati* is virtually certain because we have another account in this same Vinaya in which upon the death of an individual his residence is "sealed," and this one is preserved in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. This case concerns the monk Upananda who left an estate of "three hundred thousands of gold." Having died sonless (*aputra*) – as all good monks should – by law his estate should go to the king, and when the king is informed of the monk's death he accordingly orders his officials to "seal" the monk's cell – in Sanskrit *asya layanaṃ mudrayata*, in Tibetan *de'i gnas khang rgyas thob shig*,[32] and *thob* (imperative) and *btab* (perfect) are only different 'tenses' of the same verb. But this second text does not just provide the Sanskrit for the first. It indicates that what the Nun Sthūlanandā did was initiate an established legal procedure used by the state to lay claim to the property of a decedent. Here she acts as agents of the state act and, it seems, with the same legal authority and right. She does not only what a man does, but what a "big man," a king, does. At least in a story written by a Buddhist monk a Buddhist nun was able to do all these things.

31 On the various types of ownership of *vihāra*s see for the moment SCHOPEN (2004: 219–254) which is in need of some revision and expansion, especially, perhaps, in regard to ownership by individual monks. For the latter the accounts of Rāhula's *vihāra* found at both Vinayavibhaṅga, Derge 'dul ba Cha 203a.4–205b.1 and Uttaragrantha, Derge 'dul ba Pa 82b.1–84b.2 will prove to be important.

32 Cīvaravastu, DUTT (1942, pp. 117.8–121.5) = Derge 'dul ba Ga 101b.1–103a.6. The Sanskrit is partially translated at Schopen (2004, pp. 115–116).

Whether or not Buddhist nuns in early India actually had the legal status and rights to accept, own, and rent real property, or initiate legal procedures of confiscation, cannot be confirmed by other, non-Buddhist textual sources since those nuns are all but invisible in Indian legal texts.[33] All that can be said on the basis of the texts cited here is that the men who wrote them either thought or assumed that Buddhist nuns could do all these things, and worried that they would. And although male anxieties are probably not the best indicators of reality, only the densest among such men would have made rules against what they knew could not possibly happen.

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33 I use "early" here and in my title in the same generous and elastic way as VON HINÜBER (2006) uses "ancient" even though the bulk of the sources used there are commentaries, especially the Samantapāsādikā, which it assigns to the 5th century CE (p. 8).

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Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra

CHARLES MALAMOUD

Imagination, croyance et gouvernement des hommes
Note sur l'Arthaśāstra

Quelle est la place de l'imagination dans le Traité de Kauṭilya[1] ? La question est double. On demande d'une part si l'auteur de l'Arthaśāstra a recours à l'imagination, fait preuve d'imagination en composant son ouvrage et d'autre part si le roi, à qui sont destinées les instructions de Kauṭilya[2], tient compte de l'imagination des êtres auxquels il a à faire, ses sujets, ses adversaires, sa propre personne.

Avant de tenter d'y répondre, il faut s'interroger sur le statut de cette question. L'imagination est-elle un thème de l'Arthaśāstra ? Cet aspect de la vie de l'esprit est-il explicitement pris en considération dans ce texte ? Il faut bien constater d'abord qu'aucun des différents termes sanscrits rendus en français (ou en anglais) par « imagination » (ou par les équivalents, approximatifs, bien entendu, d' « imagination » dans les

1 Le titre Arthaśāstra est rendu parfois par « Traité de Politique » : ainsi KALYANOV, DAMBUYANT, SCHARFE. « Politique » peut rendre le terme *nīti* « conduite », la « conduite » étant en effet le sujet de cet ouvrage (comment le roi doit conduire ses sujets, comment il doit se conduire, il est un *netṛ*, son action est un *naya*, il se forme et forme ses sujets au *vinaya*): mais on ne trouve pas à l'arrière-plan de la *nīti* du roi l'équivalent de la *polis* qui est, en principe tout au moins, le cadre de la « politique ». En outre un des traits caractéristiques de l'Arthaśāstra est d'associer *nīti* à *vārttā* : ensemble la « politique » et l' « économie » sont des éléments d'une structure plus vaste, l'*artha*, l' « intérêt ». Renou traduit régulièrement Arthaśāstra par « science de l'intérêt » ou « des intérêts ». Le terme *artha* signifie également « but », « objectif ». Le roi conquérant est toujours tendu vers un but.

2 Le roi est le sujet , explicite ou sous-entendu, de la plupart des phrases dont le verbe est à la 3e personne du singulier. Quand il y a risque d'ambiguïté (il peut s'agir d'autres rois), le « héros » de l'Arthaśāstra est désigné comme *vijigīṣu*, « (le roi) désireux de conquérir ». Mais il arrive aussi que l'auteur ait en vue d'autres personnages. En I.18 Kauṭilya donne des conseils non pas au *vijigīṣu* ou à ses agents mais au prince qui, tombé en disgrâce ou mal aimé de son père, doit chercher refuge auprès d'un roi voisin ou acquérir une puissance, une sphère d'action autonomes. Voir ci-dessous, note 14.

autres langues européennes) n'apparaît ici. Ni dans les listes des qualités ni dans les listes des défauts qui caractérisent le roi ou les personnes auxquelles il a à faire ne figure l'aptitude ou la propension à imaginer[3]. Cependant Kauṭilya, après avoir énuméré en I.9.1 les qualités intellectuelles et morales qui constituent la *sampad*, l'excellence, d'un ministre (*amātya*), enseigne en I.9.4 que l'action du roi, *rājavṛtti*, est *pratyakṣa-parokṣānumeya*, fondée sur ce qui relève de la perception directe, *pratyakṣa*, glosé en 5 par *svayaṃdṛṣṭam* ; sur ce qui est au-delà de sa perception et qui lui est connu par ce que d'autres portent à sa connaissance, *parokṣa*, glosé en 6 *paropadiṣṭa*[4]; enfin sur l'inférence, *anumeya*, terme glosé en 7 par *karmasu kṛtenākṛtāvekṣaṇam* « dans les actions, se faire une idée de ce qui n'a pas été fait d'après ce qui a été fait ». L'inférence, sur le plan psychologique, produit en l'occurrence la représentation de ce qui n'a pas encore eu lieu, mais qui se produira ou risque de se produire et détermine donc ce qu'il y a à faire. Supputation, anticipation, projet : autant d'éléments qui constituent la face cognitive de l'imagination, symétrique, pourrait-on dire, de l'élément d'imagination que les Mīmāṃsaka déceleront dans la connaissance acquise par inférence[5].

3 Liste des qualités que doit avoir le roi et qui sont le résultat de son éducation I.7.1.

4 Jeu sur *paras* « au-delà » et *para* « autre ».

5 S'agissant de cette forme particulière d'inférence qu'est l'*arthāpatti*, « présomption », la Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā la définit comme une *kalpanā*, « supposition d'un objet, à la pensée qu'un (autre) objet vu ou entendu (*i. e.* en particulier révélé) n'est pas possible (ou : n'est pas explicable) autrement » . Telle est la traduction de Śabara-Bhāṣya I 1.5 par Madeleine Biardeau, (BIARDEAU 1964: 9), qui ajoute : « Le terme *kalpanā* désigne sans distinction une supposition logique et l'imagination ». Gardons-nous de l'anachronisme qui consisterait à attribuer à Kauṭilya la connaissance de *darśana* qui se sont dévéloppés après la date que l'on peut lui supposer, même si on adopte l'hypothèse la plus basse. Le terme *arthāpatti*, qui figure dans la liste des *tantrayukti* qui constituent le livre XV de l'Arthaśāstra, est présent dans le Mahābhāṣya mais non dans Kātyāyana (SCHARFE 1993: 268). Ce fait, combiné à un faisceau d'autres données, permet à Scharfe de dater l'Arthaśāstra du Ier ou du IIème siècle de notre ère. Sur le rapport de Kauṭilya aux *darśana*, voir aussi l'étude détaillée du terme *ānvīkṣikī* par W. Halbfass (HALBFASS 1988 : 263–286). Un terme qu'il faut prendre en considération est *vikalpa* : dans le titre du chapitre 3 du livre X, *kūṭayuddhavikalpaḥ*, « diverses formes du combat secret », *vikalpa* est simplement « option entre variantes possibles » et le lien avec le *vikalpa* des textes philosophiques est très ténu, mais en II.23.9 *vastrāstaraṇaprāvaraṇavikalpān utthāpayet*, « le roi doit susciter la production de variétés de vêtements, de couvre-lits, de couvertures », *vikalpa* signifie, selon MEYER « verschiedene Arten », mais

Mais que l'imagination ne soit pas nommée dans l'Arthaśāstra ne signifie pas qu'elle en est absente. Nous constatons au contraire qu'elle est ici un élément essentiel si on veut bien admettre qu'une des formes de l'imagination est l'invention. Un passage du drame Mudrārākṣasa de Viśākhadatta donne sens à cette enquête et, me semble-t-il, la rend légitime. Rappelons que si la réalité historique de l'auteur de l'Arthaśāstra nous échappe[6], Viśākhadatta fait de la figure légendaire de Kauṭilya un des deux personnages principaux de son drame et met dans sa bouche des sentences qui reproduisent au moins par leur leur contenu, des idées exprimées dans l'Arthaśāstra. Le rôle que ce personnage tient auprès du roi dont il est le conseiller et les stratagèmes qu'il invente sont une illustration portée sur la scène des préceptes formulés dans le Traité. L'autre protagoniste du drame, Rākṣasa, lui aussi spécialiste de la théorie et de la pratique du pouvoir politique, est pour Cāṇakya à la fois un interlocuteur et une cible : Cāṇakya, qui a réussi à porter au pouvoir un prince Maurya, mettant ainsi fin au règne de la dynastie des Nanda, veut obtenir le ralliement de Rākṣasa, ministre resté fidèle à la mémoire du roi vaincu tué au combat. Cāṇakya est un pur politique qui n'a pas d'autre but que de consolider le pouvoir du Maurya, donc d'éliminer tout ce qui peut le menacer, tandis que Rākṣasa, qui a lui aussi un but politique, éliminer le Maurya, ramener sur le trône un Nanda, survivant de la dynastie déchue, est en outre un homme de coeur ; ses motifs ne sont pas seulement l'ambition et la volonté de vaincre, il est animé aussi par le sentiment de l'honneur, la piété, la fidélité. Mais l'un comme l'autre conçoivent leur projet, leur plan d'action comme une intrigue dramatique. En sorte qu'à l'intérieur du drame composé par Viśākhadatta et qui lui-même pro-

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peut-être aussi « eine Umformung oder eine Gestaltung die bisher nicht da war […] also vielleicht eher ‹ Neue Arte von Gewändern […] auf den Markt bringen ›. » Sur la composante « imagination, imaginaire » du terme *vikalpa* chez Bhartṛhari, voir BRONKHORST 2001: 931.

6 Kauṭilya (ou Kauṭalya), Cāṇakya et Viṣṇugupta sont-ils une seule et même personne ? (En ce cas, pourquoi cette multiplicité de noms ?) N'est-ce pas plutôt que ces noms désignaient à l'origine trois personnages différents qui auraient contribué, chacun à sa manière et à son niveau, à la composition et à la rédaction de l'ouvrage tel qu'il nous est parvenu ? Cette question est inséparable du problème, beaucoup plus important et plus difficile, de la date de l'Arthaśāstra. Cf. TRAUTMANN 1971: 10–67, 169–187; SCHARFE 1993: 72–77. Cāṇakya est aussi un personnage du Kathāsaritsāgara (I.5.108–125) et sa biographie légendaire est le thème de la Mudrārākṣasanāṭakakathā de Mahādeva (Cf. PIANO 1968).

gresse selon les règles de la poétique théâtrale, le plan d'action imaginé par les personnages, tel qu'il est décrit par l'un d'eux, Rākṣasa, fait apparaître l'art du politique comme analogue à l'art du dramaturge :

> Tout d'abord, dessiner l'ébauche, fût-elle ténue, de ce qui est à réaliser, puis s'efforcer de la développer, faire éclater les pousses secrètes dissimulées dans les graines fécondes, puis avec intelligence les faire se ramifier et bien qu'elles se soient étendues en s'écartant les unes des autres, les nouer ensemble pour obtenir le résultat espéré. Le dramaturge est comme les gens de ma sorte, il passe par les mêmes tourments (Mudrārākṣasa IV.2–3[7]).

Trouvons-nous dans l'Arthaśāstra même des exemples d'intrigues bien menées qui justifieraient (par avance) les propos de Rākṣasa ? Nous avons en tout cas un très grand nombre de « scénarios », c'est-à-dire de situations qu'il s'agit non seulement de prévoir (imaginer ce qui risque de se passer et prendre ses dispositions) mais encore de créer, en projetant en quelque sorte des formes de théâtre dans la réalité. Le schéma, derrière la diversité des circonstances, est toujours le même : des agents du roi, déguisés en savants brahmanes ou en vénérables ascètes, gagnent la confiance des populations au milieu desquelles ils s'installent ; ils portent à leur connaissance des événements fictifs, de nature à provoquer des réactions de peur ou de colère selon un programme prévu par le roi qui sait comment contrôler le mouvement ainsi déclenché et comment en tirer profit. Ces provocations sont du théâtre en ce sens que des personnes qui jouent un rôle et se font passer pour ce qu'ils ne sont pas en fait créent par leurs paroles un monde imaginaire ; elles sont cependant autre chose que du théâtre puisque le public auquel elles sont destinées les perçoit comme des éléments du monde réel. Fiction et réalité, intrigue dramatique et intrigue politique se rejoignent dans le plan du roi qui a conçu, imaginé la façon dont les événements se succéderaient. Par exemple XI 1.44–45 : il s'agit pour le roi de créer des dissensions à l'intérieur de *saṃgha*, communautés politiques semi-autonomes où le

7 Ce qui pour le théâtre occidental est le « dénouement » est, dans la théorie indienne, le moment où les rameaux divergents se nouent en un bouquet final. La succession des *sandhi*, avec la métaphore végétale, est conforme à Nāṭyaśāstra XIX.16 et 35 *sqq.* Cf. LÉVI 1963 Vol. I: 35 ; Vol. II: 38. En Mudrārākṣasa VI, prose avant la strophe 3 (p. 304 de l'édition KALE), un personnage, décontenancé par le tour que prennent les événements, par ce qui, à ses yeux, est un « coup de théâtre », compare la situation à une pièce composée par un mauvais poète (*kukavikṛtanāṭaka*).

pouvoir est exercé par un collectif de chefs (Meyer traduit *saṃgha* par « Verbände[8] », Ghoshal par « republics[9] », Kangle par « oligarchies », Scharfe par « clans[10] ».

> Un agent secret du roi s'adresse à un chef d'oligarchie, grand amateur de femmes : « dans le village de X, vient de s'installer la famille d'un pauvre. L'épouse de cet homme est digne d'un roi, prends-la pour toi. » Il s'en empare donc. Un demi-mois plus tard un agent ayant l'apparence d'un saint homme se présente à l'assemblée des chefs de ce *saṃgha* corruptible et crie au scandale : « le chef que voici fait violence à ma femme ou ma bru ou ma soeur ou ma fille ! » Si le conseil des chefs décide de châtier le violeur, le roi conquérant doit prendre le parti de cet homme et l'amener à faire la guerre contre ceux qui sont dans de mauvaises dispositions (à l'égard du roi). Si le chef (le « violeur ») n'est pas châtié, des hommes de main (du roi) doivent tuer, de nuit, l'agent déguisé en saint homme. Alors d'autres hommes, portant le même déguisement, viennent crier au scandale : « cet homme est le meurtrier d'un brahmane et l'amant d'une femme brahmane[11] ! »

Cette intrigue si brièvement exposée est cependant complexe. Elle se distingue de l'intrigue proprement théâtrale par le fait qu'elle admet une version courte et une version longue qui comprend une étape de plus. Le dénouement, le *phala* du *kārya* est, semble-t-il, le même: il s'agit, dans les deux cas, de rendre inévitable et irrémédiable la dissension entre l'amateur de femmes et les autres membres du conseil. Dans la deuxième version, il est sous-entendu que le groupe des chefs sera bien obligé de punir leur compagnon devenu brahmanicide ; tombé dans le piège que lui a tendu le roi, ce chef de *saṃgha* n'aura pas d'autre issue que de se mettre sous sa protection et devenir son allié. Notons que pour cette manipulation, cette provocation supplémentaire, le roi n'hésite pas faire à mettre à mort, secrètement, un de ses agents.

Ces scénarios de provocation se suffisent à eux-mêmes et forment à chaque fois une manoeuvre autonome, un exemple de ce que le roi peut imaginer, dans une situation donnée, pour réaliser ce qu'il a en tête. Jamais ils ne s'enchaînent de manière à s'intégrer dans un récit plus vaste. Autrement dit, il y a des tactiques, il n'y a pas de stratégie. On peut noter aussi qu'il n'y a pas de récit d'événements singuliers situés dans le passé

8 MEYER 1977: 588.
9 GHOSHAL 1966: 185 *sqq.*
10 SCHARFE 1993: 225 *sq.*
11 Arthaśāstra XI.1.44–48.

mais des « cas de figure » imaginaires ou, plus précisément, abstraits. Le paradoxe de l'Arthaśāstra est que ce texte, si riche en données sur les *realia* (l'organisation des différents organismes de l'État, le montant des salaires et des amendes, la largeur des routes, les denrées etc.), ne contient aucun élément qui permettrait de le situer dans le devenir historique de l'Inde (ce qui explique la difficulté de le dater, à quelques siècles près). L'absence de référence, dans l'Arthaśāstra, à des personnages ou à des événements singuliers[12], à tout ce qui constitue la matière de l'histoire et suppose un cadre chronologique est du reste, comme l'a noté Louis Renou, un des traits par où le traité de Kauṭilya se distingue nettement du *Prince* de Machiavel[13]. Mais ce qui frappe aussi, c'est qu'il n'y a pas d'autre temporalité que celle qui est impliquée par la succession des événements à l'intérieur de chaque intrigue. Tous ces modèles d'action sont regroupés par types : dans telle situation, quand on a en vue tel objectif, on peut agir ainsi, ou ainsi, ou encore ainsi[14], mais ces situations elles-mêmes sont envisagées comme des options autonomes, non comme les étapes d'une progression.

Cependant le roi conquérant a un grand dessein. Par définition ou du moins par vocation, il vise à se rendre maître de la terre entière, ou , ce qui, d'une certaine manière, revient au même, de l'Inde entière[15], c'est-à-dire de la péninsule proprement dite et de la plaine qui s'étend d'une mer à l'autre et qui est bordée au Nord par la chaîne de l'Himalaya : le territoire ainsi défini est le domaine du *cakravartin*. Le but ultime est de faire

12 Les mésaventures de quelques personnages mythiques ou légendaires du Mahābhārata et du Rāmāyaṇa, sont toutefois mentionnées en I.4.6–12.

13 Renou 1966: 39.

14 La capacité imaginative du roi ou de ses agents se marque aussi dans leur aptitude à prévoir toutes les variantes des situations dans lesquelles ils sont susceptibles de se trouver, compte tenu de la tâche qu'ils ont à accomplir. Un exemple frappant est celui de l'ambassadeur qui, retenu chez le souverain auprès de qui il est en mission, fait une série d'hypothèses sur les intentions de son hôte et agit en conséquence (I.16.29–32).

15 IX.1.17 *sq.* Cf. Kangle Vol. 3 : 2 et 64. Kauṭilya n'essaie pas d'imaginer ce qui est au-delà de ce *kṣetra* dont il dit de quels types de pays ou de paysages il est constitué, sans que ces types soient jamais rapportés à des régions géographiquement situées. Que le monde extérieur à l'Inde proprement dite ne soit pas envisagé comme un territoire à conquérir ni même à explorer n'empêche pas qu'il soit fait état de produits provenant de cet au-delà, par exemple la soie, désignée comme *cīnapaṭṭa* en II.11.114, cf. Kangle Vol. 3: 74 *sq.*

régner sur cet espace, et donc sur la terre entière, le *dharma* des *varṇa* et des *āśrama*. Il apparaît donc que toutes les actions de l'*artha* du roi sont justifiées en fin de compte par son *svadharma*, c'est-à-dire, dans le cadre du *dharma* général, par le devoir d'état propre à la fonction royale. Mais Kauṭilya ne s'attarde pas sur cette justification : d'une part elle va de soi, d'autre part le roi selon Kauṭilya est amené à agir en certaines circonstances d'une manière qui contredit nettement ce qu'enseignent les textes de *dharma* dans leurs développements sur l'*artha* et le *svadharma* du roi.

Ce qu'il faut souligner ici c'est que Kauṭilya ne donne aucune description du royaume ou de la royauté selon le *dharma*. Autrement dit nous ne sommes pas invités à imaginer une utopie. Le règne du roi parfait, parfaitement dharmique et qui, victorieux de tous ses adversaires et rivaux, est parvenu à ses fins ultimes, est pourtant un thème récurrent de la littérature sanscrite, mais c'est dans les oeuvres proprement littéraires qu'il est développé, notamment dans les descriptions d'ermitages de *vānaprastha* : ces communautés où des ascètes solitaires cohabitent avec des familles, où l'activité essentielle et constante de tous est la célébration des rites, sans qu'il y ait à se préoccuper de produire ou de se procurer des moyens de subsistance, se caractérisent par une harmonie parfaite, excluant toute violence, entre la nature et les êtres humains. Elles sont le signe que la société qui rend possible leur existence est elle-même parfaitement dharmique, c'est-à-dire gouvernée par un roi qui se conforme pleinement au *dharma* royal. Le roi selon le *dharma* prend les mesures nécessaires pour prévenir ou éliminer ce qui peut faire obstacle au *dharma*, mais dans les ermitages forestiers, les *tapovana* utopiques, tous sont spontanément et naturellement parfaits[16].

Tout autre est la situation dans le monde de l'Arthaśāstra. Pour atteindre son but, le roi doit sans cesse prendre des décisions destinées à préserver ou renforcer son pouvoir. L'originalité de l'Arthaśāstra est de montrer que le pouvoir du roi (sa *śakti*), s'il consiste fondamentalement en la force (*bala*) que lui donnent le trésor (*kośa*) et l'armée (*daṇḍa*[17]), est aussi dans l'imagination de ses sujets et de ses adversaires. Plus précisément le roi s'efforce de leur faire croire qu'il est plus puissant qu'il n'est en réalité. Il fait preuve d'une imagination qui est une forme

16 Par exemple, dans l'oeuvre de Kālidāsa, Śakuntalā I.15 et 25–26 ; 8 et 11–25 ; Raghuvaṃśa XIV.75 ; Cf. MALAMOUD 1989: 106–114 et MALAMOUD 2005: 172–186.

17 VI.2.30–33.

d'inventivité pour trouver les moyens d'agir sur l'esprit des hommes auxquels il a à faire, sur leur imagination en tant qu'elle est une forme de crédulité. Le surcroît imaginaire de puissance a deux aspects : le roi veut faire croire qu'il est omniscient et aussi qu'il est en communication directe et amicale avec les dieux.

Les moyens employés pour « proclamer » que le roi est *sarvajña*, que rien n'échappe à sa vigilance, sont des scénarios apparentés à ceux qui constituent des éléments d'intrigue et dont on a vu des exemples plus haut. Le roi dispose d'un réseau d'agents qui lui font parvenir secrètement des informations sur ce qui se passe, en territoire ennemi, dans l'intimité des familles : il fait savoir, haut et fort, qu'il a percé à jour ces mystères (XIII.1.2) ; par des pigeons voyageurs, dont l'existence est tenue secrète, il prend connaissance, beaucoup plus rapidement que par des messagers humains, d'événements qui se sont produits au loin (ibid.). Ces informations valent moins par leur teneur que par la démonstration qu'elles fournissent, chez l'ennemi aussi bien que dans son propre royaume, de la mystérieuse omniscience du roi. Le roi s'offre même le plaisir de donner à ses fonctionnaires des renseignements qui relèvent de leur propre compétence : il les devance dans leur tâche, c'est grâce à son intervention qu'ils sont en mesure de l'exécuter, ils lui en attribuent donc bruyamment le mérite (II.21.27–29). Par des « coups » soigneusement montés des agents du roi manipulent des voleurs détenus, libérés en apparence, leur font commettre de nouveaux vols et ne manquent pas de les prendre sur le fait, ce qui permet aux spécialistes de la propagande de proclamer que le roi possède la « science de la capture des voleurs », *coragrahaṇī vidyā*, et que c'est sur ses instructions directes que les policiers ont pu les arrêter (IV.5.12–13).

L'autre grand thème de la guerre psychologique, à savoir que le roi conquérant est en relation directe et en accord avec les divinités, donne lieu à des développements plus détaillés et plus complexes et nous introduit à cette vaste question : qu'est-ce au juste que la piété du roi ? Que sont, dans son esprit, ces dieux dont il affirme, par tant de moyens divers, qu'ils sont ses interlocuteurs et ses amis ? Un des mérites de l'Arthaśāstra est de montrer que l'action et la pensée du roi ne s'ajustent entre elles que par une forme de duplicité. Le problème pour le lecteur moderne est de savoir si ou plutôt dans quelle mesure cette duplicité est assumée. Schématiquement on peut dire que le roi est guidé, dans son action, par l'idée qu'il se forme du rapport entre les dieux et les hommes,

mais cette idée, il ne tient pas à y rallier ses sujets, ni même à la faire connaître. Au contraire, pour que l'Etat soit gouvernable et pour que le roi puisse accomplir sa tâche, il importe que les sujets se conforment à leurs manières traditionnelles d'imaginer les puissances divines. Le roi n'est en rien un réformateur : toute son action vise à maintenir, protéger, dans les territoires qu'il possède et dans ceux qu'il veut acquérir, la société fondée sur le *varṇāśramadharma*. Il doit donc tenir le plus grand compte des croyances et des pratiques de ses sujets. Elles sont une donnée de la réalité dans laquelle il se trouve. Mais elles sont en contradiction avec ce qu'il pense lui-même, avec des principes qui ne sont pas seulement spéculatifs mais l'inspirent quand il doit prendre des décisions importantes. Cette contradiction n'est jamais formulée comme telle. Elle apparaît seulement quand on essaie de saisir la cohérence du texte dans son ensemble.

Une clé de la doctrine de Kauṭilya est cette formule générale, énoncée à propos des calamités, *vyasana*, qui peuvent frapper l'une ou l'autre des *prakr̥ti*, éléments constitutifs de l'Etat : « une calamité est de nature divine ou humaine. Elle a pour origine, respectivement, la mauvaise fortune, *an-aya*, ou une politique erronée, *apa-naya* » (VIII.1.2), ce qui est explicité en VI.2.6–12 :

> Ce qui est humain, *mānuṣa*, c'est la politique juste, *naya,* ou erronée, *apanaya*. Ce qui est divin (ou de l'ordre du destin), *daiva*, c'est la chance, *aya*, ou la malchance, *an-aya*. Car c'est l'action divine et humaine qui fait aller le monde, *lokam yāpayati*. Est d'origine divine ce qui est causé par un agent invisible : dans ce domaine, quand arrive un résultat désiré, c'est la chance ; un résultat non désiré, la malchance. Est d'origine humaine ce qui est causé par un agent visible ; quand vient la prospérité consistant en acquisition-et-jouissance (*yogakṣemaniṣpatti)*, c'est (un effet de) la politique juste ; quand cette prospérité disparaît, c'est (un effet de) la politique erronée. Ceci (qui est d'origine humaine) est pensable, *cintya*. Ce qui est d'origine divine est impensable, *acintya*[18] .

Il est donc vain de chercher à connaître les causalités divines en interrogeant les étoiles comme si elles étaient des signes célestes. « L'objet se dérobe à l'esprit puéril qui constamment consulte les constellations. Car

18 Dans le Mudrārākṣasa, Cāṇakya, dans le dialogue qui l'oppose au roi, ne se contente pas de dire que ce qui est *daiva* est impensable, il affirme que ce sont les ignorants qui y croient, *daivam avidvāṃsaḥ pramāṇayanti* (acte III, prose après la strophe 28, p. 192 de l'édition KALE).

l'objet est à lui-même sa constellation favorable. Que viendront faire ici les étoiles[19] ? » (IX.4.26). Dans la liste des faiblesses de caractère qui empêchent de gagner, *lābhavighna*, figure, à côté du « souci de l'autre monde », *paralokāpekṣā*, et de la « piété », *dhārmikatva*[20], « l'attachement aux dates et aux constellations favorables », *mangalatithinakṣatreṣṭitva* » (IX.4.25). Aussi bien, ce que l'on souhaite trouver chez l'ennemi (ce qui est une des « excellences », *sampad*, de l'ennemi et le rend facile à éliminer), c'est, entre autres faiblesses, le fait d'être *daivapramāṇa*, de s'en remettre au destin ou à la volonté des dieux (VI.1.13).

> Ceux qui sont *adhāna*, dépourvus de richesses, n'atteignent pas leurs buts, *artha*, même au prix d'efforts cent fois recommencés. C'est au moyen d'*artha* que l'on se rend maître des *artha* ; c'est par des éléphants propres à leur être opposés, *pratigaja*, que l'on se rend maître d'éléphants[21] » (IX.4.27).

Dans cette strophe conclusive du chapitre intitulé « pertes, dépenses, gains », le terme *artha* signifie d'une part « but à atteindre », d'autre part « richesses », mais la juxtaposition *arthair arthāḥ* indique aussi que même en tant que moyens, les *artha* sont de même nature que ces *artha* que sont les buts que l'on cherche à atteindre.

Nul besoin d'astrologues, donc, si les étoiles ne disent rien. Cependant nous apprenons en X.3.33 que quand il s'apprête à livrer bataille, le roi doit avoir dans son camp « le groupe de ses astrologues etc. », *kartāntikādiś cāsya vargaḥ*, non pour le conseiller mais pour emplir les troupes d'enthousiasme et les ennemis de terreur en confirmant que le roi est omniscient et en relation directe avec les dieux. Les « astrologues etc. » sont un élément du dispositif de la guerre psychologique ; de même « les bardes et les panégyristes doivent promettre le ciel aux braves et le non-ciel, *asvarga*, aux couards ». L'énumération des spécialistes de la parole ne s'arrête pas là. Elle se poursuit par la mention des « assistants du chapelain, qui doivent parler de sorcellerie et de magie noire, *purohitapuru-*

19 *nakṣatram ati pṛcchantaṃ bālam artho 'tivartate*, *artho hy arthasya nakṣatraṃ kiṃ kariṣyanti tārakāḥ*.

20 Que l'attachement au *dharma* et, par voie de conséquence, le souci de l'au-delà soient des gênes pour qui veut gagner n'empêche pas Kauṭilya d'affirmer que quand le roi se conforme à son *svadharma* et que, par le moyen du *dharma*, il protège ses sujets, le résultat est le *svarga* (III.1.41).

21 *nādhanāḥ prāpnuvanty arthān narā yatnaśatair api*, *arthair arthāḥ prabadhyante gajāḥ pratigajair iva*.

ṣāḥ kṛtyābhicaraṃ brūyuḥ » et de spécialistes de machines, *yantrika*, de charpentiers, *vardhaki*, et d'une autre variété d'astrologues, les *mauhūr-tika*, dont le rôle est de vanter la perfection, *siddhi*, de leur propre travail et le caractère défectueux de ce que font leurs homologues dans le camp adverse.

L'association de la magie et des arts mécaniques annonce ce qui sera développé en XIII.1 et 2. Pour montrer que les forces surnaturelles sont favorables au roi-conquérant, ses agents mettent en oeuvre d'ingénieuses machineries. Pour le roi et les techniciens qui les manipulent, ces machines sont des trucs d'illusionniste, elles produisent des images qui sont des faux-semblants, mais pour le public – qu'il faut supposer à la fois crédule et imaginatif – auquel elles sont destinées ce sont d'authentiques prodiges et l'illustration et la preuve de la connivence entre le roi et les divinités. Les *yantra* de la guerre psychologique ne sont pas distincts, dans leur fonction, des *yantra* machines mentionnés dans la liste des armes, armements, outils et matériels qui sont le domaine de l'*āyu-dhāgārādhyakṣa*, surintendant aux arsenaux (II.18.1). A cette différence près : les *yantra* machines de guerre dont destinés à frapper les corps, les *yantra* de la machinerie spectaculaire sont destinés à frapper les esprits. Mais de même que le guerrier n'est pas atteint, en principe, par les armes et les machines de guerre qu'il utilise contre l'ennemi, de même le roi manipulateur ne se laisse pas prendre aux images qu'il impose à l'esprit du public qu'il vise. Aussi bien la liste d'armes et d'outils matériels de II.18 se clôt par cette remarque : « la magie, science des filets d'Indra, *aindrajālika*, et les pratiques secrètes (*aupaniṣadika*) sont (ce qui est appelé) action, *karma* » (II.18.19). Entre le roi manipulateur et le public qu'il manipule la dissymétrie est complète.

Or quand on passe du livre XIII au livre XIV (intitulé lui-même *au-paniṣadika*) on prend une vue toute différente. La magie dont use le roi pour détruire ou affaiblir ses adversaires n'est pas une fabrique d'illusions mais l'application de recettes qui pourraient constituer un manuel de l'empoisonneur : des substances ou mélanges de substances préparés selon des procédures secrètes provoquent la mort ou des maladies terrifiantes. Ces substances et ces combinaisons sont à nos yeux très étranges, mais pour être rangées sous la rubrique « magie » il faut un élément de plus : il faut que l'usage de ces produits s'accompagne de gestes et de paroles qui relèvent du rituel, ce qui est effectivement indiqué en XIV.1.36–40. Le chapitre XIV.2 regroupe sous le titre *adbhu-*

totpādana, « production de prodiges », des procédés qui ont pour effet de rendre capable de jeûner pendant un mois, de parcourir en marchant cinquante *yojana* sans fatigue. Au chapitre XIV.3, les paragraphes 4–14 enseignent des recettes pour ne pas projeter d'ombre et se rendre invisible[22]. Les effets de ces pratiques sont prodigieux en effet, et nullement illusoires, bien que les dommages qu'elles causent à l'ennemi tiennent aussi à la terreur qu'elles inspirent[23]. Kauṭilya reconnaît que ces formes d'action sont haïssables, *aniṣṭa*, (c'est-à-dire contraires au *dharma*), mais les recommande cependant quand l'intérêt de l'Etat est en jeu :

> le roi doit frapper d'épouvante l'ennemi par ces fléaux prodigieux. Parce que c'est pour la consolidation du royaume, une pratique blâmable de même type est enseignée (aussi) en cas de révolte[24] (XIV.2.45).

Le terme englobant pour ces pratiques (*yoga*) très diverses mais qui ont en commun d'une part de se fonder sur un savoir occulte (*aupaniṣadika*), d'autre part de déclencher des causalités dont le résultat est perçu comme un prodige, est *māyā*. Certes en XIV.3.45 1 Kangle peut à bon droit traduire *māyākṛta* par « caused by illusion » pour distinguer les *yoga* ainsi qualifiés de ceux dont la mise en oeuvre s'accompagne de la récitation de *mantra* et implique l'utilisation de substances du type *bhaiṣaja*. Mais si on examine les emplois de *māyā* dans l'ensemble du texte, on voit que la *māyā* est aussi un pouvoir qui agit sur la réalité même et non seule-

22 En IV.5.4 il est fait état de *mantra* qui par eux-mêmes ont le pouvoir de rendre invisible.

23 De même sur le champ de bataille les éléphants ont pour rôle de causer dans les rangs de l'adversaire des destructions directes aussitôt amplifiées par la panique qui paralyse les troupes.

24 *aniṣṭair adbhutotpataiḥ parasyodvegam ācaret*, *ārājyāyeti nirvādaḥ samānaḥ kopa ucyate*. On reprend ici la traduction de Kangle qui note aussi les lectures et interprétations divergentes auxquelles ce passage a donné lieu. Notons qu'en reconnaissant que ces pratiques sont haïssables et blâmables Kauṭilya montre qu'il sait qu'elles s'écartent du *dharma*. Manu condamne en effet sans restriction le recours à la *māyā* (Manusmṛti VII.103): *amāyayaiva varteta na kathaṃ cana māyayā*, *budhyetāriprayuktāṃ ca māyāṃ nityaṃ svasaṃvṛtaḥ*. « Qu'il agisse sans *māyā*, en aucune façon avec *māyā*. Qu'il soit constamment vigilant devant la *māyā* mise en oeuvre par l'ennemi et que toujours il se garde lui-même. » Sur la présence de *māyā* parmi les *upāya* dont dispose le roi, voir LOSCH 1959: 10 et 127–130.

ment sur l'esprit des crédules[25]. Il nous faut revenir ici sur la distinction entre le domaine du *mānuṣa* et le domaine du *daiva*. Il est bien établi que ce qui relève du *daiva* est impensable, c'est-à-dire incompréhensible dans sa causalité et donc imprévisible. Mais si l'action proprement politique est impuissante, des moyens qui appartiennent à la sphère de la *māyā* peuvent être efficaces. En tous cas le roi doit honorer les *māyāvid*, les hommes qui s'y connaissent en *māyā*, et leur faire une place dans son royaume, tout comme il doit honorer les saints ascètes, *siddhatāpasa*, car ils sont des *daivāpatpratikārin*, ils ont le pouvoir de faire obstacle aux calamités d'origine surnaturelle (IV.3.44). Par exemple, le danger qui vient des démons, *rakṣobhaya*, peut être prévenu par ces experts en *māyā* et par des hommes qui connaissent l'Atharvaveda : les uns et les autres (associés ?) doivent exécuter les rites qui tuent les démons, *rakṣoghnāni* […] *karmāṇi* (IV.3.40). Pour conjurer la pluie, ce sont aussi des *māyāyogavid* qui agissent, de même que des *vedavid*, et l'intervention des uns et des autres est un *abhicāra*, un acte de magie incantatoire (IV.3.11). Tous ces personnages sont précieux mais redoutables : quand le roi doit traiter d'affaires concernant les *māyāvid* (et aussi du reste les ascètes *tapasvin*), il n'agit pas seul, car il craint de les mettre en colère, mais s'entoure d'hommes versés dans les trois Veda (I.19.32). Le chapelain, *purohita*, nécessairement un brahmane, est pour le roi un compagnon et un guide toujours présent. Il est compétent en tout ce qui touche au *dharma*, y compris les signes et les présages, il sait comment porter remède aux calamités d'origine divine et humaine par des formules atharvaniques et des stratagèmes (*upāya*). L'Atharvaveda est bien, comme on peut s'y attendre, l'intersection du corpus védique, de la *śruti* comme fondement du *dharma* brahmanique, et du monde multiforme de la *māyā*. C'est dans sa relation avec son chapelain que le roi révèle son ambiguïté ou sa duplicité. « Le roi doit suivre son chapelain comme un élève suit son maître, un fils son père, un serviteur son patron » (I.9.9–10) mais il le crédite de savoirs dont, pour son propre compte, il récuse la validité (les présages, les signes divins). Le roi a besoin de son chapelain et d'autres sa-

25 Les incrédules, *aśraddadhāna*, qui ne se laissent pas prendre aux montages du roi et de ses agents sont éliminés par le poison versé dans l'eau qu'ils boivent ou dont ils se servent pour leur toilette et leur mort est attribuée à la malédiction de la divinité (V.2.44).

vants brahmanes non pour produire lui-même sa propre *māyā* mais pour se prémunir des effets de la *māyā* d'autrui.

L'Arthaśāstra traite de tous les aspects de l'action du roi et passe en revue les situations dans lesquelles il peut se trouver, mais il est muet sur les rituels de l'onction et de la consécration, qui confèrent au roi son statut ou plutôt le font accéder à sa nature de souverain. Kauṭilya contourne donc le symbolique et se concentre sur les formes et les composantes du pouvoir. Mais le pouvoir n'est pas tout entier dans la réalité matérielle. Il est aussi dans l'imaginaire qui la jouxte, l'enveloppe et la pénètre. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que le Traité de l'Intérêt soit aussi un grand livre d'instructions et de questions sur la *māyā*.

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PATRICK OLIVELLE

Kaṇṭakaśodhana
Courts of Criminal Justice in Ancient India

It is a matter of common knowledge that lawsuits in ancient India falling under the category of *vyavahāra* entailed disputes between private parties; the state was involved only as impartial judge to adjudicate such legal disputes. The principle that the state cannot and should not initiate a lawsuit is clearly articulated in ancient legal texts. Manu (8.43), for example, states:

> *notpādayet svayaṃ kāryaṃ rājā nāpy asya pūruṣaḥ, na ca prāpitam anyena grasetārthaṃ kathaṃcana.*
> Neither the king nor any official of his shall initiate a lawsuit independently; nor shall he in any way suppress an action brought before him by someone else.

This fundamental principle of jurisprudence has been interpreted in several ways. Medhātithi and Bhāruci, commenting on this verse, give an interpretation according to which the term *utpādayet* means that the king or his officials should not instigate lawsuits, that is, prompt someone to bring a lawsuit against another person. But the final opinion given by both and followed by most other commentators is that the king or any official of his is not allowed to initiate a lawsuit for any reason, including partiality toward one side or greed in view of the fines he may be able to collect. This is expressed in a verse ascribed to Kātyāyana:

> *na rājā tu vaśitvena dhanalobhena vā punaḥ, svayaṃ kāryāṇi kurvīta narāṇām avivādinām.*
> The king, however, should not institute a lawsuit because of his power[1] or because he is greedy for money between people who are not in litigation.

1 This is verse 27 in KANE's edition. The meaning of the Sanskrit *vaśitvena* is not altogether clear. Kane translates "through being won over" taking the term to mean that the king has being brought under the control of one of the litigants. But that does not fit the context, because the potential litigants are not litigating (*avivādi-*

This jurisprudential principle is implied by Nārada (18.1) when, at the beginning of his chapter called *prakīrṇakam* (miscellaneous) coming at the end of the *vyavahārapada*s (grounds for litigation), he says that the crimes listed in this chapter are *vyavahārā nṛpāśrayāḥ* (litigations that depend on the king). The implication is that the topics listed in the *vyavahārapada*s are the subject of private litigations and cannot be initiated by the king.

Given, then, that lawsuits between private individuals or groups involve civil actions, the question arises whether ancient India knew a criminal justice system apart from police action aimed at suppressing and punishing criminal activities, a justice system that would parallel the civil court system given in the *vyavahāra* sections of Dharmaśāstras. The aim of this paper is to examine this issue afresh and to advance the thesis that the ancient institution of *kaṇṭakaśodhana* under the jurisdiction of an official known in the Arthaśāstra as *pradeṣṭṛ* was precisely such a magistrate's court different from the civil justice system, which is the focus of much of the legal literature.

Scholars have commented in passing on this institution prominent in the Arthaśāstra without taking it seriously as part of the ancient Indian criminal justice system. KANGLE (1965–1972 Vol. III: 233), for example, concludes that "The difference between the jurisdiction of the *dharmastha*s and the *pradeṣṭṛ*s does not quite correspond to the distinction between civil and criminal matters." He cites Nilakanta SASTRI (1952) with approval, who "rightly contested the view that *dharmasthīya* and *kaṇṭakaśodhana* laws correspond to the modern civil and criminal laws respectively" (KANGLE 1965–1972 Vol. III: 240). SCHARFE (1993) in his detailed study of the Arthaśāstra also concludes:

> The duty of the *pradeṣṭṛ-s* is the "removal of thorns," which is often equated with criminal justice by modern scholars, whereas civil justice is regarded as the domain of the *dharmastha*-s. This distinction is not quite correct.

KANE (1962–1975 Vol. III: 257, 259) wonders "Why Kauṭ[ilya] treats several offences under kaṇṭakaśodhana and not under dharmasthīya section," but denies the existence in ancient India of a double court system:

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nām). I take it to mean that the king initiates proceedings because he has the power to do so.

> Though in this way a distinction was made between civil and criminal disputes among the 18 titles of law […] the same courts tried both kinds of disputes and not as in modern times (when civil disputes are tried in one class of courts and criminal complaints in another).

Even though the area of responsibility of the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* office of the *pradeṣṭṛ* was much larger than the criminal courts of today, I will argue that it is nevertheless appropriate to see it as a broader criminal justice system that included both the suppression of criminal activity (i.e., police action) and the adjudication of the guilt or innocence of those accused of crimes (i.e., criminal court), something akin to, yet broader than, the position of magistrates with both judicial and executive powers in ancient Rome and in some contemporary European countries. My argument will show that KANGLE's (1962–1975 Vol. III: 233) conclusion is erroneous:

> No trial of the criminal appears to be contemplated, because though the Book describes at length the procedure of the investigation of various crimes, it says not a word about proceedings in a court.

The term *kaṇṭaka*, literally a thorn, is commonly used in Sanskrit literature metaphorically with reference to criminals within society. Given the close connection of kingship to land (hence the epithets, *pṛthivīpati* and *bhūmipa*), we can see how a fertile land without thorns can be a metaphor for a society without criminals: *rājyam akaṇṭakam*, as the Mahābhārata (5.139.13; 7.77.20) puts it. Thus *kaṇṭakaśodhana,* the clearing of social thorns, is viewed as one of the principal duties of a king by Manu (9.252–53):

> *samyaṅ niviṣṭadeśas tu kṛtadurgaś ca śāstrataḥ, kaṇṭakoddharaṇe nityam ātiṣṭhed yatnam uttamam. rakṣaṇād āryavṛttānāṃ kaṇṭakānāṃ ca śodhanāt, narendrās tridivaṃ yānti prajāpālanatatparāḥ.*
>
> After properly settling the country and building a fort according to textual norms, he should direct his maximum effort constantly at the eradication of thorns. By protecting those who follow the Ārya way of life and by clearing the thorns, kings devoted to the protection of their subjects reach the highest heaven.

Manu (9.252–293) deals with the topic of *kaṇṭakaśodhana* immediately after the eighteen *vyavahārapada*s, which are the grounds for civil litigation. This is the same order we find in the Arthaśāstra, and in all likelihood Manu is here following closely the structure of the Arthaśāstra. In

Manu, however, the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* is viewed merely as police action; security forces of the king are expected to eradicate all social thorns from the kingdom. The question, however, remains why this topic should be treated immediately after *vyavahāra* in Chapter 9 rather than under *rājadharma* in Chapter 7 if this was simply part of the duties of the king to protect his subjects. The answer is that Manu is following here the Arthaśāstra model but ignores the special judicial functions ascribed to this institution by the author of the Arthaśāstra.

The expression *kaṇṭakaśodhana* goes out of vogue in the Dharmaśāstric literature after Manu. We encounter it once in the Nārada-smṛti (15–16.6), and the related *kaṇṭakoddharaṇa* is used once in the Bṛhaspati-smṛti (1.1.38). It appears that the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* as a distinct organ of the state criminal justice system, as far as we can tell from the extant literature, became obsolete in the early centuries of the common era; only its general meaning of removing social thorns survived, although, as we will see, some echoes of the ancient institutions are discernible in medieval texts.

We find quite a different situation in the Arthaśāstra. Its third Adhikaraṇa is devoted to the *dharmasthīya*, that is, matters relating to the judge, *dharmastha*, in a civil court, and its fourth Adhikaraṇa deals with *kaṇṭakaśodhana*, where various kinds of anti-social behavior is dealt with, the principal of which is theft. That the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* is viewed by the author of the Arthaśāstra, or at least the author of the final redaction of the Arthaśāstra, as an institution parallel and similar to the civilian court system under the *dharmastha* judge is indicated by the very opening *sūtra*s of the two books. The Adhikaraṇa on the *dharmastha* opens with (3.1.1):

> *dharmasthās trayas trayo 'mātyā janapadasaṃdhisaṃgrahaṇadroṇamukhasthānīyeṣu vyāvahārikān arthān kuryuḥ.*
> Lawsuits relating to transactions should be tried by three judges, all of ministerial rank, in frontier posts, borough centers, district municipalities, and provincial capitals.

The Adhikaraṇa on the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* opens with (4.1.1):

> *pradeṣṭāras trayas trayo 'mātyāḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanaṃ kuryuḥ.*
> The eradication of thorns should be carried out by three magistrates, all of ministerial rank.

The parallel is unmistakable. Civil lawsuits are heard by a bench of three judges named *dharmastha* of ministerial rank, while the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* is carried out by a bench of three magistrates named *pradeṣṭṛ* also of ministerial rank. The specification that there should be three magistrates indicates that the reference must be to some sort of judicial deliberation rather than merely police activity. The fourth Adhikaraṇa, unfortunately, has been subject to widespread redaction, and the topic of *kaṇṭaka-śodhana*, after its initial introduction in the very first *sūtra*, starts only in the fourth chapter of the book. The areas of concern for the magistrate are: people with secret means of income, testing the loyalty and honesty of state officials, employment of spies to detect criminal activities, arrest on suspicion with stolen goods, inquests into sudden deaths, investigations and interrogations using torture, and the violation of virgins. Now all these could simply be viewed as administrative and police actions, and indeed the magistrates appear to have had wide executive powers and were in charge of a large bureaucracy of police officers and secret agents.

The parallel between the civilian judges and the magistrates, however, as well as other evidence relating to the activities of the magistrates make it clear that the magistrates also ran a parallel court system for criminals where the guilt or innocence of people accused of crimes is adjudicated. This indicates that the department of *kaṇṭakaśodhana* had two branches. The one was involved in detecting crimes and catching criminals (police). The accused criminals were brought before the other branch, a criminal court presided over by three judges, that passed judgment on the guilt or innocence of the accused.

At Arthaśāstra 1.10.13 dealing with the appointment of officials, it is said:

> *dharmopadhāśuddhān dharmasthīyakaṇṭakaśodhaneṣu karmasu sthāpayet*.
> Those proven to be honest through the secret test of *dharma* should be appointed to positions in the judiciary and in the eradication of thorns.

Here the *dharmastha* and *pradeṣṭṛ* are treated as requiring similar personal virtues relating to *dharma* or justice.[2] Further, at Arthaśāstra 4.9.18 we have a strong parallel between *dharmastha* and *pradeṣṭṛ* in the area of judicial misconduct:

2 For the secret tests of *dharma,* see Arthaśāstra 1.10.2–6.

> *dharmasthaḥ pradeṣṭā vā hairaṇyadaṇḍam adaṇḍye kṣipati kṣepadviguṇam asmai daṇḍaṃ kuryāt, hīnātiriktāṣṭaguṇaṃ vā.*
> If a judge or a magistrate imposes a monetary punishment on a person who does not deserve punishment, he should make him pay a fine equivalent to double the amount he imposed; or eight times the amount by which it is less or more than the prescribed fine.

Even stronger evidence for considering *kaṇṭakaśodhana* as a court comes from a statement in the second Adhikaraṇa. The issue discussed is work carried out under the supervision of the Chief Goldsmith (*sauvarṇika*). When someone tries to evade the rule requiring the supervision of this official and gets work done elsewhere, the one commissioning the work is normally fined (Arthaśāstra 2.14.11). A fine is also imposed administratively on the artisan carrying out that work, if he can present a valid excuse (2.14.12). If he cannot, then he is sent to the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* for adjudication (2.14.13):

> *anapasāraḥ kaṇṭakaśodhanāya nīyeta.*
> If he has no excuse, he should be brought before the agency for the eradication of thorns.

What would be the reason for bringing the artisan before the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* other than to adjudicate his guilt? If he had a valid excuse, he was summarily fined; but when he is without an excuse, he has to face the court.

We have an almost identical provision in the third Adhikaraṇa on civil justice. The issue is physical assault (*daṇḍapāruṣya*), which is normally subject to civil litigation. After giving various punishments for different kinds of assault, including breaking bones and damaging the eyes (Arthaśāstra 3.19.2–14), the text goes on to deal with a situation when such an assault results in death and states (3.19.15):

> *vipattau kaṇṭakaśodhanāya nīyeta.*
> In the case of death, he (the perpetrator) should be brought before the agency for the eradication of thorns.

It is clear from this passage that under certain circumstances, especially when there is a murder involved, both the police and the civilian judges were expected to refer the matter to the *kaṇṭakaśodhana.* These passages also point to the fact that the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* was not only the name for

a state bureaucracy but also a location, a place to which criminals could be taken, in the same way as a civilian court often called *dharmādhikaraṇa.*

Unfortunately, the Arthaśāstra does not give us many details about how the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* court operated.[3] My guess is that these details were omitted because its rules of procedure were similar to, or identical with, those followed in the civilian courts and given in the previous Adhikaraṇa. There are, however, some passages that hint at a judicial procedure and confirm my assumption that the procedures in the two kinds of court were similar. At the beginning of the section in fourth Adhikaraṇa dealing with investigations of criminal activities through interrogation and torture, we have the following statement (4.8.1–5):

> *muṣitasaṃnidhau bāhyānām abhyantarāṇāṃ ca sākṣiṇām abhiśastasya deśajātigotranāmakarmasārasahāyanivāsān* anuyuñjīta. *tāṃś cāpadeśaiḥ pratisamānayet. tataḥ pūrvasyāhnaḥ pracāraṃ rātrau nivāsaṃ cā grahaṇād ity* anuyuñjīta. *tasyāpasārapratisaṃdhāne śuddha ḥ syād anyathā karmaprāptaḥ. trirātrād ūrdhvam agrāhyaḥ śaṅkitakaḥ pṛcchābhāvād anyatropakaraṇadarśanāt.*
>
> In the presence of the victim of the theft, as well internal and external witnesses, he should question the accused about his country, caste, lineage, name, occupation, wealth, associates, and residence. He should check these against affidavits made by others. Then he should question him about what he did the previous day and where he spent the night until his arrest. If he is corroborated by the person providing his defense, he is to be considered innocent; otherwise, he is to undergo torture. A suspect should not be arrested after the lapse of three days, because his interrogation is inadmissible, except when he is found with incriminating tools.

Here we have the magistrate questioning the accused in the presence of the victim and witnesses. The word used for questioning, *anuyuñjīta*, is a technical term for judicial interrogations found frequently in the third Adhikaraṇa in the context of a civilian court,[4] a term also used by Manu with this technical meaning (8.79, 259). Further, this passage gives a statute of limitation for such interrogations: within three days of the theft, after which time interrogations are inadmissible. What is even more significant is that an accused person can prove his innocence in this court, just as he can in a civil court.

3 This is the reason given by KANGLE (1962–1975 Vol. III: 233, cited above) for not taking the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* to be a real court.

4 See, for example, Arthaśāstra 3.12.51; 3.13.32; 3.16.12, 31.

We have a similar situation when a man is arrested with goods suspected of being stolen. Here also the suspect has the opportunity to clear himself by producing evidence that can be substantiated. Even though the passage uses the generic pronoun "he" with regard to the interrogator, it is evident that the context of the discussion is the work of the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* (4.6.7–8, 11):

> *tac cen niveditam āsādyeta rūpābhigr̥hītam āgamaṃ pr̥cchet "kutas te labdham" iti. sa ced brūyāt "dāyādyād avāptam amuṣmāl labdham krītaṃ kāritam ādhipracchannam ayam asya deśaḥ kālaś copasaṃprāpteḥ ayam asyārghaḥ pramāṇaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ mūlyaṃ ca" iti tasyāgamasamādhau mucyeta* […] *sa ced brūyāt "yācitakam avakrītakam āhitakaṃ nikṣepam upanidhiṃ vaiyāvr̥tyakarma vāmuṣya" iti tasyāpasārapratisaṃdhānena mucyeta.*
> If he comes across the reported article, he should ask the man arrested with the article how he acquired it: "Where did you get this?" And if he were to say: "I obtained it through inheritance. I received it – bought it, got it made, received it as a secret pledge – from that individual. This is the place and the time of its acquisition. These are its price, size, distinguishing marks, and value"; he should be released when the manner of his acquiring the article has been substantiated. […] And if were to say: "This is something borrowed – rented, received as a pledge, a deposit, or a security, or received for sale on commission – from so-and-so"; he should be released when he is corroborated by the person providing his defense.

The Arthaśāstra is aware that people may be accused of theft for a variety of reasons, including enmity, and it is up to the judge to sift through the evidence (4.8.7–8):

> *coreṇābhiśasto vairadveṣābhyām apadiṣṭakaḥ śuddhaḥ syāt. śuddhaṃ parivāsayataḥ pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ.*
> When a person accused of being a thief has been inculpated because of enmity or hatred, he is to be considered innocent. One who keeps an innocent man in custody should be assessed the lowest fine for forcible seizure.[5]

Here we have punishment for malfeasance by a magistrate just as we find similar provisions for civil judges. Even when a man confesses to a

5 The expression *sāhasadaṇḍa* is a technical term for a standard fine, *sāhasa* here meaning robbery or forcible seizure involving violence. There are three gradations of this fine: highest, middle, and lowest. Different texts give different amounts for these fines. In the Arthaśāstra (see 3.17.7–10) the highest is between 500 and 1'000 *paṇa*s; the middle is between 200 and 500 *paṇa*s; and the lowest is between 48 and 96 *paṇa*s.

theft, his confession should not be taken at face value. The magistrate is expected to investigate the case further and look at all the evidence (Arthaśāstra 4.8.11–13):

> *eteṣāṃ kāraṇānāṃ anabhisaṃdhāne vipralapantam acoraṃ vidyāt. dṛśyate hy acoro 'pi coramārge yadṛcchayā saṃnipāte coraveṣaśastrabhāṇḍasāmānyena gṛhyamāṇaś corabhāṇḍasyopavāsena vā yathāṇimāṇḍavyaḥ karmakleśabhayād acoraḥ* "*coro 'smi*" *iti bruvāṇaḥ. tasmāt samāptakaraṇaṃ niyamayet.*
> When these kinds of evidence is lacking, he should consider him as just a blabbermouth and not the thief. For we see that even a person who is not a thief, when by chance he runs into some thieves on the way and is arrested because his clothing, weapons, and goods are similar to those of the thieves or because he was lingering near the stolen goods of the thieves, may, just like Aṇi-Māṇḍavya, confess "I am a thief" even though he is not a thief, because he fears the pain from torture. Therefore, he should discipline only a man against whom there is convincing evidence.

The distinction between the jurisdiction of the civil court system under the *dharmastha* and the criminal system falling within the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* is also indicated in the two kinds of prisons noted in Arthaśāstra 2.5.5:

> *pṛthag dharmasthīyaṃ mahāmātrīyaṃ vibhaktastrīpuruṣasthānam apasārataḥ suguptakakṣyaṃ bandhanāgāraṃ kārayet.*
> He should have separate prisons connected to the judiciary and tribunals of the high official with separate facilities for men and women constructed, and with well-guarded vaults to prevent escape.

Here the head of the parallel judiciary is called *mahāmātra*, a term that is used at Arthaśāstra 8.4.31 with reference to the Samāhartṛ, who is the official above the Pradeṣṭṛ. In all likelihood, here *mahāmātra* refers to the head of the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* court.

The close association of the *vyavahārapada*s representing civil litigation and the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* is also found in the Mahābhārata (12.59.53). In the middle of a long description of the contents of the text that Svayaṃbhū created on the *trivarga*, a text containing 1'000 Adhyāyas, we have the following stanza:

> *vyavahāraḥ susūkṣmaś ca tathā kaṇṭakaśodhanam*

James FITZGERALD (2004) appears to have missed the full import of this statement when he translates: "supersecret dealings and smoothing out of

annoyances." Indeed, here we have juxtaposed the topics of the third and fourth Adhikaraṇas of the Arthaśāstra: civil litigation (*vyavahāra*) and the criminal justice system under the magistrate (*kaṇṭakaśodhana*). We have the same juxtaposition in the table of contents of Manu (1.115), where, after enumerating the eighteen *vyavahārapada*s, he lists: *kaṇṭa-kānāṃ ca śodhanam* (eradication of thorns), almost as part of the discussion on *vyavahāra.*

Nevertheless, *kaṇṭakaśodhana* as a separate court system disappears from the legal literature of Dharmaśāstra. Manu, as we have seen, even though he devotes a separate section to *kaṇṭakaśodhana* immediately after the *vyavahārapada*s, does not consider it as a separate judicial system but simply as executive action against social parasites. Evidence for the amalgamation of the two judicial systems is found in the Mātṛkā section of the Nāradasmṛti (1.22) where, within the explanation of the *vyavahārapada*s, Nārada states that a lawsuit has "two kinds of accusations: those based on suspicion and those based on fact" – *dvyabhiyogas tu vijñeyaḥ śaṅkātattvābhiyogataḥ.* These two parallel exactly the two reasons for the arrest of a person – *śaṅkābhigraha* and *rūpābhigraha* – within the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* section of the Arthaśāstra (4.6.2–15).

A principal reason, at least a principal literary reason, for the demise of *kaṇṭakaśodhana* as a central topic of legal administration is probably the way theft is dealt with in the legal literature of Dharmaśāstra. It is a basic axiom of Indian political science that the suppression of theft is the single most important duty of a king. Indeed, the justification for taxation is given as the societal need to suppress theft; tax is simply an insurance premium paid to the king against theft. Yet, in all the Dharmaśāstras, except Nārada's, which we will examine shortly, theft is given as one of the *vyavahārapada*s, that is, as a subject of civil litigation. This, indeed, strikes one as quite odd, given the societal need to suppress and punish theft. I think the reason for its inclusion within the *vyava-hārapada*s in Manu and later writers was the absorption of all topics falling within *kaṇṭakaśodhana* court system into the *vyavahārapada*s, which now assumed the central position in discussions of legal administration, leaving *kaṇṭakaśodhana* with only its police functions.

An exception appears to be the Nāradasmṛti. Nārada gives seventeen *vyavahārapada*s, along with an eighteenth called *prakīrṇaka*, miscellaneous, a category also found in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and Arthaśāstra enumerations of the *vyavahārapada*s. It is after this that Nārada deals

with theft (19), a chapter that is traditionally viewed as a *pariśiṣṭa* or supplement. At the beginning of chapter 18 on the *prakīrṇaka*, Nārada makes this significant observation (18.1):

> *prakīrṇake punar jñeyā vyavahārā nṛpāśrayāḥ.*
> In the "Miscellaneous," one should know, are litigations dependent on the king.

I think the expression *nṛpāśrayāḥ* is meant to distinguish the crimes listed under "Miscellaneous" form those given in the first seventeen *vyavahārapada*s. The latter are subject to civil litigation brought by aggrieved parties, while in the case of the former the king himself can take the initiative. Nārada's discussion of theft mostly deals with police actions and the use of spies and other covert strategies. There is no direct statements about court proceedings, even though reference is made to interrogations (19.16) and oaths (19.19, 26). Coming as it does immediately after the *vyavahārapada*s, Nārada's discussion of theft occupies the same structural position as *kaṇṭakaśodhana* in the Arthaśāstra and Manu, and, perhaps the initial statement about *vyavahārā nṛpāśrayāḥ* may, indeed, apply to theft as well.

Some medieval authors also appear to be uncomfortable with Manu's injunction with which we opened this study, namely, that the state cannot initiate a legal proceeding *suo moto*. Medhātithi, for example, commenting on Manu 8.43, qualifies Manu's statement, saying that it applies to civil matters such as the non-payment of debts but not to criminal matters such as theft. In these cases the king can proceed on his own:

> *etac ca ṛṇādānādiṣv eva draṣṭavyam. ye tu stenasāhasikādayaḥ kaṇṭakasthānīyās tān rājā svayam evāvagamya gṛhṇīyāt.*
> This (the provision of Manu), moreover, should be viewed as referring only to such subjects as the non-payment of debts. In the case of people such as thieves and violent criminals, on the other hand, who are comparable to thorns, the king himself should uncover and capture them.

Clearly, Medhātithi makes no distinction here between police action initiated by the king and a judicial inquiry. He views the topic more broadly, because, according to one interpretation of Manu's injunction, the king is barred from initiating a lawsuit even when he in possession of evidence that a violation has taken place. He wants to limit this to civil matters.

Devaṇabhaṭṭa also, in his Smṛticandrikā (Vyavahārakāṇḍa, pp. 63–65) cites verses from Nārada, Saṃvarta, and Pitāmaha to show that the king can move on his own in the case of grievous offenses against public order, ten of which are enumerated by Nārada as *aparādha*s.

Even though the textual history of the Arthaśāstra is complicated, I think we can state with some degree of certainty that at some point in the legal history of India, the institution of *kaṇṭakaśodhana* was conceived as having a judicial function with regard to those accused of serious social crimes. This is the institution reflected in some measure in the fourth Adhikaraṇa and in other passages of the extant Arthaśāstra. As the discussion of jurisprudence moved to Dharmaśāstra, a tradition dominated by Brahmanical interests to an extent much greater than the Arthaśāstra, this aspect of the criminal justice system was left out of discussion. How this literary history of legal institutions reflects the actual social and political realities of ancient India is a question that cannot be answered with the available evidence.

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KIYOTAKA YOSHIMIZU

Kumārila and Medhātithi on the Authority of Codified Sources of *dharma**

1. Background of the Tension between Jurists and Mīmāṃsakas

Let me first explain the phrase "codified sources of *dharma*" used in the title of the present paper. By this I mean Dharmaśāstra, the scripture (*śāstra*), or literally, instruction book, on the norms (*dharma*) to be followed in Hindu society, in its broader sense, that is, not only the Dharmaśāstras compiled in verses such as the Mānavadharmaśāstra, *alias* Manusmṛti (Mn), but also the Dharmasūtras compiled mostly in prose in earlier times, and also the parts that advocate *dharma* in Epics and Purāṇas.[1] In short, what I mean by 'codified sources of *dharma*' is, broadly speaking, the non-Vedic scriptures of *dharma* called '*smṛti*' in medieval times.

I call these *smṛti*-texts 'codified' in order to make two kinds of differentiation. Whether in prose or in verse, these texts consist of numbered chapters, each of which consists of numbered rules. By arranging various rules in decent order, one virtually builds up a system that takes root in one's memory (*smṛti*). This virtual system takes the shape of a text to be transmitted to others orally or in written form, and the text itself comes to be called '*smṛti*.'

* My thanks are due to Dr. Vincent Eltschinger and Dr. Danielle Feller for improving my English and giving valuable comments on the penultimate version of the present paper.

1 W. HALBFASS (1988: 318) points out that since etymological affiliation with *dhṛ* is never forgotten in the various usages of the word '*dharma*,' the "upholding of entities in their respective identities" underlies all social, ethical and religious norms called *dharma*. For Kumārila's basic notion of *dharma*, see HACKER 1965 and HALBFASS 1991, especially chapters 4 and 10.

The systematical arrangement in the brain of the compiler, on the one hand, differentiates *smṛti*-texts from the customary law of Hindus, called '*ācāra*,' which is the totality of the patterns of behavior held to be good or acceptable in real life. On the other hand, it differentiates them from the Veda that consists of Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Although each text of the Veda, too, consists of numbered chapters, sections and sentences, medieval Hindu scholars would not call them 'codified' because they did not consider them to be literary works compiled by human beings. Theologians of orthodox Hindu sects regard them as the revelation of God in ancient times. In particular, the Mīmāṃsā school claims that the Vedas are literally eternal and have no beginning. According to this school, they are not the products of a codification no matter whether by human beings or, figuratively, by God.

It is well known that Mn 2.6, *vedo 'khilo dharmamūlaṃ smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām*, *ācāraś caiva sādhūnām ā tmanas tuṣṭir eva ca*, enumerates four kinds of source (*mūla*) of *dharma*, namely, the entire (*akhila*) Vedas, the *smṛti*s of those who know the Veda, the customary behavior (*ācāra*) of righteous people (*sādhu*), and the contentment (*tuṣṭi*) of one's self (*ātman*). The Mn explicitly states that the second source of *dharma*, *smṛti*, is nothing other than Dharmaśāstra (2.10), and all that Manu instructs to do is included in the Vedic revelation (2.7).

Recent studies on *dharma*, however, have elucidated the fact that early Dharmasūtras distinguished the *dharma* they dealt with from the Vedic *dharma* and even did not use the term '*smṛti*' to refer to normative texts. P. OLIVELLE (2000: 4–10) compares the dates of the four Dharmasūtras and concludes that the Āpastambadharmasūtra (ĀpDhS) is the earliest. He points out that it mentions the "acceptance by those who know *dharma*" as the first source of *dharma*, to which it appends the Veda secondarily (1.1.2–3: *dharmajñasamayaḥ pramāṇam; vedāś ca*). A. WEZLER (2004: 629) pays attention to ĀpDhS 1.20.6–8, which asserts *dharma* to be determined by Aryan people without divine revelation.[2] Furthermore, observing that Gautamadharmasūtra (GDhS) 1.2 qua-

2 ĀpDhS 1.20.7 defines *dharma* as "what the Āryas praise, when it is practised" and *adharma* as "what they condemn" (*yat tv āryāḥ kriyamāṇaṃ praśaṃsanti sa dharmo yad garhante so 'dharmaḥ*) after having declared that both of them neither reveal themselves nor are revealed by gods or other supernatural beings (1.20.6). Cf. HACKER 1965: 98. Before OLIVELLE (2000) and WEZLER (2004), N. WATASE (1980) collected the portions of the Ā pDhS including 1.1.2–3 and 1.20.7–8 in

lifies both '*smṛti*' and '*śīla*' by the genitive attribute '*tadvidām*,' that is, "those who know the Vedas,"[3] he surmises that the term '*smṛti*' in this passage refers to specific memories of traditional customs and conventions of Āryas whereas '*śīla*' refers to their habitual behavior in daily life (WEZLER 2004: 632).

Supporting Wezler's conclusion, D. BRICK (2006) presented additional evidence from the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (BDhS) and the ĀpDhS to prove that the term '*smṛti*' in early Dharmasūtras originally referred to traditional customs.[4] Following the chronology of Dharmasūtras assumed by Olivelle, Brick concludes that the term '*smṛti*' refers to tradition at least until the time of the GDhS, that is, the mid-third century BC. Furthermore, Brick illustrates the transition of the meaning of *smṛti* from tradition to text, by quoting examples from the BDhS and the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra (VDhS).[5] In both Dharmasūtras,

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which it is explicitly or implicitly stated that whether an action tallies with *dharma* is to be decided, first of all, in accordance with the customs traditionally established and actually performed in society.

3 GDhS 1.1–2 *vedo dharmamūlam*; *tadvidāṃ ca smṛtiśīle*.

4 First, as regards the odd customs found among the non-Aryan people of north and south India, BDhS 1.2.8 prohibits to follow them for the reason that they are seen to contradict the *śiṣṭasmṛti*, that is, the *smṛti* of cultured people (*śiṣṭa*). If '*smṛti*' in this passage were to denote a category of text, the compound '*śiṣṭasmṛti*' would imply the existence of the texts of uneducated people because it differentiates itself from the *smṛti* of non-*śiṣṭa*s. But it is unlikely that uneducated people would compile normative texts. The term '*smṛti*' must therefore denote memorized traditional customs because any social group has its own customs inherited from preceding generations. Secondly, regarding the period of time during which children do not become impure (*aprayata*), the ĀpDhS presents several alternative views that restrict the period to earlier stages of childhood (2.15.19–21), and then the authoritative view that it lasts until their initiation (*upanayana*) (2.15.22). After having stated that this view is justified by the *śāstra* (2.15.23–24), the ĀpDhS adds '*smṛtiś ca*' (2.15.25; cf. WATASE 1980: 82). Since this passage clearly contrasts *śāstra* with *smṛti*, it is natural to interpret *smṛti* as tradition here. Cf. BRICK 2006: 291–292.

5 The BDhS enumerates three kinds of sources of *dharma*, that is, *veda, smārta* and *śiṣṭāgama* (1.1.1–4 *upadiṣṭo dharmaḥ prativedam*; *tasyānu vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*; *smārto dvitīyaḥ*; *tṛtīyaḥ śiṣṭāgamaḥ*). Brick proposes to construe '*smārta*' in this phrase as denoting a category of text in order to account for the distinction drawn between *smārta* and *śiṣṭāgama*, the latter referring then to the "customs of cultured people." Also the VDhS enumerates these three sources of *dharma*, but the first two in a compound '*śrutismṛti*.' (1.4–5 *śrutismṛtivihito dharmaḥ*; *tadalābhe śiṣṭācāraḥ pramāṇam*). The term '*smṛti*' has thereby more clearly acquired the meaning of a cate-

smṛti is a category of text ranked as the source second to the Veda, and the customary tradition to which the term '*smṛti*' was applied in an earlier period is expressed as *śiṣṭāgama* (BDhS 1.1.4) or *śiṣṭācāra* (VDhS 1.5) as the third source. OLIVELLE (2000: 10) dates the BDhS as later than the GDhS while he is inclined to place the VDhS in the first century CE.

If the transition of the meaning of '*smṛti*' from memorized traditional customs to normative texts occurred during the times of later Dharmasūtras, we can also say that it approximately coincides with the rise of the Mīmāṃsā school. With regard to the exegetics concerning how to perform Vedic sacrifices, the Mīmāṃsāsūtra (MmS) has its origin in the general rules (*paribhāṣā*) of Śrautasūtras. The first volume (*adhyāya*) of the MmS, however, may have come into being relatively late because the first chapter (*pāda*) of this volume defends the authority of the injunction (*codanā*) of the Veda as the sole independent means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) of *dharma*, and the second chapter defends the authority of explanatory passages (*arthavāda*) and formulas (*mantra*) as subsidiary to injunctions. What motivated early Mīmāṃsakas to compile the first volume may be explained by the historical circumstances prevailing from the 2nd century BC onwards, when Brahmins began to rally from the orthodoxy crisis caused by the prosperity of anti-Vedic religions in society. During this period Brahmin jurists, too, began to have the Vedic orthodoxy stand behind their law codes more explicitly than before. After this period they compiled a voluminous law code named "Manusmṛti," in the first chapter of which they reinforced the authority of their norms by relating Brahman's creation of this world and social order, and Manu's succession to this genesis.

We do not find explicit influence of the Mīmāṃsā in the Mn. Only two verses use the verb MAN in the desiderative, '*mīmāṃsa-*,' in the general sense of scrutiny (2.10; 4.224). On the one hand, however, the first seven *sūtra*s of MmS 1.3 argue about how to prove or disprove that *smṛti*-texts are means of valid knowledge of *dharma*.[6] On the other hand,

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gory of text in contrast to *śruti*, that is, the Veda. Cf. BRICK 2006: 295–296. For the terms *śruti* and *smṛti* in Gṛhyasūtras, see GONDA 1977: 468, n. 13; for the term *śruti* used for corroboration in Gṛhyasūtras, see *ibid.*, 550, n. 28.

6 The following are the contents. MmS 1.3.1–2: acceptance of a *smṛti* because of the consistency with *śruti*; 3: rejection of a *smṛti* because of its contradiction with *śruti*; 4: rejection of a *smṛti* because of its worldly motivation; 5–7: acceptance of a *smṛti*

medieval jurists resort to Mīmāṃsā exegetics when construing provisions of Dharmaśāstras. In particular, they are strongly influenced by Kumārila, who, in my opinion, was engaged in the writing of his *magnum opus*, the Tantravārttika (TV), before and after 600 CE for more than a decade.[7] In his lengthy commentary on MmS 1.3.1–7, Kumārila collected traditional views and developed his own theories about the authority of *smṛti*-texts, and all these views were well known to medieval jurists. Nevertheless, they did not unquestioningly adopt Kumārila's theories since they never forgot to cope with legal cases that actually took place in society. Medhātithi, who wrote the most extensive commentary on the Mn, the Manubhāṣya (MnBh), in the ninth century in Kashmir, gives Mn 2.6 a lengthy *excursus*, in which he frequently makes use of Mīmāṃsā exegetics but also expresses his disagreement with Kumārila in some points. The purpose of the present paper is to illustrate the contrasting ways of thinking adopted by these two prominent scholars in their commentaries on MmS 1.3 and Mn 2.6 so as to elucidate the affinity and tension between the Mīmāṃsā school and the school of jurists with regard to the authority of *smṛti*-texts.[8]

2.1. Kumārila on the Compliance with Scriptures

Before going into the arguments about the relation between *smṛti*-texts and the Veda, I would like to present a remarkable comment made by

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that has neither contradiction with *śruti* nor worldly motivation even if the performance of a sacrifice would suffer delay when it is applied (cf. below, §2.3). BÜHLER (1975: xxix) points out that ĀpDhS 1.4.8–10 correspond with these sections of the MmS in their contents (1.4.8 to MmS 1.3.2; 1.4.9–10 to 1.3.4; cf. WATASE 1980: 84–85).

7 In YOSHIMIZU 2007a and 2011, I argued that Kumārila did not know Dharmakīrti (600–660) when compiling his lost work, the Bṛhaṭṭīkā, late in life. For the chronological sequence of Kumārila's works, see YOSHIMIZU 2007b: 213–219.

8 The text of the MnBh was once restored in the 14th century (BÜHLER 1964: cxxiv–cxxv; KANE Vol. I.1: 574), and we have no critical edition strictly speaking (WEZLER 1998: 218). Based on the edition by G. Jha, the present paper merely gives a preliminary report on Medhātithi's view on the authority of *smṛti*s.

Kumārila on an episode in the Mahābhārata (MBh). In his commentary on MmS 1.3.7, Kumārila sets out an *excursus* to prove the validity of the third source of *dharma* enumerated in Mn 2.6, that is, the customary behavior of good people (*sadācāra*). Here appears an opponent who denies the existence of a source of *dharma* apart from the Veda. He brings forward a good number of episodes in which Epic heroes commit misdeeds in the eyes of common sense.[9] Among them, Bhīṣma, the prince born of the King Śantanu and the goddess of the river Ganges, is accused of two faults: for one thing, he intentionally remained single during his whole life neglecting the duty to beget his offspring; for another, he performed offerings (*kratu*) in spite of his single life.[10] As regards the second charge, Kumārila surmises that when performing sacrifices Bhīṣma must have been accompanied by "a wife aimed only at a sacrifice" (*kevalayajñārthapatnī*).[11] This is because Kumārila bears in mind that Bhīṣma decisively followed a codified *dharma* in a more difficult situation that happened during a religious ceremony.

> Or, how could he alone [i.e., without wife] perform a sacrifice, although he did not put down a rice-ball even on the hand he knew to be his father's for fear of transgressing a scripture (*śāstra*)?[12]

9 Cf. BÜHLER & KIRSTE 1892: 5–24; KANE 1968–1977 Vol. III: 845–848; JHA 1964: 199–206.

10 TV pp. 203,30–204,1 : TV' pt.2, p. 124,22–23 *bhīṣmasya ca sarvāśramadharmavyatirekeṇāvasthānam. apatnīkasya ca rāmavat* kratuprayogaḥ.* Against the first charge Kumārila quotes Mn 9.182, vindicating Bhīṣma's lifelong singleness by the sons born of the two widows of his younger brother, Vicitravīrya, as a result of their appointed intercourse (*niyoga*) with Vyāsa. Cf. footnote 11.
*Against the charge that Rāma performed the horse-sacrifice without Sītā after having exiled her, Kumārila vindicates him pointing out that at that time he took a golden idle of his wife with himself (TV p. 208,19–20 : TV' pt.2, p. 130,14–15). Cf. Rāmāyaṇa (ed. U. P. SHAH, Baroda 1975) 7.82.19.

11 TV p. 208,24–25 : TV' pt.2, p.130,19–20 *evaṃ vicitravīryakṣetrajaputralabdhapitranṛṇatvaḥ kevalayajñārthapatnīsaṃbandha āsīd ity arthāpattyānuktam api gamyate*. As for the sacrifices performed by Bhīṣma, BÜHLER & KIRSTE (1892: 14) refers to Mahābhārata 1.109.13 (Poona Critical ed., 1.102.11cd–12ab), which, however, merely reports that hundreds of posts for animal sacrifices were raised in the country protected by Bhīṣma. KANE (1968–1977 Vol. III: 846) states that Bhīṣma's sacrifice is "mentioned in no Itihāsa or Purāṇa."

12 TV p. 208,26–27 : TV' pt. 2, p. 130,21–22 *yo vā piṇḍaṃ pituḥ pāṇau vijñāte 'pi na dattavān. śāstrārthātikramād bhīto yajetaikāky asau katham.*

The episode mentioned here is found in MBh 13.83.11–21,[13] in which Bhīṣma, lying on the bed made of Arjuna's arrows that have pierced his body, tells Yudhiṣṭhira about the story of the *śrāddha* ceremony he performed for the benefit of his late father, Śantanu. After having invited many guest Ṛṣis to their seats and made all preliminary rituals such as the gift of water (*toyapradāna*) on the ground, he was about to offer (*nirvapaṇa*) the main oblation of the *śrāddha*, that is, rice-balls. Then he unexpectedly saw an arm adorned with a beautiful bracelet and other hanging ornaments rise up from the earth tearing apart the altar made of Kuśa grass spread on the ground. Having noticed that the accessories are Śantanu's, Bhīṣma was extremely surprised to see his father appear to him out of the netherworld to receive rice-balls. At that moment, however, he remembered scriptures (*śāstra*) about the *śrāddha*. As he recollected the rule (*vidhi*) that one should put rice-balls down on the Kuśa grasses spread on the ground,[14] he came to be convinced that ancestors never directly receive oblations in their hands (MBh 13.83.17–18). So he put all the rice-balls down on the grass ignoring the arm. Then the arm disappeared.

In this episode, the abrupt appearance of the arm during the *śrāddha* ceremony stirred up affection for his dead father in Bhīṣma. But he controlled his emotion by his strong will strictly to comply with *dharma*s. According to Kumārila, this is because he belongs to cultured people (*śiṣṭa*) who have been trained in the Veda for many years. It is true that not only barbarians (*mleccha*) but also cultured people have activities for profit and pleasure (*arthasukha*), in other words, business and amusement, and these activities cannot be regarded as religious duties (*dharma*).[15] For all that, it should not be denied that cultured people spontaneously follow the guidelines laid down by the Veda (*vedaniyatamārga*) and never feel like deviating from them, because the training of the Veda has implanted a disposition (*saṃskāra*) to compliance in their

13 G. JHA (1964: 204) located the source in the MBh. Someśvara, a commentator on the TV, quotes Harivaṃśa (HV) 11.17 and 19 in his commentary (NSu p. 192,29–32). HV 11.17–19 summarize MBh 13.83.11–21. I thank Yūko Yokochi for drawing my attention to this beginning of the *pitṛkalpa* of the HV.

14 According to Mn 3.215, the householder should face the south (*dakṣiṇāmukha*) and lay three rice-balls made of the remnant of oblations down on the ground with his right hand in the same manner as he sprinkled water following Mn 3.214cd.

15 TV p. 206,21–24 : TV' pt. 2, p. 128,5–9.

mind.[16] Kumārila asserts that the behavior of good people (*sadācāra*) and the contentment of one's own self (*ātmatuṣṭi*) can be authoritative only insofar as the person in question is purified as a result of a long-term Vedic training.[17]

2.2. Kumārila's Appraisal of the Three Views on the *smārta* Rites

While imposing restraints on the action of cultured people in the capacity of a source of *dharma*, a *smr̥ti*-text has to be justified by its consistency with the most authoritative source, the Veda. To establish this fundamental position, Mīmāṃsakas developed an apologetic of *smārta* rites, that is, religious ceremonies laid down in *smr̥ti*-texts. Many *smārta* rites emerged in the post-Vedic period. For example, Mn 4.150 enjoins one to perform a special ceremony called Aṣṭakā for ancestral Fathers (*pitaras*) on the eighth day. According to Gr̥hyasūtras, it is performed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight with the offerings of vegetables, meat and flour-cakes in the three or four months of the cold season.[18] But if, as

16 TV p. 207,3–4 : TV' pt. 2, p. 128,18–19.

17 TV p. 206,12–13 : TV' pt. 2, p. 127,21–22 (on *sadācāra*); TV p. 207,1–4 : TV' p. 2, p. 128,16–19 (on *ātmatuṣṭi*). Following R. LINGAT (1973: 6), D. R. DAVIS (2007) stresses that the *ātmatuṣṭi* given in Mn 2.6d should not be regarded as the final authority of religious understanding. As regards Kumārila's view on *ātmatuṣṭi,* Davis pays special attention to his quotation (TV p.207,10 : TV' pt. 2, p. 128,25) from the Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa (1.22cd), in which King Duṣyanta, peeping at Śakuntalā from the shade of trees in the hermitage of Kaṇva, a Brahmin R̥si, decides to marry her against the prohibition of intercaste marriage, for a Kṣatriya man is prohibited from marrying a Brahmin woman (cf. Mn 3.13). In the story, however, Śakuntalā turns out to be a daughter of Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya R̥ṣi. Thus Duṣyanta's marriage with Śakuntalā, in fact, does not break *dharma*. Davis points out that with this quotation Kumārila demonstrates that "*ātmatuṣṭi* of a Veda-knower reveals a hidden fact of the circumstance" (DAVIS 2007: 289).
For Kumārila's "anti-democratic" rejection of the acceptance by many people (*mahājanaparigraha*) as a criterion for judging the legitimacy of religious traditions, see HALBFASS 1988: 327–328; HALBFASS 1991: 81 (n. 60).

18 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. IV: 353–361; Gonda 1980: 450–456 and n. 24.

Mīmāṃsakas insist, all religious norms laid down in *smṛti*-texts are based on the Veda, how should it be explained that the Aṣṭakā, etc., are not described in the Veda? As regards this problem, P. V. KANE (1968–77 Vol. III: 829–831) summarizes the three views given by Kumārila in the TV on MmS 1.3.2: (1) the existence of the Vedic passages on which the rules of the Aṣṭakā, etc., are based has always been inferred; (2) they were transmitted before but lost at a certain generation; (3) they have still been transmitted now but scattered in the extant Vedas of various branches. Since I shall discuss the influence of this classification on medieval jurists later, I illustrate how Kumārila appraises these three views.

The first view is raised and criticized by an opponent in Śabarasvāmin's Bhāṣya (ŚBh). According to this opponent, the source of the Aṣṭakā, etc., is nothing but a confused memory (*vyāmohasmṛti*) transmitted through generations. He illustrates this confusion with a simile. Suppose a man who was born blind insists that he remembers a particular color. When asked about the source of his memory, he answers that he heard about the color from someone else who was born blind, and the latter, too, gives the same answer when asked the same question.[19] Kumārila reports that some people (*kecit*) actually maintain that the Vedic source of the Aṣṭakā, etc., has never been transmitted whereas only its existence has been assumed for all time by means of the inference (*nityānumeya*) from the existence of the *smṛti*-text.[20] He rejects this view by the maxim of the succession of blind men (*andhaparamparānyāya*) employed by Śabara's opponent.[21]

The second view has been established in the Mīmāṃsā school by the times of Śabara.[22] According to this view, a text (*grantha*) that enjoins

19 ŚBh pp. 162,3–163,1 : ŚBh' pt. 2, pp. 72,6–74,2.

20 TV p. 164,8 : TV' pt. 2, p. 75,17. HARIKAI (1974: 66) and POLLOCK (1997: 409–410) point out that Śālikanātha advocates this view in Prakaraṇapañcikā (ed. A. S. SASTRI, Varanasi, 1961) pp. 249,8–250,4. It is, however, unlikely that here Kumārila would refer to the proto-Prābhākara school, even if there were such a school at his times, because we do not find any support of this view in Prabhākara's Bṛhatī. Following Śabara, he admits the possibility that a learned text of the Veda slips from one's memory (Bṛhatī, ed. S. S. SASTRI, Madras, 1962, p. 80,2 *vismaraṇopapatteś ca pratipattuḥ*).

21 TV p. 164,11 : TV' pt. 2, p. 75,21.

22 ĀpDhS 1.12.10 is a possible source of this view. See n. 63.

the Aṣṭakā, etc., was formerly incorporated in the Veda and actually recited, but faded from the memory (*vismaraṇa*) of people at a certain generation, and now we can merely infer its former existence.[23] Kumārila holds this view to have recourse to the inference of a lost revelation (*pralīnaśrutyanumāna*), acknowledging the possibilities that Vedic texts transmitted in a branch (*śākhā*) can be lost on account of inattention and negligence (*pramādālasya*) at transmission or the extinction of people (*puruṣakṣaya*) who belong to the branch.[24] As has often been pointed out,[25] he understands that this view is capable of falling into the religious relativism, for the opponent contends that even heretics such as Buddhists might justify their scriptures arguing that they are based on lost Vedas.[26] In fact, it is impossible to justify their scriptures by assuming lost Vedas because, as is discussed in the section of MmS 1.3.3, a *smṛti*-text that has a precept that contradicts (*virodha*) the extant Veda ought to be rejected. It is also unlikely that Buddhists would adopt this view saying that Gautama Buddha preached his precepts following a Vedic text.[27] For all that, the second view would justify any precept as authoritative by assuming a lost Veda that would support it, insofar as it does not contradict the extant Vedas. It is as if one would call a dead person as a witness in a lawsuit (*mṛtasākṣikavyavahāra*).[28]

To avoid falling into religious relativism, Kumārila propounds the third view that the Aṣṭakā, etc., are based on some Vedic texts actually transmitted in extant branches (*vidyamānaśākhāgataśrutimūla*).[29] To the question why we find no Vedic texts that describe the entire program of the Aṣṭakā, etc., he replies that this is because many branches of different Vedas are scattered (*viprakīrṇa*) in the world, people are apt to neglect (*pramāda*) exhaustive researches, and relevant rules are given in different contexts (*nānāprakaraṇa*) of the Veda even within a branch.[30] He adds that Manu and other sages wrote their works for fear that the tradi-

23 ŚBh p. 165,6 : ŚBh' pt. 2, p. 77,7.
24 TV p. 164,14–15 : TV' pt. 2, p. 75,24–25.
25 Cf. Kane 1968–1977 Vol. III: 830 n. 1616; Vol. V.2: 1260 n. 2049; Harikai 1974: 57; Halbfass 1991: 60.
26 TV p. 163,8–9 : TV' pt. 2, p. 74,10–12.
27 Cf. TV p. 196,6 : TV' pt. 2, p. 114,24; Halbfass 1991: 61.
28 TV p. 161,12 : TV' pt. 2, p. 71,20.
29 TV p. 164,16–17 : TV' pt. 2, p. 76,2.
30 TV p. 164,18–19 : TV' pt. 2, p. 76,4–5.

tion of the Vedas would be spoiled (*sampradāyavināśa*) if they compiled an anthology simply by extracting (*uddhṛtya*) relevant passages from the Vedas, for people would then be tempted to learn only those practical parts (*karmaupayikamātra*) of the Veda.[31]

It is, however, philologically unsound to trace religious ceremonies to the Vedic texts one has never seen. As for the source of the Aṣṭakā, Śabara barely refers to a Vedic phrase "whom people rejoice to meet" (*yāṃ janāḥ pratinandanti*), and he asserts this to indicate (*liṅga*) that a text that enjoins the Aṣṭakā ceremony once existed in the Veda.[32] This phrase is quoted from Atharvavedasaṁhitā (AV) 3.10.2a of the Śaunakīya version.[33] AV 3.10 is a hymn for the female deity of night called *ekāṣṭakā,* "only one *aṣṭakā*," who is a wife of the deified year (*saṃvatsara*) and explicitly addressed in verses 5, 8 and 12.[34] By the times of Śabara, this deity of a particular month has been believed to preside over the three or four eighth days in which Fathers were worshipped in a special way during the cold season of a year, although the original AV 3.10 has no words that would indicate Fathers.[35]

Kumārila does not cite any additional Vedic phrases that could be construed as attesting the Aṣṭakā. Nevertheless, he is convinced of the third view and recapitulates it again (TV p. 187,16–18 : TV' pt. 2, p. 104,15–18). After this recapitulation, as translated by Sh. POLLOCK

31 TV p. 164,24–26 : TV' pt. 2, p. 76,11–13.

32 ŚBh p. 165,9 : ŚBh' pt. 2, p. 77,10.

33 The present AV 3.10.2a replaces '*devā́ḥ*' for '*janāḥ*' of Śabara's quotation recorded in Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra (ed. M. G. BAKRE, Bombay, 1917) 3.2.2; Āpastambamantrapāṭha (ed. M. WINTERNITZ, Oxford, 1897) 2.20.27 & 29, and Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyasūtra 2.17.2 (unconfirmed by me). AV 3.10.2 of the Śaunakīya corresponds to AV 1.104.2 of the Paippalāda (ed. D. BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta, 1997). WHITNEY (1905: 100) holds '*janāḥ*' to be better than '*devā́ḥ.*'

34 Judging from the words and contents of the verses, WEBER (1885: 220) considers that AV 3.10 praises only the female deity of the *aṣṭakā* day of the first month (*māgha*) of a year, giving it a title "Ein Neujahrsspruch." For the expressions that indicate a new year, see "first shone out" (v.1: *prathamā́ ha vy ùvāsa*; v.4: *prathamā́ vy àuchat*) and "Hither hath come the year" (v.8: *ā́yám agant saṃvatsaráḥ*) (tr. by WHITNEY 1905).

35 At the times of Kātyāyana, that is, the third century BC, *aṣṭakā* was established as an ancestral ceremony. According to Vārttika 9 '*aṣṭakā pitṛdevatye*' on Aṣṭādhyāyī 7.3.45, the word '*aṣṭakā*' does not get the substitution of iT (7.3.44) for aT of "*-akā*" (ṆvuL + ṬāP) when denoting the ritual for Fathers. Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. IV: 354 n. 804.

(1997: 411–412), Kumārila equates a *smṛti* text with a Vedic revelation (*śruti*). Although the Veda is not of human origin, it can be transmitted only through oral tradition from a teacher to students. That is why the Veda is equally possessed (*tulyabhāk*) whether by those who recite the text as it is (*paṭhadbhiḥ*) or by those who systematize it in their memory (*smaradbhiḥ*). In the former case, too, one keeps the text in mind in the form of disposition (*saṃskāra*) or the memory caused thereby (*tatkṛta-smaraṇa*) when breaking off recitation.[36]

2.3. Kumārila on the Outstanding Authority of the Manusmṛti

While regarding each rule of legitimate *smṛti*-texts as supported by extant texts of the Veda, Kumārila asserts the Mn to be the *smṛti* par excellence. KANE (1925: n. 26–29) discovered more than twenty verses wholly or partly quoted from almost all chapters of the Mn in the TV. KANE (1925: 96) also points out that Kumārila highly evaluates the Mn in his commentary on the Holākādhikaraṇa (MmS 1.3.15–23). In the introduction of this section, Kumārila enumerates the Dharmaśāstras known to him. He distinguishes the Mn from the other *smṛti*s, that is, *dharmasūtra*s, by putting it in the same category with Epics and Purāṇas, and he asserts that each *dharmasūtra* is accepted in a particular school (*caraṇa*) just as each manual of pronunciation (*prātiśākhya*) is accepted in a particular branch (*śākhā*) that has its own Vedic texts.[37] In the first section of MmS 1.3, moreover, Kumārila assumes the historical existence of Manu as a person who, in spite of his affiliation to a particular branch, made efforts to inquire of the scholars of other branches about

36 TV p. 187,22–27 : TV' pt. 2, pp. 104,22–105,2.

37 TV pp. 243,26–244,4 : TV' pt. 2, p. 172,7–9 *purāṇamānavetihāsavyatiriktagautamavasiṣṭhaśaṅkhalikhitahārītāpastambabaudhāyanādipraṇītadharmaśāstrāṇāṃ gṛhyagranthānāṃ ca prātiśākhyalakṣaṇavat praticaraṇaṃ pāṭhavyavasthopalabhyate*. Cf. JHA 1964: 190; LARIVIERE 2004: 621. For the distinction between *śākhā* and *caraṇa*, see GONDA 1975: 29. Kumārila lists the combination of each *dharmasūtra* with a particular *śākhā* of the Veda in TV p. 244,5–6 : TV' pt. 2, p. 172,9–11.

their *dharma*s and compiled a *smṛti*-text with his own words so as not to forget them (*avismaraṇārtham*).[38] In both cases Kumārila stresses the superiority of the Mn over *dharmasūtra*s on the grounds that only the Mn entirely consists of the rules that hold good among Brahmins of all branches.

Apart from the appeal to the universal acceptance in Brahmin society, Kumārila reinforces the superiority of the Mn with a very orthodox argument in an excursus on MmS 3.1.6, "No, because of the limitation by scriptures" (*na śāstraparimāṇatvāt*). Śabara explains that this *sūtra* is put forth by an opponent who rejects certain *smārta* rules about the behavior during a sacrifice on the grounds that if one followed these rules one would exceed the limitation (*parimāṇa*) imposed by the Vedic scriptures (*śāstra*) on the ritual sequence and the period of time of a sacrifice. As explained by G. JHA (1964: 198; 1973: 98; 1983: 171–173), however, Kumārila construes the "*śāstraparimāṇa*" as a genitive Tatpuruṣa that signifies the limitation in number of the sciences (*śāstra*) concerning *dharma* in order to exclude the heterodox scriptures of Buddhists, Jainas, etc. (*bauddhārhatādigranthāḥ*) from the "abodes of knowledge" (*vidyāsthāna*), which are reckoned by cultured people (*śiṣṭa*) to be fourteen or eighteen in number.[39]

In order to explicitly differentiate the Mn from these heterodox scriptures, Kumārila quotes Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa (PB) 23.16.7, "All that Manu said, indeed, is a medicine for healing" (*manur vai yat kiṃcid avadat tad bheṣajaṃ bheṣajatāyai*),[40] together with the preceding injunction, that is, PB 23.16.6, "The *ṛc*s to be recited at (the throwing of) fuel-wood [*samidh*] (in this sacrifice) are Manu's" (*manor ṛcaḥ sāmidhenyo bhavanti*).[41] Kumārila here claims that the compiler of the Mn is identical

38 TV p. 164,27–28 : TV' pt. 2, p.76,13–16. Even Manu is not omniscient (*sarvajña*). As is asserted by Medhātithi (MnBh p. 69,11) and fully investigated by WEZLER (1982), it is the Veda that is originally termed '*sarvajñānamaya*' in Mn 2.7d.

39 TV p. 201,23–25 : TV' pt. 2, p. 122,3–5.

40 S. LÉVI (1966: 121 n. 1) quotes MS 2.1.5 (p. 7,7–8), KS 11.5 (p. 150,1–2) and TS 2.2.10.2, all of which accord Manu the same praise as PB 23.16.7. Cf. KEITH 1914: 158; AMANO 2009: 446–447. For Medhātithi's quotation of KS (or MS) in MnBh p. 2,13–14, see WEZLER 1998: n. 51.

41 TV p. 202,7–8 : TV' pt. 2, p. 122,14–15; cf. AGRAWAL 1985: 136. Kumārila construes this as an instruction about expiation (*prāyaścittādyupadeśavacana*). For *sāmidhenī*, see n. 79 below. PB 23.16 deals with a twenty-one day *sattra*. W. CALAND (1982: 597) considers this *sāmidhenī* verse to be the *yājyānuvākyā* quoted either in

with the mythical person called Manu in the Vedas. As investigated by G. BÜHLER (1964: lvii–lx), Manu was imagined in the Vedas as a divine being of the solar lineage,[42] an idealized householder,[43] our ancestor who alone survived the Flood,[44] the poet to whom Ṛgveda 8.27–31 are ascribed,[45] and especially, just as the Manu in the first chapter of the Mn, the mediator between Brahman and mankind.[46] Probably taking these characteristics into consideration, Kumārila quotes PB 23.16.6–7 in order to justify his exclusion of the founders of heterodox sects from the legitimate compilers of scriptures on the grounds that they are, unlike Manu, not mentioned as religious authorities in the Veda.[47]

If, however, Kumārila claimed that PB 23.16.7 implies Manu's relief of mankind by the promulgation of the Mn, one might contend that Kumārila would deprive the Veda of its eternity (*nityatva*) inasmuch as

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MS 4.11.2 (pp. 164,11–165,16) or TS 1.8.22.3–4, both of which contain ṚV 8.31.15cd–16ab ascribed to Manu Vaivasvata. Cf. footnote 45.

42 Manu is a son of Āditya Vivasvat (ṚV 8.52(= Vālakhilya 4).1; AV 8.10.24; ŚB 13.4.3.3), and the deity to be invoked at the sacrifice as Prajāpati (MS 2.7.7: p. 82,9; TS 3.2.8.1; VS 11.66). Cf. MACDONELL & KEITH 1982: 129–130.

43 Manu is a father who divided his estate among his sons (TS 3.1.9.4, cf. KEITH 1914: 232; MS 1.5.8: p. 76,6–13, cf. KASAMATSU 2008 and AMANO 2009: 188), and an ultra-pious husband who was willing to sacrifice his wife (MS 4.8.1: pp. 106,6–108,3; KS 30.1: pp.181,5–182,11; ŚB 1.1.4.14–17; TS 6.6.6.1; Lévi 1966: 118–119).

44 ŚB 1.8.1.1–10. Besides, BÜHLER (1964: lviii–lix) refers to Manu as a ruler or a king.

45 Cf. Sarvānukramaṇī (ed. A. A. MACDONELL, Oxford, 1886), p. 29,11 *manur vaivasvataḥ*. In addition, there are two more Manus among ṚV-poets: ṚV 9.101.10–12 are ascribed to Manu Sāṃvaraṇa; ṚV 9.106.7–9 to Manu Āpsava (cf. *ibid*., p. 35,19; p. 36,2).

46 Chāndogyopaniṣad (ChU) 3.11.4 and 8.15 *tad dhaitad brahmā prajāpataya uvāca*, *prajāpatir manave*, *manuḥ prajābhyaḥ*. ChU 8.15, which is the last section of the entire ChU, enumerates daily duties of a householder concluding that one who fulfills these duties for one's whole life (*yāvadāyuṣam*) will attain the world of Brahman and never return again. For Kumārila's affinity to this section, see YOSHIMIZU 2007b: 245–246.

47 TV p. 202,3–6 : TV' pt. 2, p. 122,10–13 "It is established that only those who are recognized as expounders (of *dharma*) by the Veda […] make statements that become a means of valid knowledge, not others" (*vedenaivābhyanujñātā yeṣām eva pravaktṛtā* […] *vacanāni pramāṇāni nānyeṣām iti niścayaḥ*).

he would consider it to contain the document of a historical event.[48] In order to rebut this contention, Kumārila makes use of a mythic plot developed in Purāṇas, that is, *manvantara*. He identifies the compiler of the Mn with Manu Vaivasvata, the present Manu among the fourteen Manus who successively reign over this world for each one-fourteenth of a *kalpa* that lasts for one thousand times of a set of the four *yuga*s (*mahāyuga*).

> Nor has that (word '*manu*' in PB 23.16.6–7) merely the same sound (as the name of the compiler of the Mn) because even in the eternal [Veda] (the reference to him) is possible, for there is always a Manu in the successive reigns of Manus [*manvantara*] just as (there is always) an Adhvaryu officiant in (all kinds of) sacrifice. A new [*anya*] *smr̥ti* is compiled for each period of Manu's reign, and there have always been fourteen Manus for every *kalpa*. Accordingly, it is possible (that these Manus) constantly [i.e., recurrently] compile their precepts, and the Veda would not be reduced to a non-eternal text just because it refers to their instructions. (For example,) there is always a new set of sixteen officiants in every (*soma*) sacrifice, and the Veda would not come to have a beginning just because it lays down their activities (in the sacrifice).[49]

The *smr̥ti*-text of Manu is, according to Kumārila, newly compiled for each reign of Manus, and the Veda keeps its own eternity owing to the eternal recurrence of this event.[50] Considering the distinction drawn be-

48 The reasoning from the description of a past event to the non-eternity of the text is applied in the Devatā-adhikaraṇa (MmS 9.1.6–10), where it is argued that if deities (*devatā*) had anthropomorphic bodies, then the verses such as "We grasped your right hand, Indra !" (R̥V 10.47.1 *jagr̥bhmā́ te dákṣiṇam indra hástaṃ*) would describe human experience, and the Veda would be reduced to non-eternal. Cf. ŚBh p. 1653,25–26 : ŚBh' pt. 6, p. 77,9–10.

49 TV p. 202,10–17 : TV' pt.2, pp. 122,17–123,2 *na caitac chrutisāmānyamātraṃ nitye 'pi sambhavāt, yajñe 'dhvaryur iva hy asti manur manvantare sadā. pratimanvantaraṃ caivaṃ smr̥tir anyā vidhīyate, sthitāś ca manavo nityaṃ kalpe kalpe caturdaśa. tena tadvākyaceṣṭānāṃ sarvadaivāsti sambhavaḥ, taduktijñāpanād vedo nānityo 'to bhaviṣyati. pratiyajñaṃ bhavanty anye sarvadā ṣoḍāśartvijaḥ. ādimattvaṃ ca vedasya na taccaritabandhanāt*. For the various types of *manvantara* in Purāṇas, see MITCHINER 1982: 51–61.

50 Kumārila makes this explanation adopting two passages found in the Matsyapurāṇa (MtPu): '*kalpe kalpe caturdaśa*' is the *pāda* b of MtPu 145.1b; '*pratimanvantaraṃ caivaṃ smr̥tir anyā vidhīyate*' is almost the same as MtPu 145.58ab, '*pratimanvantaraṃ caiva śrutir anyā vidhīyate*' (cf. Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Krishnadas Academy, repr., 1.32.62cd *pratimanvantare caiva śrutir anyā vidhīyate*), except for '*smr̥tir*'

tween the universal Mn and the *dharmasūtra*s accepted in particular branches, we can say that Kumārila, by the quotation of the PB 23.16.6–7 and the allusion to the Purāṇic *manvantara*, declares that no one can surpass the authority of the compiler of the Mn as far as *dharma* is concerned.

3.1. Medhātithi's Appraisal of the Five Views on the *smārta* Rites

Medhātithi knows well that the jurists of his times are much indebted to Mīmāṃsā not only for the theorems (*nyāya*) to be applied in juristic exegetics, but also for the proof of the authority of the Veda.[51] In his commentary on Mn 2.6, moreover, he has recourse to the Mīmāṃsā view that a *smr̥ti*-text is recognized as a means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) insofar as it is consistent with the Veda. As regards the apologetic of the Aṣṭakā ceremony, Bhāruci, an early commentator on the Mn,[52] devel-

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for '*śrutir*.' Kumārila thereby adjusts this passage to the recurrent compilation of *smr̥ti* in order to keep the eternity of *śruti*.

51 In his commentary on the word "learned men" (*vidvadbhiḥ*) given in Mn 2.1, Medhātithi asserts that those who accept something else than the Vedas as an authority on *dharma* cannot be held as learned men because they commit a fatal mistake in the theories of the means of valid knowledge and their objects (*pramāṇaprameya*), leaving the proof of this assertion to Mīmāṃsā (MnBh p. 51,15 *etac ca mīmāṃsātas tattvato niścīyate*). Moreover, replying to the question of how the authority of the entire Veda is guaranteed although it also prescribes how to perform rituals of malediction (*abhicāra*), he recommends to learn Mīmaṃsā apologetics (MnBh p. 62,4 *hetvarthino mīmāṃsāto vinīyante*, cf. Ślokavārttika (ed. DVĀRIKADĀSA ŚĀSTRĪ, Varanasi, 1978), Codanādhikaraṇa, v. 201 ff.). Following the Mīmaṃsā apologetics, Medhātithi accuses royal chaplains (*purohita*) of their abuse of Atharvavedic malediction (MnBh p. 59,9–11).

52 J. D. M. DERRETT (1975: 10) assumes the date of Bhāruci to be *circa* 600–650. H. BRINKHAUSE (1980: 155), however, casts doubt upon it on account of the uncertainty of whether he is identical with the Vedāntin Bhāruci. Considering the increase in the number of alternative views about the Vedic source of the Aṣṭakā from Kumārila to Bhāruci, I propose to place Bhāruci's *terminus post quem* in the second quarter of the 7th century. For the date of Kumārila, see above n. 7.

oped Kumārila's classification of the views on how to explain why we cannot find its source in the extant Veda. Although his commentary, Vivaraṇa, on the second chapter of the Mn is lost,[53] Medhātithi reports that Bhāruci, whom he calls '*vivaraṇakāra,*'[54] classified the possibilities into five alternative views that can be summarized as follows:[55]

> (i) The Vedic text that describes the Aṣṭakā, etc., had been preserved in some Vedic branches, but these branches ceased to exist (*utsanna*).[56]
> (ii) All detailed rules of the Aṣṭakā, etc., are scattered (*viprakīrṇa*) in different Vedic texts actually recited in various extant branches. Manu and other compilers of *smṛti*-texts collected them (*upasaṃhāra*) into an ancillary corpus (*aṅga*) in order to facilitate their understanding as a ceremony.[57]

53 The extant parts are only the commentary on the latter half of the Manusmṛti, that is, the sixth to the twelfth chapters.

54 MnBh p. 63,18 *ityevamādibahuvikalpaṃ vicārayanti vivaraṇakārāḥ.* Cf. IO II.8a15: "*bahu*" instead of "*bahuvikalpaṃ.*" For Bhāruci's influence on Medhātithi in chapters 8 to 12, see DERRETT 1966.

55 Opposing to G. JHA (1999: 191), WEZLER (1998: 234 ff.) classifies the views into six alternatives, by separating the first view (MnBh p. 63,10–11, see below) from the second one that the Aṣṭakā was prescribed only in one lost branch (MnBh p. 63,12–13). Medhātithi, however, examines only five alternative views in the fragments of his Smṛtiviveka quoted at the end of this section (MnBh pp. 65,23–66,13). As regards view (i), he composes only one verse, in which he considers this view to advocate that certain branches (*śākhāḥ kāścit*, in the plural) that transmitted the *smārta dharma*s such as the Aṣṭakā are lost (*utsannāḥ*), expresses his disagreement with this view (*pakṣo naiṣa mato mama*) on the grounds that it presupposes many unconfirmed matters (*bahvadṛṣṭa*), and then composes another verse to present view (ii), "collection of scattered (Vedic injunctions) from different branches" (*vikṣiptānāṃ tatas tataḥ* […] *samāhāraḥ*), as a more reasonable alternative (*upapannataraḥ pakṣaḥ*) (MnBh p. 65,23–24). In the first verse he does not distinguish between two views as Wezler called 1) and 2). The remaining verses pertain to view (ii) in p. 65,24–26, (iii) in pp. 65,27–66,12, (iv) and (v) in p. 66,13. Wezler himself grants that his second view could be "a sub-*vikalpa* of the first one" (n. 103).

56 MnBh p. 63,10–11 *idānīm utsannā sā śākhā yasyām amī smārtā dharmā āsan.*

57 MnBh p. 63,13–15 *athādyatve paṭhyanta eva tāḥ śākhāḥ. kin tu viprakīrṇās te dharmāḥ* […] *ityevaṃ viprakīrṇānāṃ manvādayo 'ṅgopasaṃhāraṃ sukhāvabodhārthaṃ cakruḥ.*

(iii) The origins (*prabhava*) of the Aṣṭakā, etc., lie in some Vedic formulas (*mantra*) and explanatory passages (*arthavāda*) alone, both of which work as indicatory marks (*liṅga*) of them.[58]
(iv) The performance (*anu*-STHĀ) of the Aṣṭakā, etc., has uninterruptedly been inherited through the transmission (*sampradāya*) without beginning, just as the Veda has been transmitted for all time.[59]
(v) Even Manu did not learn the Veda that enjoins the Aṣṭakā, etc., just as we do not. Putting the Aṣṭakā, etc., into practice, every generation including Manu has assumed the existence of such a Veda (*anumeyaśruti*) for all time (*nitya*), by trusting their confidence (*pratyaya*) in predecessors.[60]

Among these five views, (v) corresponds to view (1), which Kumārila rejected using a metaphor of the succession of blind men. Medhātithi, too, categorically rejects it together with (iv). If one assumes (v), then even Manu could not be called a legitimate compiler of a *smṛti*-text just as we are not, because neither we nor Manu have the source (*mūla*) of *dharma* at hand (MnBh p. 65,13–14). Kumārila did not mention view (iv), which attempts to authorize the Aṣṭakā, etc., on the grounds that people have long been carrying them out. Medhātithi rejects it contending that one might insist that one's own tradition has been transmitted (*āpatti*) from time immemorial even if, in reality, it once broke off (*viccheda*) (MnBh p. 65,12).

At the end of his examination, Medhātithi confesses that he cannot specify which view is the most appropriate,[61] considering all of the first three to be acceptable (MnBh p. 65,19–20). Nevertheless, we find that he does not appraise them equally if comparing his examination with Kumārila's appraisal of views (2) and (3).

(i) View (i) is identical with view (2), and Kumārila approved of it in spite of the danger of its falling into religious relativism. Medhātithi

58 MnBh p. 63,16 *atha mantrārthavādaliṅgamātraprabhavā ete dharmāḥ.*

59 MnBh p. 63,16–17 *athāyam anādir anuṣṭheyo 'rtho 'vicchinnapāramparyasampradāyāyāto vedavan nityaḥ.*

60 MnBh p. 63,17–18 *utāsmadādīnām iva manvādīnām api parapratyayānuṣṭhāno nityānumeyaśrutikaḥ.* ('*nitya numeya*' in MnBh is to be corrected in accordance with MnBh' and IO II.8a15).

61 MnBh p. 65,17–18 *na punar* "*ayam eva prakāra*" *iti nirdhārayituṃ śakyam.*

remarks that some people actually adopt this view quoting ĀpDhS 1.12.10,[62] according to which it is inferred (*anumīyante*) from actual practice (*prayoga*) alone that the rules (*vidhayas*) in question were laid down in some Brāhmaṇas although their oral transmission (*pāṭha*) has become extinct (*utsanna*).[63] Medhātithi, however, hesitates to accept this view thinking it unlikely that people who belong to a Vedic branch totally disregard (*upekṣaṇa*) their tradition although the entirety of their *dharma*s is transmitted (*āmnāta*) within their branch, and it also unlikely that people affiliated to a Vedic branch would totally become extinct (*utsāda*) (MnBh p. 64,1–2) as Kumārila assumed.

(ii) View (ii) is identical with Kumārila's view (3), and Kumārila was firmly convinced of its validity. Medhātithi, too, accepts that for one who can skillfully use exegetic theorems (*nyāya*) it is possible to extract (*unnayana*) relevant injunctions dispersed (*viprakīrṇa*) in an immense corpus of the Veda (MnBh p. 64,3–4). Nevertheless, he detects a serious flaw in this view: if, as Kumārila advocated, this view leads to the equation of a *smr̥ti*-text with a Vedic revelation, then, even a *smārta* rule contradicted by an extant Veda would never be set aside (*na bādhaḥ*) because it ought to be explicitly revealed (*pratyakṣaśrauta*) in an extant Veda that is not available to us but transmitted somewhere else. Thus it would have to be accepted as an alternative (*vikalpa*).[64] In other words, this view lays itself open to the accusation of religious relativism, just as

62 MnBh p. 63,29 *brāhmaṇoktā vidhayaḥ teṣām utsannāḥ pāṭhāḥ prayogād anumīyante* (= ĀpDhS 1.12.10).

63 Against the Vājasaneyins who have ŚB 11.5.6.9 (not 8 as given by Bühler) as a *śruti* that enjoins to continue Vedic study when the weather has got stormy, Āpastamba puts forth 1.12.10 in order to justify ceasing study with the recitation of only one verse in this situation. Cf. BÜHLER 1975 on ĀpDhS 1.4.3; FRIEDRICH 1991: 91–93.

64 MnBh p. 64,5–6 "According to this view, however, both (a Vedic rule and a *smr̥ti* rule) contradictory (to each other) would equally be reduced to alternatives since both would be recognized as explicitly revealed (in the Veda); consequently, the *smr̥ti*-rule would not be set aside. Such a consequence is, however, not approved by excellent people" (*asmiṃs tu pakṣe virodhadvayasyāpi pratyakṣaśrautatvād *vikalpe na* smr̥ter bādhaḥ. sa ca viśiṣṭānāṃ nābhipretaḥ*).
* * Although both editions of MnBh and MnBh' read '*vikalpena*,' I would separate '*vikalpe*' and '*na*' following G. JHA's translation (p. 193).

view (2) was accused of its being capable of giving a Vedic pretence to heterodox scriptures.

In fact, view (ii) causes a serious problem for orthodox jurists when they defend the householders' social status as superior to anchorites.[65] The third chapter of the GDhS deals with the life-style (*āśrama*) of Hindus. First, some people (*eke*) express their approval for the choice (*vikalpa*) of any one of the four types, namely, student (*brahmacārin*), householder (*gr̥hastha*), hermit (*vaikhānasa*) or mendicant (*bhikṣu*), for one's whole lifetime even without setting up a household (GDhS 3.1). Thereafter, the three types of the lifelong anchorites are described (GDhS 3.4–35). Lastly, Gautama presents his own view that only the life-style of householder is justified (*aikāśramya*) on the grounds that only this life-style is explicitly enjoined in the Veda (*pratyakṣavidhāna*) (GDhS 3.36). If one adopts view (ii), however, one would have to admit that somewhere in the extant Vedas there are injunctions that respectively correspond to the descriptions of each type of lifelong anchorites, and therefore one would have to say that Gautama is wrong to conclude (*upasaṃhāra*) that only the life-style of householder is explicitly enjoined in the Veda (MnBh p. 64,6–10).[66]

(iii) By the time of Bhāruci, quoting AV 3.10.2 as a source of the Aṣṭakā has been raised to an independent view, according to which it is not necessary to find injunctions (*vidhi*) corresponding to each rule of a *smārta* rite in extant Vedas insofar as we find either a formula (*mantra*) or an explanatory passage (*arthavāda*) that can be somehow construed as implying the rite. In the TV, the opponent rejected this idea on the grounds that *mantra*s lack the ability of enjoinment (*vidhiśūnya*) and people are in confusion as to the correct meaning of complicated *arthavāda*s.[67] Taking the validity of view (3) for granted, Kumārila, too, alleged that this idea is unfounded since people can distinguish between injunction (*vidhi*) and *arthavāda*, and he held it to be reasonable to assume (*anumāna*)

65 For the history of how the ideology of the householders' superiority on other life-styles arose and developed, see OLIVELLE 1993: 83–101.

66 In BDhS 2.11.9–12, in fact, an opponent tries to justify the life-styles of lifelong anchorites by insisting that the "four paths leading to Gods" declared in TS 5.7.2.3 are exactly the four kinds of life-styles. Cf. OLIVELLE 1993: 88.

67 TV pp. 160,30–161,9 : TV' pt. 2, p. 71,13–17.

that the injunctions of a *smṛti*-text are identical (*tādātmya*) with the original ones (*prakṛti*) to be found in extant texts of the Veda.[68]

In defense of view (iii), however, Medhātithi opposes Kumārila's underestimation of the function of *mantra* and *arthavāda*. He conforms to the Mīmāṃsaka's basic idea that these two types of Vedic sentences are subsidiary to injunction since they do not enjoin an action. But he stresses that *arthavāda*s necessarily make the hearer aware of the existence of an injunction that enjoins the action they praise (*stuti*).[69] As an example, though not of praise but of censure (*nindā*), he quotes the verse recited by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali at the end of his lecture of the "knowledge of five fires" (*pañcāgnividyā*) in Chāndogyopaniṣad (ChU) 5.10.9. Having enumerated four kinds of capital sins, such as the robbery of gold (*steno hiraṇyasya*) and the drinking of liquor (*surāṃ piban*), Pravāhaṇa predicts that those who commit these sins will everlastingly transmigrate into miserable and painful states, adding that those who come into contact with them will meet the same fate.[70] Because this verse explains the causal relation between the capital sins committed in this world and the miserable states to be brought about in the afterlife, it is to be construed as an *arthavāda* that implies the prohibition (*pratiṣedha*) of these deeds (MnBh p. 64,12–14). Besides, Medhātithi alludes to a Mīmāṃsā theorem called '*rātrisattra-nyāya*,' according to which, if an *arthavāda* predicts a state one who has performed a sacrifice will reach, that state is to be regarded as the result of the sacrifice insofar as there is no injunction that specifies the result.[71]

68 TV pp. 164,29–165,12 : TV' pt. 2, p. 76,17–18. Cf. n. 36 above.

69 MnBh p. 64,11–12 "Granted that explanatory passages serve to praise that which an injunction designates as its topic and do not have the ability to enjoin their own contents, none of them could be aimed at something else unless it is thereby cognized that (there must be) an injunction that pertains to its content" (*yady apy arthavādā vidhyuddeśastutiparā na svārthasya vidhāyakās tathāpi keṣāñcid anyaparataiva nopapadyate yāvat svārthaviṣayo vidhir nāvagamitaḥ*). For the laudatory or deprecatory function of *arthavāda,* see MmS 1.2.1–18.

70 After this recitation Pravāhaṇa concludes that those who know the five fires will not fall even if they have contact with such people (ChU 5.10.10).

71 MnBh p. 64,17–18 "If you say that [in ChU 5.10.9] verbal endings (characteristic of an injunction) in the optative, etc., are not used, then we reply that also in (the *arthavāda* of) the *rātri*(*sattra*), such as 'they achieve stability,' verbal endings in the optative are never used" (*liṅādayo na santīty cet "pratitiṣṭhanti"* [cf. PB 23.2.4] *iti rātriṣv api naiva liṅśrutir asti*). For *rātrisattranyāya*, see MmS 4.3.17–19.

As regards *mantra*s, too, Medhātithi conforms to the Mīmāṃsaka's idea that, when uttered in sacrifices, they illuminate (*prakāśa*) an action to be performed or a thing relevant to the action by their denotation (*abhidhāna*).[72] However, *mantra*s imply the existence of an injunction that enjoins what they illuminate insofar as it is not contradicted by an extant injunction.[73] By addressing the deity called [*eka*]*aṣṭakā*, therefore, AV 3.10 implies that there must be an injunction that enjoins the performance of a ceremony in which one recites this *mantra* to adore this deity.[74] Furthermore, even Mīmāṃsakas admit the case of a *mantra* that takes the place of an injunction, in other words, that an injunction appears in the form of a *mantra* (*māntravarṇika*).[75] For example, with regard to the "libation of butter" (*āghāra*) to be performed before the main offerings of the new and full moon sacrifices, there is no injunction that specifies the deity to be adored. However, since the *mantra* to be recited at this ritual refers to Indra,[76] one can realize that one should perform *āghāra* for Indra. In this manner, Medhātithi strongly opposes Kumārila's underestimation of the function of *mantra* and *arthavāda* by demonstrating his knowledge of Mīmāṃsā exegetics.

72 Śabara glosses '*codaka*' in the definition of *mantra* (MmS 2.1.32) with '*abhidhāna.*'

73 MmS 3.2 investigates how to apply a *mantra* in a sacrifice by assuming the injunction it implies.

74 MnBh p. 64,27–29 "As regards formulas, they are, by their own nature, recognized to illuminate [*prakāśa*] the performance of an action. Since this performance is otherwise not established [i.e., made known], they make (us) assume that the object to be illuminated [*prakāśya*] (is enjoined by an injunction) in order to justify its illumination. In other words, it would be impossible that (AV 3.10) illuminates (the female deity called) *aṣṭakā* unless the undertaking (of a sacrifice for her) and the entitlement (to the performance of it) are enjoined" (*mantrāḥ prayogaprakāśatvena rūpād evāvagatās tasya prayogasyānyato 'siddheḥ prakāśakatvanirvahaṇāya prakāśyaṃ kalpayanti. na vāsator utpattyadhikārayoḥ prakāśanam aṣṭakāyāḥ sambhavati*).

75 MnBh p. 64,29–30 *evaṃ māntravarṇikāś ca vidhayo 'py upagamyante. yathāghāre devatāvidhiḥ.* Cf. also MnBh p. 61,18–21.

76 Cf. TS 1.1.12.k–m (m: *índrāvānt svā́hā*); ĀpŚS 2.14.1; CALAND 1921: 67. In ŚBh on MmS 1.4.4, Śabara quotes '*indra ūrdhvo 'dhvaraḥ*'. In ŚBh on MmS 2.2.16, he quotes the entire stanza '*indra ūrdhvo 'dhvaro divi spr̥śatu mahato yajño yajñapata indravān svāhā,*' which is similar to KS 1.12: p. 7,2–3: MS 1.1.13: p. 8,10–11.

Remedies for view (ii) In spite of having detected a flaw, Medhātithi does not renounce view (ii). He thinks that this view accords well with the historical scene of the compilation of the Mn: it was a big project in which Manu, surrounded by many specialists of different Vedic branches (*bahuśākhādhyāyin*), carried on the compilation of his work (*grantha*) consulting these specialists (*tebhyaḥ śākhāḥ śrutvā*) (MnBh p. 65,3–4).[77] Thereafter Medhātithi proceeds to release view (ii) from the flaw. Even if there is a contradiction between two rules, both of which have their source in the Vedas, one in one's own branch and the other in another branch, one can rightfully set aside (*bādha*) the latter, because one does not expect (*ākāṅkṣā*) the necessity to follow the revelation of another Veda at all insofar as one can carry out one's duty by following the Veda that exists before one's eyes (*pratyakṣa*).[78]

In order to illustrate this reasoning, Medhātithi adduces the example of a Vedic passage from a chapter on the new and full moon sacrifices. At the beginning of a series of offerings, the officiant of the R̥gveda, the Hotr̥, recites fifteen *r̥c* verses for Agni (*sāmidhenī*s). At the end of each recitation, the officiant of the Yajurveda, the Adhvaryu, throws a piece of fuel-wood (*samidh*) into the Āhavanīya fire.[79] In addition to the normal recitation of fifteen *sāmidhenī*s, the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (ŚB) in the white Yajurveda lays down a special recitation of seventeen *sāmidhenī*s in the sacrifices one performs for the fulfillment of special

77 WEZLER (1998: 232) translates the description of this scene. For a corresponding description by Kumārila, see n. 38 above.

78 MnBh p. 65,6–7 "Thus even if there is a contradiction between two rules both of which are equally revealed (in the Vedas), it is reasonable to set aside (one by the other). When one can complete the practice (of a ritual) following the Vedic revelation present before one's eyes, one does not have even expectations for another Vedic revelation" (*ato virodhe saty api tulye śrautatve bādhopapattiḥ. pratyakṣayā śrutyā prayogasampattau śrutyantaraṃ praty ākāṅkṣaiva nāsti*). The precedence given to one's own *śākhā* over the others has already been formulated by Kumārila in TV pp. 859,27–860,6 : TV' pt. 4, p. 268,14–21: *atha yat tatra tatrocyata idam anena bādhyate* (ŚBh p. 858,5 : ŚBh' pt. 4, p. 266,7) […] *paraśākhāvihitaṃ svaśākhāvihitena*.

79 Cf. TS 2.5.8.2; Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa (ed. E. R. S. SARMA, Wiesbaden, 1968) 3.2.15; ĀpŚS 2.12.1–4. TB 3.5.2 enumerates the fifteen *r̥c*s. For the locations of these verses in the R̥V, see CALAND 1921: 64 (on ĀpŚS 2.12.2).

wishes.[80] Even in this branch, however, the number of the *sāmidhenī*s is restricted to fifteen as far as the basic type (*prakṛti*) of performance is concerned, because one who performs the sacrifice without special wishes finds himself closer to the number fifteen than to that of seventeen as regards *sāmidhenī*s.[81]

Accordingly, we can say that Medhātithi accepts view (ii) in the end. But it should be noted that he critically reviews Kumārila's ideas when expounding the five alternative views arranged by Bhāruci. Above all, he does not admit the superiority of (ii) over (iii) as Kumārila did. While surmising that a great scholar compiled the Mn in collaboration with many specialists of different Vedic branches, Medhātithi is reluctant to speculate which one of the extant Vedic texts contains the injunctions that would correspond to individual rules of *smārta* rites.[82] Of course we should keep in mind the possibility that in this appraisal he primarily follows the tradition prevalent among jurists including Bhāruci. In any case, here we find a jurist who assumes an autonomous attitude towards Mīmāṃsakas.

80 ŚB 1.3.5.7, 10. Among the extant Śrautasūtras of the black Yajurveda, the increase of *sāmidhenī*s is mentioned only in ĀpŚS 2.12.5.

81 MnBh p. 65,7–9 "As regards *sāmidhenī* verses, for example, both the numbers seventeen and fifteen are laid down (in the ŚB). But the basic type of performance does not need the number seventeen since it is restricted to fifteen, even though the former is explicitly mentioned. As a matter of fact, when a thing A directly denoted (in a text) is brought into proximity, it sets aside the idea of another thing B that would be cognized by the expectation from what is directly denoted, since B is weaker than A on account of its remoteness. For that reason alone, however, (the idea of B mentioned in another text) does not come to be invalid" (*yathā sāmidhenīṣu sāptadaśyapāñcadaśyayoḥ pāñcadaśyena prakṛtir avaruddhā sāptadaśyaṃ pratyakṣaśrutam api nākāṅkṣati. ābhidhāniko hy arthaḥ sannikṛṣyate 'bhihitārthākāṅkṣāvagamyaṃ pratyayaṃ viprakarṣād durbalaṃ bādhate. na caitāvatāprāmāṇyāpattiḥ*).

82 Medhātithi does not forget to add that there are some *smārta* rules that have their source in extant Vedas. He quotes TS 2.5.1.5, *málavadvāsasā ná sáṃ vadeta*, which prohibits the conversation with one's wife during her menstruation. This perceivable injunction (*pratyakṣa-vidhi*) actually read (*paṭhyate*) in Vedic study (MnBh p. 65,20–21) corresponds to Mn 4.40, which prohibits the intercourse with one's wife during her menstruate period. Cf. ŚBh on MmS 3.4.18.

3.2. Purpose of Daily Regulations: Practical or Religious?

Medhātithi's critical attitude towards Kumārila's ideas may result from his intention to draw up practical guidelines for a judge who deliberates on lawsuits in a court. Putting himself in the position of a judge, he refrains from indulging too much in theoretical speculation.[83] He also advises his readers not to stick fast to codified laws without making an attempt to adjust them to circumstances. J. D. M. DERRETT (1967) collects many instances that show Medhātithi's pragmatic discretion in the application of *smārta* rules to actual cases. As regards the sources of laws, too, Medhātithi acknowledges that they are not restricted to the four kinds enumerated in Mn 2.6 as far as rules of worldly matters are concerned. He even approves of taking advice from people of lower classes in special cases.[84]

Furthermore, Medhātithi examines whether regulations in the Mn serve an observable purpose (*dr̥ṣṭa*) or an unobservable one (*adr̥ṣṭa*), in other words, whether they are laid down on the basis of immediate usefulness or for religious reasons. In some cases, he admits that it is not obvious which one of these two purposes a regulation serves, and therefore scholars interpret it in different ways.[85] In the Mīmāṃsā school, however, it was explicitly laid down as a basic principle of exegetics to construe an injunction as serving an unobservable purpose only in the case that the injunction would otherwise become useless.[86] Jurists apply this principle when construing provisions for litigation (*vyavahāra*). DERRETT (1967: 32–33) points out that in his commentary on the eighth

83 Medhātithi breaks off enumerating various views about the result of a sacrifice judging such a speculation as worthless (*asāra*) (MnBh p. 56,16).

84 Cf. DERRETT 1967: 37 n. 72 and 73. A student can learn the etiquette in the toilet from the Śūdra servant of his teacher (MnBh on Mn 2.223); when visiting an unknown village, one should not disregard the warnings from untouchables about the local regulations (MnBh on Mn 2.238). Cf. Mn 2.239–241.

85 Cf. DERRETT 1967: 35 n. 64, which refers to MnBh on Mn 2.186 that orders a student to put the fuel-wood fetched from the forest in the air. According to Medhātithi, some people regard this regulation as *adr̥ṣṭārtha* whereas others as *dr̥ṣṭārtha*, that is, as a regulation for drying up wet fuel-wood.

86 Cf. ŚBh p. 462,3–6 : ŚBh' pt. 3, p. 2,3–6; KANE 1968–1977 Vol. III: 837, Vol. V.2: 1260 n. 2051. This attitude leads to the Mīmāṃsā principle of *kalpanālāghava*, i.e., economy in assumption.

and ninth chapters Medhātithi frequently states that the provisions concerned are aimed only at observable purposes.[87]

Kumārila presents an overview of several sciences from this bifurcation. As far as the treatises ancillary to the Veda (*vedāṅga*) are concerned,[88] each of them has two kinds of statement: on the one hand, there are statements laid down as aimed at human beings (*puruṣārtha*) and based on observations in the world (*lokapūrvaka*); on the other hand, there are also those laid down as aimed at a ritual (*kratvartha*) and based on the Veda (*vedapūrvaka*).[89] As regards the fourfold purposes of human life (*caturvarga*), however, he considers the treatises on *dharma* as well as those on liberation (*mokṣa*) to be totally based on the Veda whereas he considers those on profit and pleasure (*arthakāma*) to be totally based on transactions in the world (*lokavyavahāra*).[90] In other words, he recognizes a regulation found in a Dharmaśāstra to be *dharma* insofar as it is based on the Veda. For him there are no *dharma*s based on worldly customs.

In fact, Kumārila criticizes Śabara for finding only practical purposes in some *smārta* rules. Apart from the Aṣṭakā, the opponent in the ŚBh points out that a *smṛti*-text contains ethical rules that have no relation to the Veda, alluding to the general duty of a student to obey his teacher (*gurur anugantavyaḥ*) as an example.[91] Śabara retorts that the obedience to one's teacher serves an immediately observable purpose,

87 MnBh on Mn 8.72 (p. 107,15); 179 (p. 160,23); 223 (p. 176,25); 337–338 (p. 213,14); 9.249 (p. 310,18); 327 (p. 326,6).

88 As regards phonetics (*śikṣā*), science of ritual (*kalpasūtra*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), prosody (*chandas*) and astronomy (*jyotiḥśāstra*), that is, the six *vedāṅga*s except for etymology (*nirukta*), Kumārila illustrates the topics each science deals with on the basis of either observation or the Veda in TV p. 167,4–15 : TV' pt. 2, pp. 79,16–80,6. Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. V.2: 1261; JHA 1964: 193–194; HARIKAI 2002: 82–84.

89 TV p. 167,4 : TV' pt. 2, p. 79,15–16 *aṅgavidyānām api kratvarthapuruṣārthapratipādanaṃ lokavedapūrvakatvena vivektavyam*. The '*api*' refers to the differentiation made before between the '*darśanapūrvaka*' and '*vedamūla*' statements with regard to episodes (*upākhyāna*), genealogies (*vaṃśānukrama*), geographical and astronomical descriptions in Epics and Purāṇas.

90 TV p. 166,27–28 : TV' pt. 2, p. 79,8–9 *tatra yāvad dharmamokṣasambandhi tad vedaprabhavam. yat tv arthasukhaviṣayaṃ tal lokavyavahārapūrvakam iti vivektavyam.* Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. III: 838–839, Vol. V. 2: 1261.

91 ŚBh p. 159,12–160,1 : ŚBh' pt.2, p. 70,3.

seeing a teacher scrupulously instruct his student who has pleased him by obedience.[92] Kumārila illustrates this obedience with the "rising from a seat for salutation to an elderly person" (*vṛddhavayaḥpratyutthāna*) laid down in Mn 2.119 and followed by a long list of courtesies towards one's teacher.[93] Thereafter he contends that if this obedience were to serve only an observable purpose just as cultivation (*kṛṣi*) does, then one should not have alluded to this example, because MmS 1.3 is not the place to investigate the source of every good behavior (*ācaraṇa*) observed in society, since the science of Mīmāṃsā is, as declared in MmS 1.1.1, entitled only to investigate *dharma*s.[94]

As regards the regulations that pertain to the fuzzy boundary between religious duties and practical transactions, such as the obedience to one's teacher, K. HARIKAI (1974: 71–72) points out that Kumārila applies his theory of "restrictive injunction" (*niyamavidhi*). *niyamavidhi* is a type of injunction that restricts the hearer to the performance of an action in a particular manner excluding other alternatives that spring to mind.[95] For example, there are many kinds of instruments one can use for threshing rice in daily life, but a Vedic injunction restricts the instruments to a set of mortar and pestle at the time of threshing the oblations of a sacrifice. Using a mortar and a pestle, one can achieve not only the observable (*dṛṣṭa*) effect of threshing, but also an unobservable (*adṛṣṭa*) effect on the establishing of the sacrifice. Similarly, one can achieve the immediate effect of impressing one's teacher favorably by various kinds of attitudes, for example, by giving many gifts. In this respect, obedience is merely one of many alternatives. However, following the *smārta* rules of how to obey one's teacher brings about an immediately unobservable effect, too. It serves to smoothly complete one's study in the future and participate in the tradition of the Vedic religion.[96] By construing the

92 ŚBh pp. 165,11–166,1 : ŚBh' pt.2, pp. 77,12–78,1.

93 TV p. 165,24–25 : TV' pt.2, p. 77,21. Kumārila here states that a *niyamavidhi* is invoked whenever the opportunity arises (*āgatam āgatam nimittaṃ prati ye niyamyante*).

94 TV p. 165,29–30 : TV' pt. 2, p. 78,6–7 *na hi yāvat kiṃcid ācaraṇaṃ tasya sarvasya mūlam iha pramāṇīkriyate. dharmajijñāsādhikārāt.*

95 For the function of *niyamavidhi*, see KANE 1968–1977 Vol. V.2: 1229–1230.

96 TV p. 166,8–14 : TV' pt. 2, p. 78,10–17 "And (the obedience to one's teacher) is never established (as a duty of students) without a scripture. It is, in fact, possible to have one's teacher teach by other means, for example, by gentle words and gifts,

smārta rules of students' courtesy as *niyamavidhi*s, Kumārila intends to secure the sphere of *kratvartha*, that is, the sphere of human actions that cannot be evaluated from immediate usefulness in the same way as mundane actions.[97]

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etc. Here comes an opportunity for a restrictive injunction. […] Besides, it is not true (to say) that (the restriction of the instrument of) the threshing (to mortar and pestle in a sacrifice) and the sacrifice for one who wishes rain, etc., are not based on the Veda just because they serve observable purposes. Even if serving an observable purpose, (the obedience to one's teacher) can be regarded as based on the Veda because we have no other means (than the Veda) to know that this restriction (also) serves an unobservable purpose. […] It is true that we observe that a teacher is willing to teach (his student) if pleased (by any means); but (if the student always obeys his teacher) following the [*smārta*] restriction, he establishes an *apūrva* [i.e., unobservable potency] that leads to the completion (of his study) without interruption" (*na ca niyogataḥ śāstrād ṛte prāptiḥ. śakyate hy upāyāntareṇāpi sāmadānādinā gurur adhyāpanādīni kārayitum. tatrāsti niyamavidher avakāśaḥ.* […] *na cāvaghātādīnāṃ vṛṣṭikāmayāgādīnāṃ ca dṛṣṭārthānām avaidikatvam. tasmāt saty api dṛṣṭārthatve sambhāvyate vedamūlatvaṃ niyamādṛṣṭasiddher ananyapramāṇakatvāt.* […] *dṛṣṭaṃ ca prīto gurur adhyāpayiṣyatīty evamādi niṣpadyate, niyamāc cāvighnasamāptyarthāpūrvasiddhiḥ*).

K. HARIKAI (1990: 113; 325–326) points out that in his commentary on MmS 1.2.7 Kumārila incorporates the process of the Vedic study (*adhyayana*) into the program of one's own religious life. According to him, the commencement prompted by an injunction (*adhyayanavidhi*), the memorizing of texts from syllables to words, the comprehension of the meaning of texts, the performance of sacrifices and the attainment of heaven follow one after another owing to the linkage of "bringing into being" (*bhāvanā*), for each action of this series successively functions as a means requiring the next as its purpose until the realization of the final purpose, that is, heaven. Cf. TV p. 113,13–20 : TV' pt. 2, p. 11,7–15.

97 Medhātithi, however, asserts that how to pay courtesy to one's teacher is based merely on local customs (*ācāra*) and varies according to district, just like the number of the tufts of hair (*cūḍā*) to be left on one's head or the homage (*pūjā*) a bride pays at a celebrated tree or crossing on her wedding day (MnBh p. 68,7–9).

3.3. Medhātithi's Open Attitude towards the Entitlement to the Compilation of a Dharmaśāstra

When putting forward his own view (*siddhānta*) in his commentary on Mn 2.6, Medhātithi first explains why a Dharmaśāstra, which he calls *dharmasūtra*, is worth being called a means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) although its compiler already knows from the Veda that one should perform the Aṣṭakā, etc.[98] According to him, one does not compile a Dharmaśāstra for one's own benefit, but in order to instruct those who have not yet learned *dharma* (*avyutpannapuruṣavyutpādana*) (MnBh p. 58,1–3). This altruism, however, is inseparable from the elitism held by Brahmin intellectuals, for he maintains that a trustworthy person (*āpta*)[99] is entitled to lead the ignorant mass of people who do not have the ability of examination.[100]

Nevertheless, Medhātihi takes a fairly liberal attitude towards the entitlement (*adhikāra*) to the compilation of a Dharmaśāstra. The Mn does not define the second source of *dharma* simply as "the memory (*smṛti*) of those who know the Veda." Instead, Mn 2.6b applies the

98 Here Medhātithi presupposes the Mīmāṃsā view that a *pramāṇa* must provide new information.

99 It is well known (cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1994: 307–308) that in his Bhāṣya on Nyāyasūtra 1.1.7 (cf. also on 2.1.68) Vātsyāyana presents two conditions that form the definition of "trustworthy person" (*āpta*), namely, "one who has directly perceived *dharma*" (*sākṣātkṛtadharmaḥ*) and "one who instructs (others) prompted by the desire to make them know the thing as perceived" (*yathādṛṣṭārthasya cikhyāpayiṣayā prayukta upadeṣṭā*); and the former was advocated by Yāska in Nirukta 1.20. For Medhātithi, as well as for Mīmāṃsakas, "direct perception of *dharma*" means no more than the mastery of the Veda that reveals *dharma.* In addition, these two conditions of *āpta* can be traced back to the stock phrase '*sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti/pavedenti*' found frequently in Pāli canon, for example, in Dīghanikāya (PTS ed.) 1 (Brahmajālasutta). 1.28; 2 (Sāmaññaphalasutta) 23.

100 MnBh p. 58,9–10 "For, we observe that there are people who take statements as means of valid knowledge without examining (their validity) just because they are (made) by the persons well accepted as trustworthy" (*yato dṛśyate ya āptatvena prasiddhās tadīyaṃ vacanam avicāryaiva kecana pramāṇayanti*). See also MnBh p. 54,1–2 and p. 58,3–5. In this respect Medhātithi differs from Dharmakīrti who requires one to examine the validity of the statements given by trustworthy persons, even if given by Buddha. Cf. Pramāṇavārttika, Ch. 1 (ed. R. GNOLI, Rome, 1960), vv. 214–215.

Dvandva compound "*smṛtiśīle*" changing the word order of GDhS 1.2, '*tadvidāṃ ca smṛtiśīle*,' *metri causa*. According to Medhātithi, this *śīla*, which literally means "nature" or "habitual character,"[101] can be construed as two kinds of cause. First he regards *śīla* as indicating the cause of action (*nirvartaka*). He says that it means one's renouncing of attachment and hatred (*rāgadveṣaprahāṇa*) since one can thereby proceed to put *dharma* into practice (*dharmo nirvartate*) (MnBh p. 66,17–19). Next he regards *śīla* as indicating the cause of knowledge (*jñāpaka*).[102] In this case, according to him, *śīla* means the mental concentration (*samādhāna*)[103] that makes one absorbed in the investigation of the meaning of a text (MnBh p.67,7–8). Since *smṛtiśīle* is qualified by "those who know it" (*tadvidām*), and "it" (*tad*) refers to the *veda* given in 2.1a, it is established that '*smṛti*' means an excellent memory (*smṛti*) of the Vedas. But even if one is excellently versed in the Vedas, one cannot make one's own statements a source of *dharma* if one is not attentive when codifying Vedic injunctions into a *smṛti*-text.[104] Thus Medhātithi considers both '*tadvidām*' and '*śīla*' to be necessary conditions for the trustworthiness of the compiler of a *smṛti*-text.

With regard to the conjunction '*ca*' placed between '*smṛtiśīle*' and '*tadvidām*' in *pāda* b, Medhātithi advances a unique view that it operates to accumulate (*samuccaya*) *pāda* b and "of righteous people" (*sādhūnām*) in *pāda* c (MnBh p. 67,14–15),[105] although the latter is naturally

101 Cf. Hara 1986: 22.

102 Medhātithi contrasts *nirvartaka* and *jñāpaka* concerning *śīla* in MnBh p. 66,18 and p. 67,9–10.

103 Medhātithi refers to Dhātupāṭha (DhP) 1.556 *śīla samādhau* (MnBh p. 67,6). The DhP, however, also presents another ŚĪL in 10.332, '*śīla upadhāraṇe,*' in accordance with the normal meaning of *śīla,* "habitual character."

104 MnBh p. 67,10–12 "(Only) the memory (of a person) who has concentration is the means of valid knowledge, not memory in general. Thus, even if people know the meaning of the Vedas, their memory would not be a source of *dharma* if they do not concentrate themselves on it [i.e., *vedārtha*] because those who lack the attention to the meaning of scriptures are liable to make a misunderstanding and other (failures)" (*samādhānavatī yā smṛtiḥ sā pramāṇaṃ na smṛtimātram. tena saty api vedārthavittve yad atatparāṇāṃ smaraṇaṃ na tad dharmamūlaṃ bhrāntyādisambhavāc chāstrārthāvadhānaśūnyānām*).

105 As for righteousness, Medhātithi already combined it with the notion of Vedic erudition at the beginning of his commentary on Mn 2.1. To specify which kind of people follow the *dharma* that is going to be laid down by Manu, *pāda* ab of this

construed as qualifying "customary behavior" (*ācāras*) in *pāda* c in order to define the third *dharmamūla*. He makes this strained exegesis in order to construe '*smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām*' and '*sādhūnām*' as forming the sufficient condition for accepting the compiler of a *smṛti*-text as trustworthy. According to him, a work compiled by those who meet these three conditions becomes a means of valid cognition.[106] Consequently, Medhātithi considers Mn 2.6bc to define the second source of *dharma* as "the memory (*smṛti*) of those who are learned in the Veda (*tadvid*), concentrated (*śīla*) on the learned Veda and righteous (*sādhu*) in conduct."

Manu and other renowned compilers of *smṛti*-texts meet all these conditions, for otherwise cultured people (*śiṣṭa*) would not widely accept (*parigraha*) these works (MnBh p. 67,16–17). What is more important is, however, that this criterion does not restrict Dharmaśāstra to the works of these great sages who appeared in ancient times. On the contrary, it entitles anyone who meets all of these conditions to compile a text to be accepted as a Dharmaśāstra. Even among Medhātithi's contemporaries the compiler of a new Dharmaśāstra might appear.[107]

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verse, '*vidvadbhiḥ sevitaḥ sadbhir nityam adveṣarāgibhiḥ*,' presents three conditions that range over human intellect, volition and emotion: one should be learned (*vidvas*), good (*sat*) and have neither attachment nor hatred (*adveṣarāgin*). The first condition, eruditeness, means one's excellence in the knowledge of the Vedas (MnBh 51,13–14). The third one is the perfect control of one's emotions. And the second one is the righteousness that consists in the efforts to carry out valid precepts in one's life. Cf. MnBh p. 51,16–17 "Those who are called '*sat*' [in 2.1a] are righteous people [*sādhu*] who are making efforts to carry out what is fixed by a means of valid knowledge in order to obtain what is beneficial and to avoid what is harmful" (*santaḥ sādhavaḥ pramāṇaparicchinnārthānuṣṭhāyino hitāhitaprāptiparihārārthāya yatnavantaḥ*).

106 MnBh p. 67,15–16 "Based on this (interpretation of '*ca*') we apply three qualifiers to this (i.e., the compiler of a *smṛti*-text): those who are (1) learned, having inherited (Vedic) sciences from their teacher, (2) concentrating on the training of the (Vedic knowledge) and (3) devoting themselves to (righteous) practice, make their memory a means of valid knowledge" (*atas trīṇi viśeṣaṇāny atrāśrīyante. viduṣām upādhyāyād āgamitavidyānāṃ tathā tadabhyāsaparāṇām anuṣṭhānaparāṇāṃ ca smṛtiḥ pramāṇam*).

107 MnBh p. 67,20 "Even nowadays, if someone meets these conditions, then his statements should be accepted as well as those of Manu, etc." (*adyatve 'pi yasyaitaddhetusadbhāvaḥ so 'pi manvādivad grāhyavākyaḥ syāt*).

Medhātithi begins to illustrate this prospect by referring to the "legal assembly" (*pariṣad*) constituted in local communities.[108] Quoting Mn 12.113ab, which stresses that the members of a *pariṣad* should be learned in the Veda, he states that only those who meet all of the three conditions, namely, erudition, concentration and righteousness, become authoritative (*pramāṇībhavanti*) in the *pariṣad* summoned to determine expiation (*prāyaścitta*) and other legal affairs (MnBh p. 67,20–22). According to Medhātithi, however, these three conditions should not be regarded as qualifying only those who apply the provisions of a given text on *dharma* to actual lawsuits because they also qualify those who create a new text. For that reason he finds it baseless (*nirmūla*) to make a complete list (*parigaṇanā*) of great compilers of Dharmaśāstras by enumerating mythical beings such as Manu, Viṣṇu,[109] Yama,[110] Aṅgiras,[111] etc. Also historical persons such as Paiṭhīnasi,[112] Baudhāyana,[113] Pracetas,[114] etc., are no less authoritative since they are recognized by cultured people to have this triple qualification (MnBh p. 67,22–23). Having put all these past compilers of Dharmaśāstras in the same line by the same criterion of appraisal, Medhātithi says as follows:

> Nowadays, if someone who has these (three) qualities compiles a text [*grantha*] from the aforementioned motivation (to teach others), that (text) might be accepted by future generations as authoritative as (the *smṛti*s of) Manu, etc. Contemporary people, however, would not take advice from such a person thinking that all sources [*kāraṇa*] from which this (compiler) acquires knowledge [*bodha*] about that [i.e., *dharma*] are available to them. In fact, learned people would not accept the statements of a contemporary person as valid unless the person presents their source. Nevertheless, if the source is presented, the text may come to be accepted as authoritative in the future. In that case, moreover, if (the presented source of the text) could be regarded, in one way or another, as reliable as the source of the Aṣṭakā, etc., then at that time, these [future generations] would find it reasonable to infer (the existence of a text of the Veda) as the source of this (text) on the grounds

108 For *pariṣad* see KANE 1968–1977 Vol. II.2: 965–974, Vol. IV: 879.
109 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 112–127.
110 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 522–528.
111 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 507–509.
112 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 284–286, 517–519.
113 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 38–53.
114 Cf. KANE 1968–1977 Vol. I.1: 519–520.

that otherwise it cannot be explained why it is widely accepted among cultured people.[115]

Conclusion

The authority of a *smṛti*-text depends on two conditions: for one thing, the material gathered for codification must be reliable; for another, the person who codifies it must be trustworthy. As for the material appropriate for codification, Kumārila, who stresses the influence of scriptures on the mind of those who are trained in the Veda, advocates that each rule of a *smārta* rite is identical with an original injunction to be found somewhere in the Veda of extant branches (*śākhā*). Medhātithi, however, restrains such an excessive speculation, for he regards a *smārta* rite as consistent with the Veda if it is just supported by a formula (*mantra*) or an explanatory passage (*arthavāda*) found in an available Vedic text, as in the case of the Aṣṭakā. Although both Kumārila and Medhātithi distinguish Vedic *dharma* in the sense of religious duties from mundane activities, Kumārila tends to secure religious significance in daily activities such as a student's courtesy more explicitly than Medhātithi. As for the compiler, Medhātithi does not regard Manu as "the last prophet."[116] He presents the triple qualification to be fulfilled by anyone who wishes to compile a Dharmaśāstra, suggesting the possibility that even in his days someone might compile a new text that would be recognized to be as authoritative as the Mn in the future. In this respect he clearly dissents from Kumārila, who proclaims the Mn to be outstandingly authoritative

115 MnBh pp. 67,27–p.68,2 *adyatve ya evaṃvidhair guṇair yukta īdṛśenaiva ca hetunā grantham upanibadhnīyāt sa uttareṣāṃ manvādivat pramāṇībhavet. idānīntanānāṃ tu yad eva tatra tasya bodhakāraṇaṃ tad eva teṣām astīty na tadvākyād avagatiḥ. idānīntano hi yāvan mūlaṃ na darśayati tāvan na vidvāṃsas tadvākyaṃ pramāṇayanti. darśite tu mūle pramāṇīkṛte granthe kālāntare yadi kathañcid aṣṭakādimūlatulyatā syāt tadā teṣāṃ śiṣṭaparigrahānyathānupapattyā tanmūlānumānaṃ yuktam*. Cf. Jha 1999: 204–205; Deshpande 1976: 231–232; Davis 2010: 29.

116 In the first chapter on genesis, however, he describes Manu as a disciple of Prajāpati (MnBh on Mn 1.58, cf. Wezler 1998: 230–232). Cf. also MnBh on Mn 9. 17 and 10.78 on the origin of the gender and class distinction.

on the grounds that Manu's trustworthiness is explicitly stated in the Veda.[117]

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117 Note that Kumārila quotes not only an *arthavāda* (PB 23.16.7), but also a *vidhi* (PB 23.16.6) that has independent authority. Here we read his intention to justify the outstanding authority of the Mn "philologically" by an extant text of the Veda. Kumārila justifies his rejection of Buddhist and other heretic scriptures (cf. n. 39 above) once again by quoting a *śruti* from ChU 7.1.2, in which Nārada, in front of Sanatkumāra, reads out a list of the sciences he has mastered. In this list, of course, Buddhism is not mentioned and therefore, by Kumārila's criterion, to be rejected. Thereafter, Kumārila stresses that a science concerning *dharma* needs a Vedic record of the name of its founder for its legitimacy: "As regards the man-made abodes of knowledge, therefore, those founders who are named by the names of the eternal R̥ṣis destined constantly (to appear) during the *yuga*s of a *manvantara* at each *kalpa*, are also explicitly mentioned in *mantra*s and *arthavāda*s of the Veda; only the abodes of knowledge initiated by those persons are recognized as ancillary means of knowing *dharma*" (TV p. 202,24–26 : TV' pt. 2, p. 123,9–11 *tena pratikalpamanvantarayuganiyatanityarṣināmābhidheyakr̥trimavidyāsthānakārā ye vede 'pi mantrārthavādeṣu śrū yante tatpraṇītāny eva vidyāsthānāni dharmajñānāṅgatvena saṃmatāni*).

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Epics and Purāṇas

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Sthavirabuddhayaḥ in the Mārkaṇḍeyasamāsyaparvan of the Mahābhārata Problems in Locating Critiques of Buddhism in the Mahābhārata*

Chapters 186–189 of the third book of the Mahābhārata (MBh) communicate the vision of the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to the Pāṇḍavas who have met him on their wanderings in the forest during their thirteen years of exile from Hastināpura. Because it deals with the decline of standards of behaviour in the *yuga*s within the frame of Vaiṣṇava cosmogonic myths it has sometimes been described as apocalyptic.[1] Typical of the disastrous – from the perspective of the brahmins – situations applying to the *kaliyuga* are the descriptions in the one hundred and eighty-eighth chapter, epitomized by extravagant references to reversed status positions amongst the four classes, a symptom of the collapse in dharmic observance, and especially an abrogation by kings of their normative duties; of the rise in importance of *śūdra*s as role models; of general social break-down involving the removal of all prescribed social boundaries; and of the occasional mention of the activities of heretical groups.

Technical terms found here occur nowhere else in the MBh and there is a strong sense of individuality about this piece. What is not unique to it is the acerbity with which it asserts the problem of the observance of *dharma* in times of a complete reversal of normal/normative order.[2] But it does not treat the problem of *dharma* in a crude manner and, perhaps subliminally, it shows a constant awareness that there are

* I would like to acknowledge the very helpful comments of Danielle Feller and Vincent Eltschinger on an earlier draft of this article.

1 Most recently see BIARDEAU (2002 Vol.1: 599). See further the careful study of GONZALEZ-REIMANN 2002.

2 This is not an exploration of the problem as is the task of the Āpaddharmaparvan. Rather it is a sustained lament of the complete reversal of dharmic norms. On the former see BOWLES 2007.

competing *dharma*s to which individuals and groups may adhere, though always with the proviso that *dharma* may be reversed in times of radical and visibly perceptible change, but not in times of normality which by definition are marked by adherence to brāhmaṇical *dharma*.[3] This in itself roughly reflects the historical situation (200 BC–200 AD) reflected in the older parts of the MBh, a time when both the Buddhists and Jains had already developed and were communicating their own distinctive *dharma*s. It is the emergence and defence of a distinctively marketed brāhmaṇical *dharma* in the face of others, equally well marketed, that is the fundamental subtext of the entire Mārkaṇḍeyasamāsyaparvan.

The Buddhists had developed a very coherent and detailed view of *dharma*, capable of being successfully communicated at various levels of comprehension. One measure of this success is the quantity of monumental architecture constructed between 200 BC and 200 AD, implying a vibrant patronage system and considerable localization of the *saṅgha*. This, I suggest, led to the Buddhists being one of the targets of the narratives that became part of the MBh, the earliest statement of a Hindu civilization and a self-conscious brāhmaṇical culture. My intention in this article is to explore some passages in 3.188 that appear to critique Buddhism as institution and formalized teaching. Given the apparent brāhmaṇical reticence to explicitly criticize Buddhism in the early historic period, perhaps because of political prohibitions against this, it is not easy to argue that any given passage should be read as a definite criticism of Buddhism as opposed to a vague conglomeration of *nāstika* groups. Hopefully, I can throw some light on this problem and explicate some passages relating to it. Johannes Bronkhorst has been much concerned with the positions of Buddhism and Jainism in relation to an emerging Hinduism, and the role of Māgadhan culture within this, and this piece is offered as recognition of the important work he has done.

3 More generally, does this reflect a weakness in the cohesiveness of *dharma*, one explored in the Āpaddharmaparvan?

Received Views

It has long been argued that there is at least one reference – indirect or otherwise – to Buddhist practices in this very same chapter. Scholars have argued that in the occurrence of the word *eḍūka*, a reference can be seen to Buddhist monumental architecture. It occurs twice (188.64 and 66) in these lines:

> The world will be reversed from top to bottom. People will worship relic sanctuaries[4] and will neglect the gods. Śūdras will not wait upon the brahmins at the waning of the *yuga*. In the hermitages of the great sages, in brahmin villages, in temples and sanctuaries and in the places sacred to the snakes, the earth will be marked by relic sanctuaries, not adorned by temples. This will be the characteristic of the *yuga* when the *yuga* wanes.[5]

The word *eḍūka* (*aiḍūka*) does not occur elsewhere in the MBh, but in Pāli as *eluka* and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as *elūka*, so weight of numbers cannot be adduced for its meaning. Biardeau, perhaps too confidently, notes about this passage that

> Quel que soit le premier support des reliques, ce qui importe ici est qu'un des signes de la fin du Kaliyuga et de l'extrême dégradation du *dharma* soit la multiplication des reliquaires à la place des sanctuaires des dieux. Cela ne peut signifier qu'une extension du bouddhisme aux dépens des cultes brahmaniques.[6]

4 BAKKER (2007: 15 n. 16), following van Buitenen, translates this as "charnel houses." This is a very thorough article but it does not really draw a conclusion whether this MBh reference is to a Buddhist monument. The nearest he comes to a critique of this widely held opinion is the following (pp. 39–40): "Since Gustav Roth's *Symbolism of the Stūpa* (Roth 1980), we may take it for certain that the author of the VDhP calqued his Hindu *aiḍūka* on a Buddhist example, but by doing this he elaborated on what must have been a monumental tradition that was common to all Indian religions, most pronounced within Buddhism, less in Jainism and inconspicuous in the Hindu mainstream."

5 Translated by VAN BUITENEN (1975: 596, modified). 3.188.64–66 *viparītaś ca loko 'yaṃ bhaviṣyaty adharottaraḥ, eḍūkān pūjayiṣyanti varjayiṣyanti devatāḥ, śūdrāḥ paricariṣyanti na dvijān yugasaṃkṣaye. āśrameṣu maharṣīṇāṃ brāhmaṇāvasatheṣu ca, devasthāneṣu caityeṣu nāgānām ālayeṣ u ca. eḍūkacihnā pr̥thivī na devagr̥habhūṣitā, bhaviṣyati yuge kṣīṇe tad yugāntasya lakṣaṇam.*

6 BIARDEAU 2002 Vol. 1: 607.

It represents a common and long held view that was challenged almost thirty years ago by B. N. Goswamy. He argued that *eḍūka* may refer to sacred mounds built over the remains of dead holy men.[7] Even if Goswami's view is to be regarded as being as speculative as the supposition that *eḍūka* has Buddhist implications, the description given in these verses from the MBh could mark any period of post-Aśokan history up until the period of the classical Guptas when patronage of Buddhism in North India begins to drop away. We know confidently that the material signs of the expansion of Buddhism are most drastic in the centuries between 200 BC and 200 AD Nor should it be surprising that the Buddhists should locate their sacred places near to pre-existing sacred places as this would be an ideal way to attract the support of the local population and to communicate religious teachings to them.

Other Evidence

Even so, an enormous amount of weight is being placed on the evidence of one word, two, if *caitya* is also considered a reference to Buddhism rather than to Hindu practices dealing with the dead. If this is the only, albeit disputed, reference to Buddhist practices or doctrines in this chapter, we may arguably put it down to chance and assign it to the commonplace view that the brahmins are here critiquing all *nāstika* groups as a generality. If, however, other (unambiguous) references could be located then this would surely be more than coincidence and would enhance my supposition that Buddhism, conceived as a set of doctrines and a vibrant social institution effectively communicating its doctrines and showing a living presence in local communities, is the main butt of the brahmins' attack in these chapters. One possible candidate for another reference is 3.188.38:

> *satyaṃ saṃkṣipyate loke naraiḥ paṇḍitamānibhiḥ, sthavirā bālamatayo bālāḥ sthavirabuddhayaḥ.*

7 GOSWAMY 1980: 5–6.

Here is Van Buitenen's translation which though not literal, does not consider the possible *śleṣa* in these words:

> Men who think they are learned will abbreviate the truth, the aged will think as children and children as the old.[8]

A more literal translation would be,

> The truth is summarized by men who have the conceit that they are learned. The elderly have the thoughts of children, children have the opinions of the old.

Assuming the accuracy of the translation, the question arises whether deliberate *śleṣa* is being used here and whether *sthavirabuddhayaḥ* is a pun on the Buddhist school called Sthavira.

Let me clear away preliminary problems. The second part of the compound derives from the nominal *buddhi* as opposed to the participle form *buddha* that gives rise to the name of the Buddha and to the derivative *bauddha*, often used in the Purāṇas to refer to Buddhists. Of these, the first generally denotes the idea of 'intellect' and 'thought,' as well as to the higher, more spiritual aspects of cognition in the mind, concepts often as vague in English as well as in Sanskrit. It is arguable that *matayaḥ* could have been used instead of *buddhayaḥ*, except that this may have violated the meter. Of course, if this is the only reason for the use of *buddhi*, my subsequent argument is severely weakened if not totally demolished. Compounds such as *pāpabuddhi*, *alpabuddhi*, *abuddhi*, *mandabuddhi* and others are to be found quite frequently in the MBh in contexts where there is no possiblility of an intended critique of Buddhism. Nor are derivatives of *buddha*, *saṃbuddha* and *avabuddha*, that I have been able to locate elsewhere in the MBh, invoking *śleṣa* in a way significant for my argument. It may be stretching the pun that *buddhi* is used instead of *buddha*, but I submit that it is not beyond the realms of possibility given its context.

The compound *sthavirabuddhi* seems not to be used anywhere else in the CED[9] of the MBh and I have only located twenty-five occurrences of *sthavira*, much less common than the equivalent *vṛddha*. Of these

8 VAN BUITENEN 1975: 595.

9 Nor have I found it in the electronic versions of selected Purāṇas or in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

occurrences several directly associate *sthavira* with knowledge[10] and wisdom or, at least, that kind of learned experience (1.51.1; 2.52.5; 3.110.12, 133.27) considered as requiring an attitude of obedience towards the person who possesses it. Once it is connected directly with a brahmin (5.6.16) who has knowledge of the Veda, both seemingly causes of veneration. Generally then, it is used to convey a positive evaluation of the person in regard to whom it is used, but not without accepting that a *sthavira* person can also be foolish in the manner of a child (*bāla*).

Accordingly, its opposite will denote youth, childishness, inexperience and absence of wisdom and learning[11] all associated in some way or other with the word *bāla* and derivatives. Some passages do contrast children with elders in respect to their possession of knowledge though *sthavira* is not the word normally used in such instances. One is actually spoken by Mārkaṇḍeya where he recalls a conflict between Atri and Gautama in the course of a debate over whether the mythical king Vainya should be regarded as of similar status to Indra, especially considering his grasp of *dharma*:

> You have no knowledge of the highest law, nor do you grasp its application. You are a child (*bāla*) and foolish. How did you become venerated (*vṛddha*)? (3.183.15)[12]

10 See MBh 3.133.11 "A grey head does not make an elder. The Gods know him to be an elder who *knows*, be he a child." (Trans. VAN BUITENEN 1975: 476) *na tena sthaviro bhavati yenāsya palitaṃ śiraḥ, bālo 'pi yaḥ prajānāti taṃ devāḥ sthaviraṃ viduḥ*. Apart from the juxtaposition between *bāla* and *sthavira*, the *clichéd* refrain in *pāda* 4 is significant as it is a formula occurring frequently in Pāli texts and elsewhere in the MBh. Note also that this verse is preceded by a strong statement of differentiation between the young and the aged, but *vṛddha* is used instead of *sthavira*: *vṛddhebhya eveha matiṃ sma bālā, gṛhṇanti kālena bhavanti vṛddhāḥ. na hi jñānam alpakālena śakyaṃ , kasmād bālo vṛddha ivāvabhāṣase* 3.133.10. See also 1.51.1–2ab *janamejaya uvāca*: *bālo vākyaṃ sthavira iva prabhāṣate*, *nāyaṃ bālaḥ sthaviro 'yaṃ mato me. icchāmy ahaṃ varam asmai pradātuṃ*, *tan me viprā vitaradhvaṃ sametāḥ. sadasyā ūcuḥ* : *bālo 'pi vipro mānya eveha rājñāṃ*, *yaś cāvidvān yaś ca vidvān yathāvat*.

11 Cf. MBh 3.134.34 where the distinction between *paṇḍitaḥ* and *vidvān* is surely significant: *utābalasya balavān uta bālasya paṇḍitaḥ*, *uta vāviduṣo vidvān putro janaka jāyate*.

12 VAN BUITENEN (1975: 579, modified): *na vettha paramaṃ dharmaṃ na caivaiṣi prayojanam*, *bālas tvam asi mūḍhaś ca vṛddhaḥ kenāpi hetunā*.

Of similar intent, though with different terminology is this verse:

> *kṣīṇe yuge mahārāja taruṇā vṛddhaśīlinaḥ, taruṇānāṃ ca yac chīlaṃ tad vṛddheṣu prajāyate*. (3.186.54)
> When the Eon is spent, great king, the young have the habits of the old, and the aged behave like children.[13]

In both cases the dominant theme of reversal is reiterated with the accompanying implication that the level of knowledge distinguishing the young from the old has been completely obliterated, a point surely associated with the idea of the 'abbreviation of knowledge' treated further below. This is entirely analogous to the relationship between *bāla* and *sthavira* in 3.188.38.

If now we return to our foundation verse it is surely significant that its *pāda*s a and b have already occurred in a very similar form at 188.15:

> *satyaṃ saṃkṣepsyate loke naraiḥ paṇḍitamānibhiḥ, satyahānyā tatas teṣām āyur alpaṃ bhaviṣyati*.
> People in the world who think of themselves as learned will abbreviate the truth, and with the destruction of the truth their lifetime will be shortened.[14]

*Pāda*s c and d of this verse do not allow of a reading suggesting a critique of Buddhism in the same way as 38cd. As a whole the verse reaffirms the constant refrain in these chapters that *dharma* as the regulator of normative social hierarchies will be overturned and that the violence attendant on this will result in the shortening of life. Exaggerated as this might be, it becomes significant if we can accept the broader probability that what we are reading in chapters 186–188 is a deliberately rhetorical account of the conflict between two 'conceptions of *dharma*,' one asserting the importance of ascribed status in contrast to the other asserting prescribed status, and their likely institutionalisation in networks of patronage and prescribed behaviour. Such is implied by the verse preceding this one:

> 3.188.14 *rājāno brāhmaṇā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś caiva yudhiṣṭhira, vyājair dharmaṃ cariṣyanti dharmavaitaṃsikā narāḥ*.
> Men who are kings, brahmins, commoners, and serfs will practice the law using deceits and snare merit.

13 VAN BUITENEN 1975: 588.
14 VAN BUITENEN 1975: 594 (modified).

The mixing of *svadharma* is not so much implied here, as of the manipulation of a received *dharma* to meet selfish ends beyond those directly contributing to the hierarchical integration of society. Through these and similar verses an argument is being progressively built up that a conception of *dharma*, one being paraded as true *dharma*, will be (is being) packaged, disseminated and used for goals other than those sanctioned by the normative *dharma* propagated by brahmins. Exactly the kind of thing opponents of one group are likely to say about another, especially when each claims to its followers and others to be conveying a coherent *dharma* or *dhamma*. A sub-text of the nine chapters (181–189) of this part of Mārkaṇḍeya's narration, then, is the question of who truly owns *dharma*.

In both verses (188.15 and 38) the abridgement of *dharma* is definitely a problem[15] though it may be consistent with the theme of the compression of time coming at the end of the Kaliyuga. The expression *naraiḥ paṇḍitamānibhiḥ* is certainly pejorative, meant, as it does, to contrast with the real learning of the brahmin. *A priori* it would be wrong to take this as having a Buddhist monk as its referent, though close context might lead us in this direction. Elsewhere the compound *paṇḍitamānin* occurs about nine times in the MBh and always where a pejorative referent is established. Between the two occurrences with which I have already dealt, the following verse appears at 188.32:

> *saṅghātayantaḥ kaunteya rājānaḥ pāpabuddhayaḥ, parasparavadhoyuktā mūrkhāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ.*
> Ill-intentioned kings will organize killings, Kaunteya, and foolishly, though thinking themselves wise, be prepared to kill each other […].[16]

Of the nine occurrences of this compound three occur in the chapter forming the basis of this article, suggesting deliberate concentration. Elsewhere it never occurs more than once in a particular *adhyāya*. It may also be significant that in vs. 32 and 38 it is used in a *śloka* where *buddhayaḥ* also occurs in a compound. In these and its other occurrences elsewhere it always brings with it a highly pejorative sense. It is not ne-

15 Even if elsewhere = 12.59, and often in the Purāṇas, the abridgement of huge texts to facilitate human comprehension is regarded as a normal process where the same verb *saṃ-kṣip* (12.58.89b, 92c) is used to designate the abridgement/summary.

16 VAN BUITENEN 1975: 594.

cessarily sneering, though there is a strong sense of sarcasm associated with it, of which the examples I include here are illustrative:

> *apare tv abruvan nāgās tatra paṇḍitamāninaḥ, mantriṇo 'sya vayaṃ sarve bhaviṣyāmaḥ susaṃmatāḥ.*
> Other *nāga*s, thinking themselves wise, then declared that, 'We will be his advisors and we will be highly esteemed.'[17]

This occurs in the context of a proposed unsuccessful attempting to persuade Janamejaya to stop his snake sacrifice.

> […] *gurūṃś caiva vinindanti mūḍhāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ*
> […] fools, thinking themselves scholars, criticize teachers.[18]

Such a judgement is made in a homiletic chapter where a brahmin is being instructed about the absolute correctness of adhering to *svadharma*.

Finally, I refer to a passage where Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks in a frustrated manner about his own sons in relation to Bhīma:

> *krośato me na śṛṇvanti bālāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ, viṣamaṃ nāvabudhyante prapātaṃ madhudarśinaḥ.*
> Thinking they are clever, these children do not listen to my pleas, and having eyes only for the honey, they do not see the pitfalls.[19]

Each of the above passages is indicative of a particular tone, condemning pretentiousness as it were. Three other passages are more pertinent to the general argument I am attempting to put here about a critique of Buddhism, because each is directly targeting people who possess the learning capable of criticizing orthoprax Brahmanism, people or groups who are grudgingly acknowledged as possessing a *modicum* of learning.

> *aham āsa ṃ paṇḍitako haituko vedanindakaḥ, ānvīkṣikīṃ tarkavidyām anurakto nirarthikām. hetuvādān pravaditā vaktā saṃsatsu hetumat, ākroṣṭā cābhivaktā ca brahmayajñeṣu vai dvijān. nāstikaḥ sarvaśaṅkī ca mūrkhaḥ paṇḍitamānikaḥ, tasyeyaṃ phalanirvṛttiḥ sṛgālatvaṃ mama dvija.* (12.173.45–47)
> I was a pedant, a rationalist, I scorned the Vedas, I was obsessed with philosophical analysis and the science of reasoning – both pointless. I asserted statements of reason and in assemblies I argued from reason. And I specifically spoke to and

17 1.33.12. Translated by VAN BUITENEN 1973: 94.
18 3.199.32. VAN BUITENEN 1975: 625.
19 5.50.26. VAN BUITENEN 1978: 313.

abused brahmins about their holy sacrifices. I was a non-believer, sceptical, a fool who considered himself wise. As a result of that I have become a jackal, brahmin.

A second version comes from the Anuśāsanaparvan and forms part of Bhīṣma's response to Yudhiṣṭhira's inquiry about specific kinds of recipients for gifts. The default position is that an appropriate recipient is a learned brahmin who lives a lifestyle of restraint. But the opposite, the person who is unworthy of receiving gifts, is one described in terms of the *clichéd* verses:

aprāmāṇyaṃ ca vedānāṃ śāstrāṇāṃ cātilaṅghanam, sarvatra cānavasthānam etan nāśanam ātmana ḥ. bhavet paṇḍitamānī yo brāhmaṇo vedanindakaḥ, ānvīkṣikīṃ tarkavidyām anurakto nirarthikām. hetuvādān bruvan satsu vijetā hetuvādikaḥ, ākroṣṭā cātivaktā ca brāhmaṇānāṃ sadaiva hi. sarvābhiśaṅkī mūḍhaś ca bālaḥ kaṭukavāg api, boddhavyas tādṛśas tāta naraśvānaṃ hi taṃ viduḥ. (13.37.11–14)
But [not] to one who does not respect the authority of the Vedas, and who transgresses the learned texts, and who has no boundaries: these destroy the person.[20] The brahmin who might consider himself learned, who scorns the Vedas, who is obsessed with nonsensical philosophy where knowledge is derived from logic, who is victorious in using logic when making arguments from reason amongst the good, and constantly speaks over the top of and abuses the brahmins. Completely sceptical, dull, foolish and of cutting words should such a man be known. Boy, they know him as a dog-man.

The text goes on to give the typical description of the orthodox brahmin as one who is restrained in his actions, knows the Vedas, focussing on ritual performance as much as anything else. And follows it with a further *clichéd* statement of orthodoxy. It varies slightly from the previous passage by explicitly asserting a brahmin as the villain of the piece. It may be too much to assert that the gerundive *boddhavya* is a pun indicative of a general reference to Buddhism or to something more specific such as *bodhi* as a state of knowledge.

The critique in these two variants is obvious, yet its content is still interesting. Use of technical terms such as *ānvīkṣikīṃ tarkavidyām*, *hetuvādān*, *hetuvādikaḥ* and other variants of the latter could easily be taken as indications that it is the general *nāstika* category lying behind this description. What these terms indicate is the modes of arguments used by these people and the foundations upon which their acquisition of knowledge is made.

20 Very similar is MBh. 12.80.18.

Falling in the same category is the phrase *aprāmāṇyaṃ ca vedānāṃ*, but the two other phrases (in 11bc) *śāstrāṇāṃ cātilaṅghanam* and *sarvatra cānavasthānam* point out the social and behavioural consequences flowing from adoption of such forms of knowledge. Equally, the negative side of this is their rejection of the Vedas as authoritative texts and the refusal to follow the precepts laid down in the *śāstra*s. All of these then become the foundation of the aggressive behaviour expressed as speech acts designed to lay scorn on brāhmaṇical status and learning and to obtain victory in debates. This is not a case of rampant individualism in intellectual expression, but a sustained critique of brāhmaṇical epistemological authority and what flows from it.

The final occurrence of this compound is also drawn from the Anuśāsanaparvan and it is found in some difficult verses dealing with epistemology, where Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma whether perception or the Vedas should be taken as the basis of epistemological authority. In reply Bhīṣma says:

> It's my opinion that there is no doubt at all in this, king. Listen to what I will say, wise man, because what you are asking is correct. King, it is easy to hold a doubt about this, but its resolution is difficult to achieve. Indeed, where the unending Vedic tradition is postulated as being the basis of authority (*kāraṇam*) there can be an appearance of doubt. Where perception is postulated as the basis of authority men who argue about causes, thinking themselves wise, conclude that "It [*brahmādi* according to Nīlakaṇṭha] does not exist," and that the truth is in doubt, concluding that is wrong, these fools who think of themselves as scholars. (13.147.3–5)[21]

This is a problematic passage dealing with modes of reasoning and how one arrives at doubt or certainty. Apart from the pejorative references to *paṇḍita* and *prajñā*, the mention of *hetuka* is surely significant as is the dispute over the superiority concerning perception and the Vedas as authoritative sources of knowledge. I assume there was still some doubt, even amongst brāhmaṇical circles, about which took pre-eminence,

21 *nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ kaś cid iti me vartate matiḥ, śṛṇu vakṣyāmi te prājña samyak tvam anupṛcchasi. saṃśayaḥ sugamo rājan nirṇayas tv atra durgamaḥ, dṛṣṭaṃ śrutam anantaṃ hi yatra saṃśayadarśanam. pratyakṣaṃ kāraṇaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ hetukāḥ prājñamāninaḥ, nāstīty evaṃ vyavasyanti satyaṃ saṃśayam eva ca, tad ayuktaṃ vyavasyanti bālāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ.* I thank Jim Fitzgerald for some excellent suggestions in the translation of this passage.

though the various Buddhist schools had always repudiated the epistemological authoritativeness of the Vedas.

I do not suggest any intertextual reference between the occurrences of either of the two compounds in these verses and 3.188, but the occurrence of *paṇḍitamānin* three times in 3.188 and its *clichéd* nature is definitely significant in illustrating how strongly brahmins were preoccupied with the claims of knowledge, if not wisdom, held by alternative and competing religious bodies. Every instance of the compound *paṇḍitamānin* (and *prājñāmānin*[22]) I have found is intended to induce a strongly negative opinion of those of whom it is used. Those who falsely claim possession of the wisdom are unified in their opinions by rejecting received authority in both knowledge and behaviour, a more subtle mirroring of exactly what lies at the heart of the brahmins' critique in 3.186–188.

A contrast between foolishness and learning/wisdom expressed in the opposition between *bāla* and *paṇḍita* is common in the MBh and other contemporaneous texts and also in Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and Pāli. In Pāli there is the Bālapaṇḍitasutta in Majjhimanikāya 3.163–178 and two separate chapters on *bāla* (5) and *paṇḍita* (6) in the Dhammapāda.[23] The chapter on *paṇḍita* resembles the chapter dealing with *paṇḍita* in MBh. 5.33.16–29, though *mūḍha* (30–39) is used instead of *bāla* as the opposite of *paṇḍita*. DhP 5.4 reads:

> Whoever thinks of himself as being foolish is accordingly wise, but a fool who thinks himself to be wise is certainly said to be a fool.

Given its generality, a statement like this cannot be read as anything other than a commonsense saying of such generality that it could occur in any religio-cultural tradition.

The evidence of these passages does not necessarily point to deliberate intertextual connections between specific Buddhists texts and the

22 Though in these cases one never finds the added attribute that the people alleging possession of this quality are fools (*bāla*). See 2.38.21, 23; 5.39.50; 145.10; 12.112.49; 13.147.5.

23 Theragāthā 70–74 (ed. OLDENBERG & PISCHEL 1966) also contains four verses defining the *paṇḍita* and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka 13.30–44 (ed. VAIDYA 1960) is not dissimilar in treating the *paṇḍita* as a *bodhisattva*. Translation following RADHAKRISHNAN 1950: 79.

MBh, though one should not automatically rule this out as a common tradition of narrative, including proverbs, where fools are distinguished from wise men. I have not found any passages in my selective search of Buddhist texts where the *paṇḍita* receives the sarcasm of the *paṇḍitamānin* in the passages cited above. And, it is surely significant that the technical terms in several of these passages point towards those groups critiquing brāhmaṇical modes of knowledge, modes on which the Hindu theory of *dharma* is to some extent based. It is precisely here that the connection with the three occurrences of *paṇḍitamānin* in MBh 3.188 must be drawn and through that of the compound *sthavirabuddhayaḥ*.

Collateral Evidence from Chapter 188

I have laid out certain propositions and I have, arguably, put aside the likelihood of coincidence in one case dealing with the compound *paṇḍitamāninaḥ*. Yet firm evidence that the targets of the relentless critique mounted in these chapters should be the Buddhists is still not established. Rather, the *nāstika* as a general category remains the likely target, and beneath it – and the problem really driving the narrative – this the problem of the superiority of one specific *dharma* over another. The latter is made clear at the beginning of Ch. 188 where the basic thrust of the whole chapter is seemingly to provide a response to a question Yudhiṣṭhira has asked about a "confusion of *dharma*s":

> *asmin kaliyuge 'py asti punaḥ kautūhalaṃ mama, samākuleṣu dharmeṣu kiṃ nu śeṣaṃ bhaviṣyati. kiṃvīryā mānavās tatra kimāhāravihāriṇaḥ, kimāyuṣaḥ kiṃvasanā bhaviṣyanti yugakṣaye*. (3.188.5–6)
> Now I am still curious about the *kali* age too: what will be left when all the Laws are confused. What vigour will men possess, what food and what amusements will they have, how long will they live and what will they wear at the end of the eon?[24]

On a reading of the remainder of this chapter one could easily draw the conclusion that the phrase *samākuleṣu dharmeṣu*[25] should be taken as

24 VAN BUITENEN 1975: 593.

referring to the confusion of *svadharma*s, the principal sign of the reversal of normative duties. Yet it could just as easily denote the confusion between which of competing *dharma*s – understood as totalistic systems of knowledge and behaviour – one should draw from. In practice for most people the choice would not be made, since they would be born into a culture defined by specific lifestyle possibilities, usually Hindu or Buddhist. The exception would be for those who were potential converts into the *saṅgha* and the economic/political elite, especially if they felt threatened by another group.

Accordingly, the question becomes whether the reversals described here are simply pointing towards a fundamental change between distinctive *dharma*s or inconsistent application of *svadharma*s within a single *dharma*. Buddhism had developed a complete system of conduct and belief it named *dhamma*, and the brahmins corporately were attempting to finalize something more complete in that it would encompass both those who live in society and those who live outside of it, especially where the ruling class is decentralised in the manner of the brahmins. Whereas Buddhist literature seems to have a clear understanding of what this meant, the MBh always represents a situation implying considerable doubts about the fractures consistently present in such a totalising system.

Conclusion

Finally, what can be said of the compound *sthavirabuddhayaḥ* which set off this investigation? Does it have a referential base outside of the MBh and can we identify this in more than the most general of senses? And were those of *sthavirabuddhi*, who were also *paṇḍitamānin*, really a ge-

25 This is a quite different use of *samākula* than in a passage such as 8.30.50 and 52 where Karṇa declares he has seen countries with innumerable different *dharma*s (*deśā nānādharmasamākulāḥ*), where *dharma* refers to customs practised. He is not invoking the sense of a 'confusion' of *dharma*s in the context of individual components of the same *dharma* or of competing dharmic systems, rather he is referring to the variety of different customs practised by different ethnic and tribal groups, an accurate portrayal of what the South Asian social make-up has always been.

neric group of Buddhist (Theravādins), a group of brahmins who have fallen away from the true *dharma*, or the *nāstika* as a general category? The context of its occurrence tells us unequivocally that it describes a group perceived to be strongly opposed to the well-formed beliefs of the authors of the Mārkaṇḍeyasamāsyaparvan. The latter are clearly brahmins who exert much effort in condemning kings who no longer support the brahmins in the manner in which they expect as defined in their own *dharma*. Equally, it is a criticism of those groups who hold particular forms of knowledge or make claims to such through the attribution to themselves of epithets such as *paṇḍitamānin*. I accept these as being attacks on knowledge systems regarded by the brahmins as directly competing with them, especially competing for patronage, at which the Buddhists were very successful. It is, however, not just the knowledge systems that are of concern to the brahmins, it is also the political support they receive for their ritual activity and patronage more generally.

If *sthavirabuddhayaḥ* refers to a Sthavira school, to which specific school does it refer and how accurate is the reference? It is generally assumed that the word Sthavira designates the broad group from which the *mahāsaṅghika*s split in the third century BC. Although there is the occasional mention of a *sthavira* school in late texts, almost nothing is known about it.[26] The Pāli equivalent *thera* is found everywhere in the canonical literature overlapping with the centuries of the initial composition of the MBh, and *sthavira* occurs very frequently in early Buddhist Sanskrit texts as a formal title used for monks. It is the Buddhist monks known under this title, and lumped into a single group, that the brahmins may have been criticizing when utilizing a term like *sthavirabuddhi*. That it occurs only once in the MBh is obviously a problem and a fuller study will require an investigation of the meaning and context of other compounds ending in *buddhi*, many of which make full sense as descriptors of the principal characters involved in the narrative plot and have no meaning outside of this.

26 See BAREAU 1955: 110.

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JOHN BROCKINGTON

The Rāmāyaṇa in the Purāṇas

Johannes Bronkhorst has made a notable contribution to Sanskrit scholarship in many ways, not the least in his editorship of the Handbuch der Orientalistik, through which I got to know him best, when he commissioned me to contribute to it. Since I have known him in various other capacities too for many years, I am very pleased to contribute to his Festschrift and to wish him well on another milestone in his career.

It is well known that the great majority of the Purāṇas contain at least some reference to the Rāmāyaṇa or to Rāma himself; indeed, a good deal has been written about this, most usefully perhaps by V. RAGHAVAN (1973: 33–73), but so far there has been little attempt to classify the types of reference made and to assess the reasons for their frequency – a frequency such that some Purāṇas contain several distinct passages treating the Rāma material in one way or another. The different types of reference range from relatively extended narratives (broadly those extending over several *adhyāya*s) by way of briefer accounts (of around one *adhyāya*) and even briefer references, to bare mention of Rāma as one member of the Sūryavaṃśa or in a list of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s.[1] These categories overlap at times but are still broadly valid and indeed seem to some degree to indicate, in reverse order, a chronological progression, which appears to be a more significant factor than any Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Śākta affiliation in the degree of attention paid to the Rāma story. In addition, we find narration of certain episodes only (of which the most frequent probably is the story of Vedavatī), references to Vālmīki as the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and narration of the legend of him as the re-

1 I do not include in this survey the numerous instances where Rāma appears as an interlocutor for his prestige value (useful as that would be for charting his rise to prominence), without any reference to his genealogy, his story or his being an *avatāra.* Nor do I list mentions of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa or propitiating Śiva, unless clearly linked to the Rāma story. All references for individual Purāṇas are to the editions or translations listed in the bibliography.

formed brigand.[2] Also of interest and significance for my argument is the point that some of these passages are based, in part at least, on later retellings of the Rāma story, from the Rāmopākhyāna onwards.

Among the listings of Rāma as a member of the Sūryavaṃśa, that in the Harivaṃśa is no doubt the earliest and gives him no special prominence, merely placing him between Daśaratha and Kuśa in the genealogy (Hv 10.74); this passage is reproduced (with minor changes only) in the Brahma Purāṇa and so here too there is just one verse on Rāma (8.87). A genealogical reference common to the Matsya, Padma and Agni Purāṇas, though little longer, also introduces both the *avatāra* aspect and Vālmīki as author:

> MtP 12.49–51 *tasmād* [i.e. *ajapālād*] *daśaratho jātas tasya putracatuṣṭayam.* |49| *nārāyaṇātmakāḥ sarve rāmas teṣv agrajo 'bhavat*, *rāvaṇāntakaras tadvad raghūṇāṃ vaṃśavardhanaḥ.* |50| *vālmīkis tasya caritaṃ cakre bhārgavasattamaḥ*, *tasya putrau kuśalavāv ikṣvākukulavardhanau.* |51|

The Padma Purāṇa (1.8.164–166) version differs only in naming Kuśa alone of Rāma's two sons (as is more relevant to the genealogy), while the Agni Purāṇa (273.32–35) calls them both Sītā's sons and adds that Vālmīki heard Rāma's story from Nārada (*tan nāradaśravāt* for *bhārgavasattamaḥ*).

The Vāyu Purāṇa in its genealogy of the *rākṣasa*s (2.9.31–51) gives a slightly different ancestry for Rāvaṇa, since Viśravas' three wives are named as Mālyavān's daughters Puṣpotkaṭā and Vākā (for Rākā) and Mālin's daughter Kaikasī (2.9.34; at Rām. 7.5.26 all three are daughters of Sumālin); it also makes him four-legged, in addition to his ten heads and twenty arms (2.9.42), as well as mentioning his killing by Rāma (2.9.48). It lists Rāma and his brothers within Manu Vaivasvata's line (2.26.183) and at that point mentions only Śatrughna's defeat of Lavaṇa and founding of Mathurā (cf. Hv 44; see Mary BROCKINGTON 2005: 304–305) but it reverts to Rāma later in the *adhyāya* as a digression (introduced by the line *gāthāṃ caivātra gāyanti ye purāṇavido janāḥ* 2.26.190ab) and summarises his story in a further five *śloka*s, with the traditional lines on *rāmarājya* having virtually the same form as in the Harivaṃśa (31.137–142). The continuation of the genealogy has Sīra-

2 On the controversy over the last of these in Britain in 2000 see LESLIE 2003, which contains careful study of the textual background in the Purāṇas and elsewhere.

dhvaja Janaka find Sītā (*rāmasya mahiṣī sādhvī* at 15c) in the sacrificial furrow (2.27.15–17). Essentially the same wording for Rāma's birth, his story and Sītā's birth occurs also in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (3.63.185, 63.192–197 and 64.15–18), as Kirfel long ago demonstrated (KIRFEL 1927: 334–339).

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa, since it concentrates mainly on Kṛṣṇa, deals only very briefly, in prose, with Rāma in its presentation of the Sūryavaṃśa dynasty (4.4.49–58), but even so it includes material from the Uttarakāṇḍa. It begins its account by explicitly declaring that Viṣṇu was born fourfold as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna (4.4.49),[3] before summarising the main story from Rāma's youthful slaying of Tāḍakā and defeat of Mārīca to his taking back of Sītā after her entry into the fire; there is no significant divergence from the Rāmāyaṇa narrative. It then devotes almost as much space to Bharata conquering the Gandharvas, Śatrughna killing Lavaṇa and the sons of the four brothers founding various cities, before listing the later members of the dynasty. In the next chapter, on the kings of Mithilā, as one member of Janaka's line, again called Sīradhvaja, is ploughing the ground for a sacrifice to secure a child, his daughter Sītā springs up in the furrow and Janaka's son is Bhānumān (4.5.11).

The Liṅga Purāṇa genealogy, as well as naming all four brothers, briefly mentions Rāma's killing of Rāvaṇa, his performance of sacrifices and his ten-thousand-year rule (1.66.35–37), the last of which is clearly modelled on the last line of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. The Garuḍa Purāṇa similarly includes Rāma, his brothers and all their sons in its Sūryavaṃśa genealogy (138.36–38), thus establishing that its author was aware of the Uttarakāṇḍa, but not giving any further details at this point. The Saura Purāṇa also has a passage within its genealogical chapter but this is rather fuller and so is better included among the brief accounts to be examined later.

Among mentions of Rāma in lists of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s that in the Harivaṃśa (31.110–142) again has chronological priority but is appreciably fuller than its reference to him in its Sūryavaṃśa treatments

3 Earlier, it declares that when Viṣṇu was born as Rāghava, Lakṣmī was Sītā (1.9.141, cf. Harivaṃśa 31.117cd, Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa 2.14 and Devībhāgavata Purāṇa 9.16), whereas at 6.4.87 Rāma is a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. Elsewhere too it suggests that Rāvaṇa was a devotee of Viṣṇu rather than Śiva (4.15).

(cf. John BROCKINGTON 2000: 326–338); again this passage is reproduced, with relatively minor changes, in the Brahma Purāṇa (213.124–158; see Brahma Purāṇa 1987–1989: I. 821 and II.xxix). However, the Vāyu Purāṇa reference in its *avatāra* list comprises just one verse, indicating the purpose of Rāma's incarnation as the killing of Rāvaṇa (2.36.91); this brief wording occurs identically also at Matsya Purāṇa 47.245 and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 2.73.91cd–92ab, copied by Skanda Purāṇa 7.19.75cd–76ab. Similarly brief is the reference at Brahma Purāṇa 180.32–33. The Garuḍa Purāṇa in Brahmā's narration of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s summarises the Rāmāyaṇa in seven verses (142.10–16) before glorifying Sītā's chastity by telling the story of a faithful wife in the rest of the *adhyāya.* The Nīlamata Purāṇ a has Viṣṇu born as Rāma (500–502), as well as listing among those to be worshipped *rāmaṃ salakṣmaṇaṃ sītāṃ śeṣaṃ ca dharaṇīdharam* (542ab) and *śatrughno rāmalakṣmaṇau* (913b). The Gautamīmāhātmya includes a hymn by Indra to Viṣṇu listing his *avatāra*s including Rāma (BrP 122.69) in the *adhyāya* preceding its narrative of Daśaratha and Rāma (to be commented on below). Not in an *avatāra* list as such but in a similar context, within the story of Ambarīṣa the Liṅga Purāṇa alludes to Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Viṣṇu, his two arms and Śeṣa (2.5.146–148; this is in addition to the three verses in its Ikṣvāku genealogy already noted and an even briefer reference to Viṣṇu killing Rāvaṇa and establishing a *liṅga* on the seashore at 2.11.38). Equally, the Viṣṇudharmottara in its prescriptions for images of the *avatāra*s includes Rāma and his brothers (*rāmo dāśarathiḥ kāryo rājalakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ. bharato lakṣmaṇaś caiva śatrughaś ca mahāyaśāḥ*, *tathaiva sarve kartavyāḥ kintu maulivivarjitāḥ*. 3.85.62cd).

Several Purāṇas contain brief allusions – sometimes as little as a single verse – outside the context of genealogies and *avatāra* lists to aspects of the Rāma tradition. The Matsya Purāṇa, though lacking any narration of the Rāma story, does twice mention Vālmīki telling it (12.50–51 and 53.71–72). Moreover, not only does one *adhyāya* parallel the Rāmāyaṇa search party accounts (MANKAD 1966; John BROCKINGTON 1985: 113) but it also contains two descriptions of Śiva burning Tripura (140.58–75 and 188.15–56) which are evidently based on the burning of Laṅkā, first by Hanumān and later by the *vānara*s during the battle (Rām. 5.52 and 6.62), as well as a description of a moonlit night and the pleasures of Tripura's inhabitants (139.15–47) clearly modelled on the

opening of the Sundarakāṇḍa (RAGHAVAN 1959 and 1961). It is obvious that the compiler of the *Matsya Purāṇa* was in fact well acquainted with the Rāmāyaṇa, though not interested in reproducing the story.

The Padma Purāṇa, as part of a narrative by Pulastya about the establishment of Puṣkara as a *tīrtha*, narrates two novel and rather unexpected incidents. On Atri's advice, Rāma visits Puṣkara in order to perform *śrāddha* for Daśaratha but during the ritual Sītā suddenly hides herself and afterwards explains her conduct by the shame she felt at being seen in her ascetic clothes of bark-cloth by Daśaratha who has actually appeared visibly to her (1.33.89–110); soon afterwards Lakṣmaṇa turns rebellious, declaring that he will no longer serve Rāma and Sītā, and no sooner is he pacified than Rāma offends Lakṣmaṇa, before all is smoothed over and put down to the influence of the locality, an unexpected manifestation of human frailty (1.33.123–148 and 172–182).[4] A couple of *adhyāya*s later Pulastya introduces the story from the Uttarakāṇḍa of the death of the brāhman boy and Rāma's consequent execution of the *śūdra* ascetic, Sambūka (1.35.11–100), which is followed by further conversation of Rāma with Agastya and by Rāma deciding against performing a *rājasūya*,[5] again innovations from the original narrative (1.36–37). In its story of Indra and Ahalyā it includes Gautama modifying his curse by predicting and then describing Rāma's arrival to release her (1.54.35–43).

At Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.9.141 Lakṣmī becomes Sītā when Viṣṇu becomes Rāma. The Vāmana Purāṇa in extolling the virtues of various *tīrtha*s mentions one resorted to by Vedavatī, referring to her rebirth as Sītā (Saromāhātmya 16.8–12), and artificially connects another with Rāma's time in the Daṇḍakāraṇya (the head of a *rākṣasa* cut off by Rāma sticks to the leg of a sage, Rahodara, Saromāhātmya 18.5–6), found also at Ma-

4 RAGHAVAN (1973: 55–56) cites these incidents from the ASS edition, in which the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa is the fifth *khaṇḍa* and they occur in *adhyāya*s 27–28.

5 Interestingly, in the Old Javanese Uttarakāṇḍa 47–48 (composed around 1000 AD) Bharata advises Rāma against performing a *rājasūya* as it may cause the death of all *kṣatriya*s (possibly an allusion to the Mahābhārata war) and Lakṣmaṇa agrees with him and suggests an *aśvamedha* instead. If the Old Javanese text has borrowed from the Padma Purāṇa, as seems probable, that places this Padma Purāṇa passage well before 1000 AD. I thank Mary Brockington for drawing this and several other items to my attention.

hābhārata 9.38.5, 9–11, from which it is no doubt borrowed (Mary BROCKINGTON 2006: 218).

There are a number of incidental references in the *vulgate* Skanda Purāṇa (as well as slightly fuller accounts to be treated later). It alludes to the Vedavatī story (1.8.105–110 and 2.5.18–30); Rāvaṇa, when killed by Viṣṇu, attained *sārūpya* with Śiva (1.8.113). There is a discussion of Rāma's sin of *brahmahatyā* in killing Rāvaṇa (3.1.47) and of his installing the Rāmeśvara *liṅga* in order to remove the sin (3.1.47.40–41). Hanumān is regarded as an *avatāra* of Śiva (*rudrāṃśa* 3.84.6b and 5.2.79.6d) within brief references to Rāma killing Rāvaṇa. It includes a novel episode of Daśaratha challenging Śani, whose imminent passage through Rohiṇī threatens a twelve-year drought, and being promised that it will never happen (6.96),[6] to which is prefixed a reference to Viṣṇu becoming fourfold in his household in order to destroy Rāvaṇa (6.96.3). Within its genealogy of the *rākṣasa*s at 7.20 (which closely follows that at Vāyu Purāna 2.9), it refers to Rāvaṇa's defeat by Rāma (7.20.31).

The Kālikā Purāṇa has the story of Earth giving Sītā to Janaka when he is preparing to perform a sacrifice to procure offspring in imitation of Daśaratha's (38.1–18) and expatiates, in the context of the Durgāmahotsava, on the link between Navarātri and Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa (62.24–34), stating that there will be a Rāma and a Rāvaṇa in each successive *yuga* (62.39–41). In the Ekāmra Purāṇa we see the extent to which a Śaiva *sthalapurāṇa* harnesses the prestige of the Rāma story to its purpose: it has a brief résumé of the Rāmāyaṇa (50.1–7), followed by Rāma going to Ekāmrakakṣetra and paying homage there (16–24), then to Bindusaras (25–27), and so on; the next *adhy.* 51 has other visits to *tīrtha*s by Rāma and his brothers, leading up to a fight between the *asura* Kamaṭhāṅga and Śatrughna at Pāriplava in *adhy.* 52, followed by the establishment of the Rāmeśvara *liṅga* in *adhy.* 53.

Accounts that are still relatively brief or less connected – usually contained within one *adhyāya* but sometimes extending to two or three – are found in a considerably larger number of Purāṇas, many of which have other allusions to parts of the Rāma story elsewhere. These are the Viṣṇudharmottara, Nāradīya, Varāha, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Skanda,

6 A more developed version of Daśaratha's challenge to Śanaiścara is found in Mādhavadeva's Assamese version of the Rāmāyaṇa and is most probably derived from this Skanda Purāṇa episode.

Garuḍa, Kūrma, Ś iva, Saura, Devībhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma, Mudgala and Kalki Purāṇas, as well as the Gautamīmāhātmya included within the Brahma Purāṇa.

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, besides giving extensive passages on the *rākṣasas* and Rāvaṇa (1.198–200), Bharata's battle against the Gandharvas (1.201–211) and the like, includes the story of Vedavatī (1.221.17–46) within further treatment of the *rākṣasa*s. It also includes a reference to the meeting of the two Rāmas (1.66.10–14ab cf. Rām. 1.73–76), as well as narrating the duel itself; its account is altogether more advanced theologically than that of the Bālakāṇḍa.

The Nāradīya Purāṇa, as part of a narration by Rāma of Hanumān's story, includes the story of Vibhīṣaṇa's rescue by Rāma (1.79), found also in the Padma Purāṇa, as well as giving more precise timings than often, for example in Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa staying for a month with Viśvāmitra after his sacrifice, and in Sītā having been carried off in the thirteenth year of exile. Viṣṇu in *caturvyūha* form incarnates as Rāma and his three brothers (1.79.7; more fully at 2.75.3–5, see below), while Hanumān himself is said to be a Śaiva devotee reborn, which contributes to the substantial Śaiva element already present in Rāma's discourse on the worship of the crystal *liṅga* at Tryambaka.

The second part of the Uttarabhāga of the Nāradīya Purāṇa (2.38–82) enumerates various *tīrtha*s, giving *māhātmya*s and legends, among which 2.75 is on Lakṣmaṇācala. At its start this *adhyāya* correlates the four brothers with the four aspects (*caturvyūha*) of the deity in the Pañcarātra system, making Rāma an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, Lakṣmaṇa of Saṃkarṣaṇa, Bharata of Pradyumna and Śatrughna of Aniruddha (2.75.3–5). This is followed by a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa (2.75.7–49). After the return to Ayodhyā Rāma invited Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa and others to Ayodhyā but Vibhīṣaṇa failed to arrive. Ś ambhu (Śiva) in the form of a brāhman took Rāma to Drāviḍadeśa and released Vibhīṣaṇa who was imprisoned there (1.79.26–30). The mountain where Lakṣmaṇa performed *tapas* after leaving Rāma and before reaching Vaikuṇṭha became famous as Lakṣmaṇācala (2.75.50–76).

The Varāha Purāṇa has no Rāma narrative as such but shows evidence of knowing the Uttarakāṇḍa in its Kapilavarāhamāhātmya. Here Rāvaṇa defeats Indra, enters his house, sees the Kapilavarāha image and takes it back to Laṅkā (161.30–41). Rāma defeats Rāvana, asks Vibhīṣaṇa for the image and takes it back with him to Ayodhyā (163.43–48).

Subsequently Śatrughna is given it for ridding Mathurā of Lavaṇa and establishes it there (54–60).

The first of the passages in the Brahma Purāṇa has a similar context. It forms in effect an appendage to a narrative of Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa, told in the context of an image of Vāsudeva worshipped by Indra and captured by Rāvaṇa (176.15–34), and consists of an extremely brief summary of the Rāmāyaṇa (176.37–51). As noted above, the Brahma Purāṇa also includes a narration of the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu (*adhy*. 213), closely related to that in the Harivaṃśa (Hv 31): the passage on Rāma (213.124–158) is the second longest, after that on Narasiṃha (213.43–105).

The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa narrates at some length the story of Vedavatī (2.14.1–64), though with occasional variations from the Uttarakāṇḍa account (Rām. 7.17): her father Kuśadhvaja is a king rather than a sage and she is said to be Lakṣmī rather than Vāc. Immediately before the incident of the golden deer a *brāhman*, who is in fact Agni, tells Rāma secretly that he will remove the real Sītā for safekeeping and restoration after the battle, leaving meanwhile a duplicate (*chāyā*) Sītā behind; this develops further this motif first found in the Kūrma Purāṇa, where the exchange immediately follows Rāvaṇa's seizure of Sītā. Mārīca, when killed by Rāma, goes to Vaikuṇṭha, resuming his true form as Jaya, one of its two gate-keepers (2.14.40–41). Elsewhere it narrates the story of Indra's adultery with Ahalyā (4.47.19–43), ending with her purification by Rāma (*śrīrāmacaraṇasparśāt sadyaḥ śuddhā babhūva ha* 43cd). The Ahalyā story is told again as one of the blows to Indra's pride at 4.61, which prompts Nārada to ask about the *rāmāvatāra* to which Nārāyaṇa responds with a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa at 4.62, called Śrīrāmacarita in its colophon. This brief narration of the Rāma story lays particular stress on Śūrpaṇakhā's lust (4.62.29–54); it also incidentally mentions Hanumān as a partial incarnation of Śiva (*rudrakalodbhavaḥ* 4.62.63b), as in several other Purāṇas.

There are a strikingly large number of these briefer or partial narratives in the vulgate Skanda Purāṇa, even allowing for its great length. It stresses *liṅga*-worship by the *rākṣasa*s as the means by which they gained their powers, going on to describe the gods' appeal to Viṣṇu and his incarnation as Rāma (1.1.8); here an aspect of Śiva himself appears as Hanumān (1.1.8.100), whose celibacy is for the first time stressed. In the next *khaṇḍa*, the Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa, a couple of *adhyāya*s provide a

novel background to the whole story: Dharmadatta, a brāhman devotee of Viṣṇu, releases a *rākṣasī* named Kalahā from that state by giving her half his merit from performing the *kārttikavrata* (the main subject of the passage) and Viṣṇu's doorkeepers predict that in due course they will be reborn as Daśaratha and his third wife and that Viṣṇu will be born as his son (2.4.24–25).

Subsequently, the Skanda Purāṇa deals with the causeway – 3.1.1–52 is called *setumāhātmya* in colophons, with the background to the building of the causeway given in *adhyāya* 2 – and with the Rameśvaram *liṅga,* which Rāma installs in order to remove his sin of *brahmahatyā* in killing Rāvaṇa (3.1.1–2 and 43–47); this account reveals close verbal coincidences with the Rāmopākhyāna, which is evidently its main source, although the discourse that Rāma gives to Hanumān in connection with the establishment of the *liṅga* follows closely Rāma's discourse to Bharata in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām. 2.98). Its next section, the Dharmāraṇya, again returns to the Rāma theme at 3.2.30–36, which have Rāma among their interlocutors, although only 2.30 is on the Rāma story; this time it bases its narrative with its many chronological details on the Padma Purāṇa account (Pātālakhaṇḍa 36) and provides dating for all the major events of the Rāma story, from his marriage at 15 (when Sītā was 6) to his *abhiṣeka* on the 7th of the bright half of Caitra when he was 42. At 5.1.31.11–49 Rāma establishes a *liṅga* called after himself at Ujjain on his way from Citrakūṭa and performs a *śrāddha* for Daśaratha, in which context occur the incidents of Sītā vanishing from shame and of Lakṣmaṇa's rebellion found in the Padma Purāṇa (1.33.89–148, cf. above), from which the incidents were presumably drawn. The establishment of other *liṅga*s is ascribed to various figures from the Rāma story elsewhere in this *khaṇḍa* and in the following Nāgarakhaṇḍa (see RAGHAVAN 1973: 43 and 88). At 6.99–104, following its narration about Daśaratha in 6.96–98 (cf. above), it expands on the final period of Rāma's life (including the activities of Kuśa and Lava) and has Rāma decide to visit Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā after Lakṣmaṇa's entry into the Sarayū and before his own, during which he establishes a triad of *liṅga*s at Rāmeśvaram and destroys the *setu* at Vibhīṣaṇa's request.

However, in some ways the most interesting feature is that the Skanda Purāṇa has no less than four accounts of the legend of Vālmīki as the repentant robber or bandit, each giving him a different name (cf. LESLIE 2003: 138–146). In the Vāiśākhamāsamāhātmya of the Vaiṣṇava-

khaṇḍa the story is in fact moved back one life: a long dialogue between a sage Śaṅkha and an unnamed hunter who has robbed him ends with Śaṅkha giving the hunter the *rāma* mantra and promising him rebirth in the family of Kr̥ṇu, a sage who was covered by a termite mound during his *tapas,* and so is called Valmīka, but nevertheless fathers Vālmīki, when his seminal discharge is seized by a female dancer (2.7.21.53–68). In the Āvantyakhaṇḍa a *brāhman* named Agniśarman falls in with Ābhīras and turns brigand but repents of his sins when he meets the seven sages and becomes Vālmīki (5.1.24). A *brāhman* Lohajaṅgha takes to theft in order to feed his parents and wife after a twelve-year famine but repents of his sins when he meets the seven sages and becomes Vālmīki, author of the Rāmāyaṇa, at Nāgarakhaṇḍa 124. In the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa (7.1.278) a brigand Vaiśākha, son of a *brāhman* Śamīmukha, meets the seven sages, who predict that he will compose the Rāmāyaṇa and gain *mokṣa* (*kr̥tvā rāmāyaṇaṃ kāvyaṃ tato mokṣaṃ gamiṣyasi* 7.1.278.58cd). The variation of name is puzzling, given the strong similarity of the last three narratives, but it seems clear that the common purpose of all four accounts is to stress the power of the name of Rāma for salvation, an obviously *bhakti* attitude that reflects the late date of all four passages, composed well after the 9th century and probably after the 12th (LESLIE 2003: 138–140).

In the Garuḍa Purāṇa Brahmā introduces his narrative (1.143) specifically as the sin-destroying Rāmāyaṇa (*rāmāyaṇam ato vakṣye śrutaṃ pāpavināśanam* 1.143.1ab) and summarises it in 51 *śloka*s, before narrating Kr̥ṣṇa's life in a mere 11 *śloka*s (1.144) and continuing with a summary of the Mahābhārata (1.145). The Saura Purāṇa begins its narrative with the *rākṣasa* genealogy (30.1–20), followed by a passage on the sages and gods which leads into the Ikṣvāku genealogy (30.30–72), within which the events of the Rāmāyaṇa are narrated from the birth of the four brothers (30.49) to that of Kuśa and Lava (30.69); its radical abbreviation includes Daśaratha anointing Bharata as he sends Rāma into exile (30.56), Rāvaṇa simply abducting Sītā without any mention of the golden deer (30.57), and in a single verse Rāma releasing Sītā from the *aśokavana* and establishing Mahādeva in the middle of the causeway (30.64), the latter amplified in the following verse with the name Rāmeśvara and the statement that Rāma was a devotee of Śiva (and his *aśvamedha* an act of propitiation to Śiva).

The Kūrma Purāṇa extends its listing of Rāma and his brothers in the Sūryavaṃśa genealogy with a summary of the story (1.20.17–56), which includes the establishment of a *liṅga* by Rāma in the middle of the causeway and Śiva then blessing Rāma. Subsequently it illustrates *pātivratya* by showing how Rāvaṇa was destroyed because of Sītā's chastity through a summary of events from the abduction, at which point Sītā invokes Agni who in response creates a counterfeit of her for Rāvaṇa to carry off and takes the real Sītā to heaven with him; then in the fire-ordeal following the conquest of Laṅkā, Agni consumes the *māyā* Sītā and restores the real one to Rāma (2.34.112–141).[7] Dumont, who translates the Kūrma Purāṇa passage about the illusory Sītā, suggests that the idea was invented by the author of the Purāṇa because

> In his opinion, it was inadmissible that Sītā had actually sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, for Sītā is an incarnation of the great goddess Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, as Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu (DUMONT 1950: 238).

The Śiva Purāṇa even more clearly adapts the story to its theological interests, since it frames its main account of it by a meeting of Śiva and Satī with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as they sorrowfully search for Sītā, with Satī at first rather dubious about Rāma's position, which provides the opportunity for Rāma to explain the spheres of responsibility of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the *avatāra*s which he becomes (2.2.24–25). It is interesting to note that, whereas Śiva declares that Lakṣmaṇa is a partial *avatāra* of Śeṣa and Rāma a full *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (2.2.24.39), Rāma himself declares that he and his brothers are a fourfold incarnation of Viṣṇu (2.2.25.33).

The Śiva Purāṇa also devotes one *adhyāya* in its Śatarudrasaṃhitā to praise of Hanumān and his exploits; it includes Hanumān as a manifestation of Śiva, with his exploits as part of Śiva's *līlā*s (*ataḥ paraṃ śṛṇu prītyā hanumaccaritaṃ mune*, *yathā cakārāśu haro līlās tadrupato varāḥ* 3.20.1). Śiva's semen, shed when he sees Viṣṇu as Mohinī, is transferred by the seven sages to Gautama's daughter Añjanī through her ear and she gives birth to Hanumān (3.20.3–7). There is also a brief allusion to his killing of Mahīrāvaṇa and freeing of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (3.20.34;

7 Its innovation here of an illusory Sītā is then taken up by the Adhyātma, Adbhuta and Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇas and by Tulsīdās in his Rāmcaritmānas.

cf. KAPP 1988).[8] In its Koṭirudrasaṃhitā, in an *adhyāya* on the Vaidyanātheśvara *liṅga* (4.28), it is narrated how Rāvaṇa propitiates Śiva with *bhakti*, then with *tapas*, and cuts off nine of his heads, but then Śiva restores them and grants him unequalled strength; however, he misuses this, as a result of Nārada's wiles, to lift Kailāsa, prompting Śiva to declare that a destroyer of his arrogance will soon appear (4.28.72). Three *adhyāya*s later the origin of the Rāmeśvara *liṅga* is narrated through a brief summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, much of which is devoted to emphasising Rāma, the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, as a devotee of Śiva (4.31.1–41). Certainly these bear out Hospital's comment that

> The treatment of Rāvaṇa in the *Śiva* seems to be an attempt to answer the question why Śiva allowed his devotee to be defeated by Rāma (HOSPITAL 1985: 359).

In the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa we see the first stages by which the cult of Rāma was brought into connection with the worship of Devī, since it integrates the Rāmāyaṇa story with the worship of Devī during Śārada Navarātri. In response to Janamejaya's question about how Rāma observed the *devīvrata* and regained his kingdom and wife, Vyāsa briefly tells the story of Rāma (3.28–30). Rāma is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmaṇa of Śe ṣa (3.30.55–56), Sītā of Lakṣmī (3.28.13 and 30.13) and the *vānara*s as partial incarnations of the other gods. Rāvaṇa, as he abducts Sītā, tells her that he had stayed away from her *svayaṃvara* out of respect for his *guru* Śiva (whose bow is to be strung) but has been thinking of her ever since (3.28.67–68). It contains the story of Vedavatī (3.30.6–12) and Indra's mission to Sītā in captivity (3.30.16–17, cf. Rām. 3 App. 12). It narrates the story of Vedavatī again at 9.16.3–53; however, it should be noted that the wording of 9.16.1–63 corresponds almost *verbatim* with Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa 2.14.1–64 (discussed above). Another Śākta Purāṇa, the Kalki Purāṇa, has an unusual variant on Sītā's final disappearance, with Rāma demanding at this point that Sītā should again enter fire and Sītā responding by entering the earth, but this is the only noteworthy point in its treatment of the Rāma story (17.22–57).

8 The story of Mahīrāvaṇa proved popular in several later versions both inside and outside India but his relationship to Rāvaṇa varies: his teacher in Prakāśa Rāma's Kāśmīri version of the Rāmāyaṇa, his son in the Malay Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma, his father's cousin in the Thai Rāmakien.

The Gautamīmāhātmya has several allusions to the Rāma story, of which the longest (*adhyāya* 123) is interesting for the way that it re-orders events to follow exactly their chronological order. It begins therefore with Daśaratha's assistance to the gods in their battle with the Asuras and the granting of the boon to Kaikeyī (2–33ab) and continues with the episode of Daśaratha's unwitting slaying of the ascetic youth (33cd–73). Its only major innovation is that Daśaratha after death is tortured in different hells (121–139), from which he is rescued by Rāma's arrival at the Godāvarī (the purpose of the narrative is the enhancement of the greatness of the Rāmatīrtha on the Godāvarī). Briefer passages narrate single episodes which either give the background to one of the characters – the birth of Hanumān (84.2–17), the hostility between Kubera and Rāvaṇa (97.1–17) and the story of Saṃpāti and Jaṭāyu (166) – or add to the end of the story – the repudiation of Sītā (154.2–30) and the establishment of *liṅga*s by Rāma on his way back to Ayodhyā (157.2–28).[9]

Relatively extended narratives over several *adhyāya*s are found in the Padma, Agni, Narasiṃha, Bhāgavata, Mahābhāgavata and Bṛhaddharma Purāṇas, as well as in the second part of manuscripts of the unpublished Āgneya or Vahni Purāṇa.

The Padma Purāṇa contains three extensive narratives, as well as the briefer allusions already noted. Its Pātālakhaṇḍa opens with a long account of Rāma's *aśvamedha* (5.1–68), named Rāmāśvamedhacarita (studied in KOSKIKALLIO 1999), which begins with an explicit reference to the fact that there are many forms of the Rāma story; although much of the material is based on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, there are a number of divergences and evidence of dependence also on Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. The narrative tells the last part of the story against the background of the first *aśvamedha* sacrifice that Rāma conducts years after he abandons the pregnant Sītā, beginning with Rāma's return from Laṅkā after killing Rāvaṇa. The story is not narrated in strict chronological order: for instance, the abandoning of Sītā, an incident that takes place in the earlier part of the story, is narrated towards the end. It also for the first time contains the idea that Rāma has incurred guilt for the killing of Rā-

9 See Brahma Purāṇa 1987–1989: 2.xxxii. I am also indebted to Renate Söhnen-Thieme's paper presented at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference, Edinburgh, July 2006, "Rāmāyaṇa stories in the Brahmapurāṇa and other Purāṇic sources," for more general arguments as well as detail on the Brahma Purāṇa.

vaṇa, who is a brāhman on his father's side, which is why Agastya advises him to perform the *aśvamedha*. A whole series of episodes is then narrated concerning the wanderings of the sacrificial horse, leading up to its arrival at Vālmīki's hermitage. Here Śatrughna and the other guardians of the sacrifical horse manage to capture Lava, who is trying to steal it but in their turn they are defeated by Kuśa and taken prisoner; Sītā then brings about their liberation and that of the sacrificial horse.[10] In Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita Lakṣmaṇa's son Candraketu fights with Lava for possession of the sacrificial horse but there is no trace of such an encounter in the Uttarakāṇḍa, where Kuśa and Lava accompany Vālmīki as singers to the actual sacrifice; however in the Mahābhārata, Arjuna, as guardian of Yudhiṣṭhira's sacrificial horse, does battle among others with his nephew Meghasandhi (MBh 14.83) – a parallel situation.[11] The narrative next includes, in effect as flashbacks, the story of Rāma's abandonment of Sītā and then the whole story of her life from her finding by Janaka. On the return of the party to Ayodhyā, Rāma sends for his sons who come and sing the Rāmāyaṇa before him. Then follows the story of the origin of the epic from the beginning of the Bālakāṇḍa. Thus, the narrative here is drawn principally from the Bāla- and Uttarakāṇḍa events. However, the narrative of Brahmā asking the Gandharvī Dundubhī to be born as Mantharā (4.15) is derived from the Rāmopākhyāna (MBh 3.260.9–15) and has no basis at all in the Rāmāyaṇa.[12]

10 This episode is developed even further by Prakāśa Rāma in his Kāśmīri version, with the twins killing all who oppose them, including Rāma himself, before everyone is revived and returns to Ayodhyā. Gobind Singh also includes the episode in his Rāmāvatāra.

11 The capture of Lava and presumably therefore conflict over the horse occurred in one of the lost Rāma plays, the Chalitarāma (no later than 10th century). The clash between the guardians of the sacrificial horse and Rāma's sons is further elaborated in the Jaiminīya Aśvamedha into an encounter between Śatrughna, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata with their armies and Kuśa and Lava (25–36); the passage is obviously late and highly developed theologically, laying stress on the recitation of Rāma's name (27.60).

12 It is however alluded to by, for example, the Tilaka commentary which declares that Mantharā was sent by the gods (on 2.7.1). The same commentary (on 3.70.13) actually quotes the Padma Purāṇa innovation of Śabarī tasting the fruit she offers Rāma. Similarly, Mantharā is sent by the gods in Eẓuttaccan's Attiyātuma Rāmāyaṇam and is incited by Brahmā in Gobind Singh's Rāmāvatāra.

The last part of the Pātālakhaṇḍa (5.104–117) reverts to the Rāma story but primarily as a peg on which to hang its teaching and so the frame narrative is only tangentially related to the Rāmāyaṇa (for more detail see RAGHAVAN 1973: 51–54). However, towards the end of this prose passage much of the story is briefly narrated, though with considerable variation. For example, Daśaratha performs the *ekādaśīvrata* and other rituals to secure a son, Viṣṇu appears and Daśaratha asks for four virtuous sons but one each is born to his four wives: Rāma is born to Kausalyā, Lakṣmaṇa to Sumitrā, Bharata to Surūpā (subsequently identified as *kaikayadeśādhipatitanayā* though wrongly named as Suveṣā at 141) and Śatrughna to Suveṣā (5.116.36–43).[13] Rāma is unable to kill Rāvaṇa until Vibhīṣaṇa indicates the spot to hit (*atha rāvaṇaṃ mahābalaṃ hantum aśakto rāmo vibhīṣaṇamukham ālokya taduktacihnapadaṃ bāṇena nirbhidyāmārayat*, 5.116.286) – a rather minimalist allusion to the motif much developed in some other versions (e.g. Tulsīdās and Rāmāyaṇa adaptations in Tibetan, Khotanese, Thai and Malay) of the vital spot, which is sometimes external to his body, the "external soul" motif. Kumbhakarṇa is then killed (5.116.287–288). The way in which the whole passage subordinates Rāma to Śiva and his worship may reflect Liṅgāyat views, while the use throughout of the name Rāmacandra is an index of its lateness, as it is similarly for the brief reference in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (3.4.22.65–67) to Rāma killing Rāvaṇa and bringing back to life some minor *vānara*s (cf. John BROCKINGTON 1997).

The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa narrates Rāma's story in three *adhyāya*s (6.242–244, entitled *Rāmacarita*) which form part of a longer section on the *avatāra*s and tell the story of his birth, birth rites, naming ceremony, etc. (including briefly the birth of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna as well as of Sītā, Rāma's guarding Viśvāmitra's sacrifice, the weddings of the four brothers, Rāma's exile to the forest and life there, Sītā's abduction and Rāma's subsequent battle with Rāvaṇa, his return to Ayodhyā, the installation and his eventual departure from the world). The narration here is broadly the same as in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, although, like the Rāmopākhyāna, it places the narrative of Rāva-

13 Daśaratha also has four wives, with Śatrughna born to the fourth and so half-brother to Lakṣmaṇa in a Chinese Buddhist adaptation of the Rāma story; however, this is a fairly natural simplification of the brothers' parentage.

ṇa's past at the beginning of its treatment and it calls Sumitrā the Magadha king's daughter (6.242.37) as in the Raghuvaṃśa. Rāma's story here ends with Sītā entering the earth and later Rāma and his brothers walking into the Sarayū accompanied by the citizens of Ayodhyā, the *vānara*s, the *ṛkṣa*s and so on, to end their life on earth, as in the Uttarakāṇḍa. However, it reveals a greatly developed theology for, while Rāma himself is the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Bharata is the manifestation of his conch, Lakṣmaṇa of Ananta and Śatrughna of the discus Sudarśana; also, Kausalyā is said to have seen all deities and the universe within Rāma's form before he resumes his childhood, a clear borrowing from the Kṛṣṇa legend.

The encyclopaedic Agni Purāṇa, which is therefore in its present form relatively late, begins with an account of the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu, devoting most space to Rāma and summarising the Rāmāyaṇa in seven chapters (5–11), each book being summarised in one chapter. The text indicates its close dependence on the Rāmāyaṇa by introducing its narration as being in the way in which Nārada formerly related it to Vālmīki (*rāmāyaṇam ahaṃ vakṣye nāradenoditaṃ purā*, *vālmīkaye yathā tadvat paṭhitaṃ bhuktimuktidam* Agni P. 5.1, cf. Rām. 1.1.1–2.2). The first chapter follows the Bālakāṇḍa quite closely, first of all tracing Daśaratha's descent from Nārāyaṇa through Brahmā, Marīci, Vivasvat and Manu, leading to Nārāyaṇa's decision to incarnate as Daśaratha's four sons to punish Rāvaṇa, although it lacks the episode of Ahalyā in its account of the events of Rāma's youth. In its summary of the Ayodhyākāṇḍā (the longest *adhyāya*), Mantharā's hatred is explained by Rāma having dragged her by the feet (6.8), and the story of the crow which molests Sītā is included here (6.36–37) instead of in the Sundarakāṇḍa. The visit to Atri's *āśrama* and Sītā's conversation with Anasūyā from the end of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa form the start of the next chapter in the Agni Purāṇa as in the Northern recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, which, from this and other indications, the Agni Purāṇa appears to follow. Divergences include Indrajit's success in binding Hanumān being due to the *nāgapāśa* not the *brahmāstra* (9.18, followed by the Kāśmīri version of the Rāmāyaṇa by Prakāśa Rāma) and the account of Viśravas' wives (11.1–3), but there are no really major discrepancies.[14]

14 The Agni Purāṇa also includes a sizable section on *rājanīti* (238–242) which is said to be what Rāma taught Lakṣmaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa and especially on the battle-

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, though concentrating on Kṛṣṇa, includes a fairly full treatment of the Rāma story (9.10–11; the second *adhyāya* is devoted to the Uttarakāṇḍa narrative) in its account of the kings of the Sūryavaṃśa. Its author states that the *rāmacarita* has been sung by many *ṛṣi*s (9.10.2), but seems nevertheless to follow basically the original Rāmāyaṇa. It does, however, merge the *svayaṃvara* and the *dhanurbhaṅga* (9.10.6),[15] Mārīca decoys Rāma but there is no mention of his becoming a golden deer, of Sītā wanting it or of Lakṣmaṇa's actions; it also drastically abbreviates the battle scenes (9.10.16–23). The most major divergence, obviously theologically motivated, is that after the fall of Laṅkā Rāma finds Sītā in the *aśoka* grove, takes pity on her and, lifting her into the *vimāna*, goes straight back to Ayodhyā (9.10.30–33); such a story-line obviously accords better with the *bhakti* outlook of the author and the attendant emphasis on the compassion and grace of the deity. However, the account of Sītā's banishment and final disappearance are retained, although Sītā reaches Vālmīki's hermitage on her own, not taken by Lakṣmaṇa (9.11.8–10), and she descends to Pātāla while there (so there is nothing about Kuśa and Lava as singers).

The Narasiṃha Purāṇa again includes its extensive Rāmāyaṇa narrative within its account of the *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu in the form of Mārkaṇḍeya telling the Rāma story (47–52, the six *adhyāya*s corresponding to the first six *kāṇḍa*s of the Rāmāyaṇa). Its extreme lateness is corroborated by its eclectic use of epic, purāṇic and literary sources: it quotes more or less verbatim from the Rāmāyaṇa itself (5.1.1, 7 at 51.1–2, 6.105.27 at 52.113), from Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa (11.17 at 47.82, 12.34 at 49.40) and, at 52.21–32, from a 13th-century Rāma play, the Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa (RAGHAVAN 1972: 239–240 and 1973: 60–63). When Rāma rejects Śūrpaṇakhā, she asks for a letter to Lakṣmaṇa telling him to marry her but the letter Rāma gives her tells him to cut off her nose

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field. In an analogous passage in the Mahābhārata (13.74.11–15) Bhīṣma ascribes certain teaching at several removes to Rāma's instruction of Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma himself having heard it from Daśaratha to whom it came from Pitāmaha through Indra. These are perhaps separate attempts to endow Rāma with the teaching role of the even better known *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa.

15 SATYAVRAT (2005–2006: 227) notes that this "accords well with the way the royal *svayaṁvara* has been detailed in some of the later texts and vernacular Rāmāyaṇas, to some of which the BP is doubtless indebted for the version," citing specifically Prasannarāghava (ed. R.S. TRIPATHI, Delhi, 1970) 3.40–49.

and ears (49.41–47). It remodels the abduction: Rāvaṇa tells Sīta that Bharata has arrived from Ayodhyā and is talking with Rāma over where the golden deer has been caught and that they and Lakṣmaṇa will go to Ayodhyā in the chariot he has brought, thus inducing Sītā to get into it (49.81cd–87).[16] It is also acquainted with the Ādityahr̥daya (Rām. 6 App. 65), both in this context (52.96–97) and elsewhere (20.1–6). But its lateness is even more clearly seen in its stress on the efficacy of reciting Rāma's name and on Rāma being Parabrahman (47.143–145), as similarly when the Bhārgava Upapurāṇa adapts the story to its message by very briefly giving spiritual identities to the characters (Rāma as *paramātman,* Sītā as *jīva* and so on, 3.15–22).

The Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa places its Rāmāyaṇa narrative firmly within the context of Śārada Navarātri – as is only natural in the light of its orientation towards worship of Devī – and devotes *adhy.* 36–48 to it. At the beginning Viṣṇu and the other gods seek the co-operation of Śiva and Pārvatī, since Rāvaṇa is a devotee of Śiva and Devī protects Laṅkā. When Viṣṇu is incarnated as Rāma and Kamalā (= Lakṣmī, regarded as part of Pārvatī) as Sītā, Śiva is born as Hanumān (36–37). To emphasise Rāvaṇa's crime in abducting Sītā, the goddess reminds Brahmā that Śiva cut off his fifth head because of his lust for his daughter Sandhyā and the parallel is drawn with Rāvaṇa, since Sītā is Mandodarī's daughter (42.64).[17] Hanumān, in his reconnoitring of Laṅkā, discovers a shrine to Caṇḍikā and gets Devī to desert Laṅkā. Its account ends with Rāma celebrating his victory (in which he has been aided by Devī in various ways) by worshipping the goddess, followed by the triumphant return to Ayodhyā. Another feature of the Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa's account is the abrupt mention of Sītā as Mandodarī's daughter (42.64).

The Br̥haddharma Purāṇa reproduces almost verbatim the Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa narrative, setting it similarly in the context of Śārada

16 This is perhaps a development of the suggestion of *rākṣasa*s impersonating Bharata and his troops found in a passage of the fourth stage (6.131*), transposed from the start of the battle to the seizure of Sītā.

17 Several later versions develop this even more exotically. Sītā is also Mandodarī's daughter abandoned in the river in Prakāśa Rāma's Kāśmīri version, the daughter of Rāvaṇa's wife in the Tibetan version, born to a replica Mandodarī (now Rāvaṇa's wife but impregnated by Daśaratha on her wedding night) in the Malay Ḥikāyat Serī Rāma, and born to Mandodarī by the agency of rice taken from Daśaratha's *yajña* in the Thai Rāmakien.

Navarātri and giving its mythological framework the appropriate slant. The background to its narration is that Rāvaṇa is a devotee of Pārvatī as well as Śiva but, when Rāvaṇa begins terrifying the three worlds, Pārvatī declares (18.31–32) that she will abandon Laṅkā and that Rāvaṇa will abduct “your human wife, the beloved goddess, a manifestation of me.” Among the few points of interest are that Virādha is described as the son of Danu (19.36) and Indra brings Sītā divine food at Brahmā’s request (19.55). The Purāṇa also has another passage which narrates Sarasvatī’s manifestation through Vālmīki and his utterance of the first *śloka* (25.52–87) before summarising the main incidents of the story (*adhy.* 26). Thereafter, at the start of *adhy.* 27, Vālmīki suggests Vyāsa should compose the Mahābhārata, saying that he has said all that he wishes to in the Rāmāyaṇa. The separate components here (the commissioning of Vālmīki, the Rāmāyaṇa summary, Vyāsa to compose the Mahābhārata) would belong better with the briefer accounts just noted, if they were not linked into this sequence on the composition of the epics and Purāṇas, especially since it ends with Vālmīki’s declaration: *teṣu teṣu purāṇeṣu mahābhārata eva ca*, *yatra rāmacaritaṃ syāt tad ahaṃ tatra śaktimān* (30.51).

The so-called Āgneya or Vahni Purāṇa appears to be another example, like the earlier Skanda Purāṇa now being edited by the Groningen team, of an older Purāṇa superceded by a better known namesake (in this case the encyclopaedic Agni Purāṇa). R. C. Hazra, who made the first study of it,[18] regards it as a Vaiṣṇava recasting of a Rudra-oriented work made between 300 and 500 AD, a significant component of that recasting being the inclusion of an extended summary of the Rāmāyaṇa which constitutes the second half of the text (from *adhy.* 75 in the India Office mss or 78 in the Asiatic Society ms, with a number of allusions to the Rāmāyaṇa and to Vālmīki also in the first half). On the other hand, the cataloguer records a note by H.T. Colebrooke (from whose collection it came) at the end of *adhy.* 74 in one of the two India Office manuscripts of this work: “The remainder of the *Purāṇa* seems to be an addition by

18 Hazra 1953–1954 and 1955–1956. Recently Anasuya Bhowmik (forthc.) has studied the Rāma material further and is also producing an edition of the text. The information in my text is drawn from these sources, which themselves are based on three manuscripts (none complete: two in the British Library (the former India Office Library collection) and one in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), along with the India Office catalogue (see next note).

another hand," adding himself that this second half is "apparently without any other connections with the first part than that of treating of another *avatāra* of Vishṇu."[19] This summary, called Daśagrīvarākṣasavadhacarita, is prefaced by genealogical references to the births of Rāma (*rāmo daśarathāj jāto devakāryārthasādhanāt*, *caturdhā so 'vatīrṇo 'pi harir nārāyaṇaḥ svayam* 71.43) and Sītā (72.21–22), as well as by Vasiṣṭha's declaration that he will narrate the whole story (*tasmād rāmāyaṇaṃ samyak pravakṣyāmy anupūrvaśaḥ* 74.9ab). Its early *adhyāya*s then give the background to Rāvaṇa's power, before the events from the Ayodhyā to Yuddha *kāṇḍa*s are narrated, with minimal variation from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, apart from varying fullness of treatment; for example it radically truncates the court intrigues (just three *adhyāya*s cover *sītāvivāha*, *sumantrapreṣaṇa* and *rāmanirgama*) and the abduction (again in just three *adhyāya*s there are *kharavadha*, *rāvaṇavākya* and *aśokavanikāpraveśa*), and it underplays or even omits Sītā's entering the fire (the *adhyāya*s at this point are named *rāmarāvaṇayuddha*, *rāvaṇaśiraścheda*, *vibhīṣaṇābhiṣeka*, *vimānārohaṇa* and *ayodhyārāmapraveśa*).

This survey of the occurrences of the Rāma story in the Purāṇas, which is intended as a more comprehensive listing than previous surveys, though still no doubt not fully complete, does illustrate at the very least how widely it is referred to. Indeed, I have failed to find such a reference only in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, one of the earliest and briefest of the Purāṇas. Let me now recapitulate the evidence gathered above and draw out the implications. The other early Purāṇas, the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, contain only very brief mentions of Rāma: within their Sūryavaṃśa sections at Matsya Purāṇa (12.49–51, this passage also occurring almost unchanged at Agni Purāṇa 273.32–35 and Padma Purāṇa 1.8.164–166) and Vāyu (88.183–195) ≈ Brahmāṇḍa (3.63.185 and 192–197); and within their *avatāra* lists at Matsya Purāṇa 47.245 = Vāyu Purāṇa 2.36.91 = Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 2.73.91cd–92ab (copied by Skanda Purāṇa 7.19.75cd–76ab). Similarly brief mentions in Sūryavaṃśa lists are also found at Brahma Purāṇa 8.84–87 (a passage closely related to Harivaṃśa 10.74), Garuḍa Purāṇa 138.36–38 (short as

19 EGGELING 1899: 1296 (within cat. no. 3582 on ms no. 1425, fully described on pp. 1294–1298, including a list of the *adhyāya* names as given in the colophons; the other I.O. ms is cat. no. 3583, ms no. 1011, merely listed on p. 1298; much of the actual cataloguing in this part was done by E. Haas).

it is, revealing awareness of the Uttarakāṇḍa), Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4.4.49–57 and Liṅga Purāṇa 1.66.34–38. Similarly brief mentions in *avatāra* lists are also found at Brahma Purāṇa 213.124–158 (again based on Harivaṃśa 31.110–142) and 180.32–33, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa 3.85.62, Liṅga Purāṇa 2.5.146–148, Garuḍa Purāṇa 142.10–18, Gautamīmāhātmya (Brahma Purāṇa 122.69) and Nīlamata Purāṇa 500–502. The Brahma Purāṇa is so eclectic that little inference about dating can usually be drawn from occurrence in it but in the case of the two passages noted here their obvious derivation from the Harivaṃśa means that the basic material is early. The balance of the remaining items is weighted towards the first half of the period of production of the Purāṇas.

Other brief references (comparable in length with those just listed) are spread throughout the period of Purāṇa composition. Instances noted above come from the Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāmana (Saromāhātmya), Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Saura, Kālikā and Ekāmra Purāṇas. It is worth noting that the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas do not contain any longer narratives, such as are listed in the next two categories, and that the Vāyu Purāṇa only has brief references in Sūryavaṃśa lists. In other words, the four Purāṇas generally accepted as being the earliest (Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa) contain the least reference to the Rāmāyaṇa or to Rāma, even though the Matsya Purāṇa seems well aware of the Rāmāyaṇa as a literary work. This suggests that their composers attached less importance to the religious significance of Rāma than is the case later.

Relatively brief accounts, quite often concentrating on one episode or one character, are found much more widely, in the Viṣṇudharmottara, Śiva, Kūrma, Skanda, Garuḍa, Brahma, Nāradīya, Saura, Brahmavaivarta, Devībhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma, Mudgala and Kalki Purāṇas. More extended narratives occur in the Padma, Agni, Narasiṃha, Bhāgavata, Mahābhāgavata and Bṛhaddharma Purāṇas, as well as in the second part of manuscripts of the unpublished Āgneya or Vahni Purāṇa. There are several points to be noted in relation to distribution, derivation or dating.

The story of Vedavatī from the Uttarakāṇḍa (Rām. 7.17) is quite popular, being narrated in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa (1.221.17–46) and in several other Purāṇas – Vāmana (Saromāhātmya), Brahmavaivarta, Skanda and Devībhāgavata – spanning the range of supposedly Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta oriented texts. Hanumān is frequently linked with Śiva, in Vaiṣṇava as much as in Śaiva texts: as an *avatāra* of

Śiva (Skanda Purāṇa 5.2.79 and 3.84), as a partial incarnation of Śiva (*rudrakalodbhavaḥ*, Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa 4.62.63b) or as a Śaiva devotee reborn (Nāradīya Purāṇa). The Śiva Purāṇa includes Hanumān as a manifestation of Śiva and his exploits as part of Śiva's *līlā*s (3.20.1). In the Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa, repeated at Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa 18, Śiva is born as Hanumān (36–37). Hanumān as an *avatāra* of Śiva is found also at Bhaviṣya Purāṇa 3.4.13.31–36 (cf. BULCKE 1959–1960). In addition, the various Śaiva Purāṇas do, of course, often contain brief accounts of the Rāma story subordinated to their main themes, most notably the Skanda Purāṇa.

Some of the material shows quite close dependence on the Rāmāyaṇa; for example, the Agni Purāṇa, which draws specifically on the Northern recension, even introduces its narration as being in the way in which Nārada formerly related it to Vālmīki. But, besides the two Brahma Purāṇa passages taken from the Harivaṃśa, the Mahābhārata tradition, more exactly the Rāmopākhyāna, was drawn on by the Padma Purāṇa for the episode of Brahmā asking the Gandharvī Dundubhī to be born as Mantharā (not to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa) and the Setumāhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa reveals close verbal coincidences with the Rāmopākhyāna, evidently its main source.

One Purāṇa also borrows from another. The Padma Purāṇa (1.33. 89–182) introduces two incidents which appear then in virtually the same wording in the Skanda Purāṇa (5.1.31), which also bases another passage (2.30) on the Padma Purāṇa (5.36), while its *rākṣasa* genealogy (7.20) follows the Vāyu Purāṇa (2.9). The motif of the shadow (*chāyā*) or illusory (*māyā*) Sītā is first attested in the Kūrma Purāṇa but is then taken up and developed in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (and in other texts in due course). The Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa reproduces almost *verbatim* the Rāmāyaṇa narrative of the Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa, setting it similarly in the context of Śārada Navarātri. The second Vedavatī narrative in the Devībhāgavata Purāṇa (9.16.3–53) corresponds almost *verbatim* with Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa 2.14.1–64, but it is unclear which was the direction of borrowing. There is also evidence of influence from classical Sanskrit literature (and the influence does seem always to be in that direction); for example, the Padma Purāṇa account of Rāma's *aśvamedha* (5.1–68), though mainly based on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, shows evidence of dependence also on Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, while the Narasiṃha Purāṇa quotes more or less *verbatim* from the Rāmāyaṇa itself,

from Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa and from a 13th-century Rāma play, the Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa. Conversely, as the limited, random examples cited demonstrate, episodes or details first found in Purāṇas are repeated in – and no doubt borrowed by – later vernacular Rāmāyaṇas within India and beyond.

In broad terms both the frequency and the extent of references increases over time. For example, it is interesting to contrast their frequency in the Gautamīmāhātmya with their paucity in the rest of the Brahma Purāṇa; this probably reflects a difference in the relative dating and so theological development of the two parts. Both the Rāma passages found in the Nāradīya Purāṇa come from sections that Hazra deemed "comparatively late," by which he seems to mean after 1000 AD (HAZRA 1940: 127–32 and 1958: 309–345), while all four of the Skanda Purāṇa narratives of Vālmīki as the reformed robber probably belong after the 12th century. The extended narratives in the Agni, Narasiṃha, Bhāgavata, Mahābhāgavata and Bṛhaddharma Purāṇas were probably all composed around or after the 10th century, with only those in the Padma Purāṇa and in the second part of manuscripts of the unpublished Āgneya or Vahni Purāṇa appearing to be earlier. However, one of the three Padma Purāṇa accounts is later than Bhavabhūti (as noted in the preceding paragraph) and so cannot have been written before the middle of the 8th century at the earliest, and another uses the name Rāmacandra which indicates a dating for it no earlier than the 10th century, while the Vahni Purāṇa treatment seems too full and also too theologically advanced for the dating Hazra suggests and Colebrooke's comment inclines me to place it much later. Dates of around the beginning of the 2nd millennium and later for the fuller narratives (and the *bhakti* emphasis on *rāmnām* shown in the Vālmīki legend) would fit well with the pattern of development of the Rāma cult propounded by Hans Bakker (BAKKER 1986 and 1987), with the steadily increasing frequency of less extended accounts and brief references up till then demonstrating that it was necessarily a gradual process that had begun well before.

References and Abbreviations

Abbreviations

Agni P. = Agni Purāṇa.
adhy. = adhyāya.
BrP = Brahma Purāṇa.
Hv = Harivaṃśa.
MtP = Matsya Purāṇa.
Rām. = Rāmayaṇa.

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MARY BROCKINGTON

Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, and Rāma
Fitting the Narrative Pattern

Many scholars have written perceptively and in detail on the story of Nala and Damayantī (Biardeau, van Buitenen, Hiltebeitel, Shulman, von Simson and John Smith among others) and this article is not intended to repeat their work.[1] What I want to address is the narrative's pre-history, the recipe that was used when its component elements were selected and blended together in the process known as motif transfer,[2] until those ingredients largely lost their individual identity and were together transformed into the story that has provided so many puzzles and so much delight. To use a different image: that the tale reflects the core plot of the Mahābhārata is obvious – blindingly obvious. Yet reflections are always inverted, and what is blindingly obvious may sometimes blind us to the complexities of reality. I hope to demonstrate that in composing a narrative appropriate to its Mahābhārata context and purpose, the narrator of Nala's story (MBh 3.49–78)[3] drew on a range of examples beyond the Sabhāparvan dicing, combining many motifs used by the Rāmāyaṇa poets but not found in the Mahābhārata, supplemented by material now widely disseminated and recorded in traditional tales (*Märchen*).[4]

1 BIARDEAU 1984–1985, VAN BUITENEN 1975: 182–185, HILTEBEITEL 2001: 215–239, SHULMAN 1994, VON SIMSON 2005, SMITH 1992. The substance of this article was presented in summary form at the 2008 meeting of the American Oriental Society, Chicago, and I count it a privilege to contribute it to this volume, as a mark of my esteem for Johannes Bronkhorst.

2 For an explanation of this term and an illustration of its use in medieval French literature see LACY 1996.

3 Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent text references are to the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

4 I use these terms in preference to the frequently-used alternative term 'folktale' for this genre, which is impossible to define satisfactorily and has acquired unfortunate demeaning overtones.

I intend to focus on the narrator of the Nala story. Why and how did he compose it in the way he did? What sources of inspiration were available to him? What were his hypertexts? What does his tale reveal about the state of the Mahābhārata at the time of composition and its relationship to other literature? There are of course two narrators: the overall anonymous Mahābhārata narrator, and the fictional, in-text narrator, the sage Bṛhadaśva who is portrayed as telling the story to encourage the Pāṇḍavas to endure the hardships of their present life. The subsidiary narrators of the emboxed frame stories, and the question of whether the epic had one original composer, or was composed by many tongues over a long period, are matters that need not concern us here. The requirements of two quite different audiences also need to be considered: the real, universal audience of people who have been listening to the Mahābhārata, watching it, reading it, and enjoying it over the centuries, and the audience within the narrative, Bṛhadaśva's immediate audience of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Nakula, Sahadeva and Draupadī. The supplementary audiences entailed by the Ādiparvan frame stories belong more naturally to the first category than the second.

Narrative Structure and Motifs

There is no evidence, external or internal, that the composer was retelling a story that already existed. Narratologists have not yet identified it as a discrete tale-type,[5] and traditional vernacular and later Sanskrit variants derive from the Mahābhārata prototype; one such example is a Jain adaptation in Somaprabhasūri's Kumārapālapratibodha (GRANOFF 2006: 177–223). Until any evidence of pre-existence can be produced, we must ascribe its Āraṇyakaparvan form to that composer's creativity. Nevertheless, he did not invent the material *ex nihilo*. It has been known since 1939 that he had a thorough knowledge of a version of the Vālmīki-

5 Hans-Jörg Uther has amplified the classification of tale-types undertaken by Antti Aarne and brought it up to date (UTHER 2004); for specifically Indic tales see THOMPSON & ROBERTS 1960. John Smith's comparison of the Nala story with *Aucassin et Nicolete* does not entirely convince me (SMITH 1992).

Rāmāyaṇa very close to the present Northeastern recension, for he constructed Sudeva's soliloquy on identifying the lost Damayantī out of a number of verses put together from different parts of Hanumān's identification of Sītā in the *aśoka*-grove (SUKTHANKAR 1939, supplemented by JHALA 1968). The direction of borrowing is confirmed by the fact that the Nala-composer has taken material scattered through several *sarga*s of the Rāmāyaṇa, in some cases re-arranging it, and welded it into a single passage in Sudeva's soliloquy (3.65.7–25: verses from Rm 5, *sarga*s 13, 14, 17 and 28).

Such direct copying is rare in the Nala story, but I hope to show that narrative elements, characterisation and lyrical passages were also influenced by the poet's familiarity with the Rāma story. This time rather than reproducing material verbatim he adapted it, blending it with other individual motifs (ingredients) that he had absorbed and re-created as part of his general stock-in-trade as a professional narrator, in order to create a new tale suited to its Mahābhārata context and purpose.

The composer's debt to the main plot of the Mahābhārata is obvious, but he is constrained in his choice of a tale that can be satisfactorily embedded into that plot. He must not make his tale replicate Yudhiṣṭhira's history too closely: a repeat accurate in every detail would become a mere summary of the Mahābhārata and would bore the universal audience and damage the teller's reputation and income. It would also defeat its purpose within the framework of the epic: giving Yudhiṣṭhira detailed information about how his life is to unfold would be unlikely to achieve Bṛhadaśva's purpose of lifting the king out of his misery. All references to the forthcoming battle of Kurukṣetra and its devastating aftermath must be avoided. The *phalaśruti* promising sons, grandsons and happiness (3.78.13) is doomed to be tragically unfulfilled in the case of the first hearers, Draupadī and four of the Pāṇḍavas.[6] The tale must have sufficient points of contact with Yudhiṣṭhira's situation to convince him of its relevance, but no more.

To achieve its immediate objective, Bṛhadaśva's story should show the role-model, Nala, suffering a misfortune similar to Yudhiṣṭhira's and continue with even worse misfortune than his during the forest wanderings (loss of clothes, loss of wife, lack of any companions), but it must end with a triumphant return of which the Dharmarāja can approve, and

6 Arjuna, ancestor via Subhadrā of Parikṣit and Janamejaya, is absent.

on which he can pin his hopes. So, in an antiphonal episode typical of the structure of a *Märchen* or Wonder-tale, Nala achieves victory by a return all-or-nothing dice match. The moral is not that experience has reformed him: the Nala tale in the Mahābhārata (unlike its Jain derivative) is not an anti-gambling tract. What Nala learns is not that he should not gamble, but how he may gamble and win. That this lesson should be taught by the king of Ayodhyā, with all the hints of moral authority that status conveys, must surely be significant.

A major point of contact with Yudhiṣṭhira's story is the character of the hero. Yudhiṣṭhira had been much criticised for his superficial inactivity and refusal to act against the dictates of *dharma* to protect his wife or to avenge the outrage prematurely,[7] and he may well have found his situation reflected in the man whose action in abandoning his sleeping wife, dictated in part by a clumsy concern to save her from suffering (3.59.10–13), is similarly misinterpreted.

It is of course the disastrous gambling springing from that character and leading to wandering in the forest and a spell of service under an assumed character that identifies Nala firmly with Yudhiṣṭhira, despite the differences of detail. Nala has always been fond of dicing (3.50.3), but his addiction is specifically shown to be the result of external intervention by Kali and Dvāpara; Nala himself is only indirectly and minimally responsible for his failure of self-control. The extent of Yudhiṣṭhira's responsibility for the Sabhāparvan dice-game has long been a matter for debate (VAN BUITENEN 1975: 5 and 27–30); the form of the Nala-episode shows that at least this composer thought Yudhiṣṭhira was acting under some similar inescapable external compulsion rather than from sheer gambling-fever and lack of self-control.

In fact, both heroes' misfortunes result less from their own faults than from an antagonist's envy of their early success. Duryodhana is infuriated by the display of Yudhiṣṭhira's wealth and power, but Bṛhadaśva, perhaps sensing that drawing attention to Yudhiṣṭhira's initial *hubris* would be likely to antagonise his immediate audience, ascribes the envy that injures Nala to the so-called *svayaṃvara* and its aftermath. Nala and Damayantī are already married when Kali and Dvāpara arrive,

7 See MARY BROCKINGTON 2001 and 2009; for a selection of the many critical remarks Yudhiṣṭhira has to endure see 2.60.35–36, 3.13.53–108, 3.28–37, 5.80.24–26.

their lateness unexplained, and Kali is enraged to learn that the *svayaṃvara* is over (3.55.1–13 and 56.1–3).

The basic narrative structure of the Mahābhārata as a whole is simple and much employed by storytellers in all genres: at the moment of initial success, a hero loses all he has won and regains it only after a painful educative process; the vast sprawl of the epic allows the poets to pursue and develop this *schema* in a leisurely fashion within a slack framework. The story of Nala shows the same structure, fitted into the much briefer and tighter frame-pattern of the *Märchen*, a genre typified by a binary structure involving duplication and inversion of episodes. Accordingly there are for example two *svayaṃvara*s, one at the beginning, one at the end, to bring about union and reunion of hero and heroine. In the first, Damayantī must pick out Nala from his four divine rivals who have disguised themselves by assuming his handsome form. In the second, factitious, *svayaṃvara*, it is Nala that is disguised (3.74.1–8) and she must recognise him through his disguise as an ugly dwarf. Similarly, the whole Nala story depends upon two dicing matches, the first with a negative outcome for the hero, the second a positive, separated by the sufferings and adventures of hero and heroine in the wilderness and their service in other cities. In the looser structure of the Mahābhārata the comparable second episode is the Pāṇḍavas' Pyrrhic victory at Kurukṣetra, coming as it does after their long wilderness exile and year of disguised service to Virāṭa.[8] The duplication technique is not invariably followed by the Nala-poet: Kali leaves Nala's body when Ṛtuparṇa teaches the king the secret of successful dice-play, rather than as a result of some act that would parallel and invert the act of ritual omission which had enabled the demon to enter in the first place.

The whole romantic episode of the courtship and wedding of Nala and Damayantī owes more to tradition and the composer's own creativity than to the betrothal of Draupadī or Sītā: unlike them, it does not involve any suitor test. Damayantī has already made her choice, and the

8 In this I differ from Simon Brodbeck, who sees the two consecutive sessions of dicing in the Sabhāparvan as the parallels to Nala's two dice-matches with Puṣkara. This interpretation does not take into account the negative/positive outcomes of the Nala games, and involves re-arranging Nala's and Damayantī's forest and service experiences to follow the second dicing, but does allow Brodbeck to make a stimulating comparison of the roles of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana and Śakuni with those of Karkoṭaka, Kali and Dvāpara respectively (BRODBECK 2007: 155 and n. 80).

ceremony is a genuine 'self-choice' by the bride (a *svayaṃvara*), not, like Draupadī's and Sītā's, a 'suitor-test,' where the bride is given (or rather 'sold') to the strongest claimant.[9] Indeed, it is Damayantī on whom the test is imposed, not by her father but by her divine suitors, after they have tricked Nala by means of a rash oath into pleading their cause rather than his own (3.51.26–29 and 52.1–2). In practical terms, like Sāvitrī's resolute choice of Satyavat (3.278.11 and 25–27), it absolves Bhīma from the responsibility of having chosen an unsuitable husband for his daughter.

Nala's conduct before and during this episode also owes much to the *Märchen* genre. He is not presented as an epic hero but more like the Youngest Son of a Poor Fisherman approaching the Ogre's Castle. Nala is a king, powerful and well-qualified to negotiate with Damayantī's father for her hand, instead of wandering the country with no retinue, not knowing how to gain admittance to Bhīma's castle (3.50.1–4, 17 and 52.9). Yudhiṣṭhira's own behaviour in deserting Arjuna and Bhīma after Arjuna has won the suitor test had been even less heroic (1.179.21). Nala's lack of initiative in wooing Damayantī may irritate us, but however ill-adapted his behaviour seems to its context, it enables the narrator to charm us with the romance of the *svayaṃvara*.

Into this structure the poet incorporated many motifs that are now familiar from oral narrative tradition and have no specific affinity with the Mahābhārata. Narratologists have classified them and noted their appearance in other oral literature, not only in Indic tales; how far the Nala-composer was reproducing motifs that were already traditional and how far he was creating his own tradition is however a question largely incapable of resolution. A quick trawl through the Thompson *Index* of traditional motifs and its Indic supplement (THOMPSON 1955–1958; THOMPSON & BALYS 1958) reveals the building blocks from which the tale has been put together (the narrative equivalent of the verbal formulae so well known from the work of oral epics scholars). Familiar motifs we can recognise include hero and heroine falling in love before they see each other;[10] Damayantī's identification of Nala at the *svayaṃ-*

9 1.176–79; Rm 1.65–66, 2.110.22–48. On *svayaṃvara*s in the epics in general see JOHN BROCKINGTON 2006.

10 See THOMPSON 1955–1958 and THOMPSON & BALYS 1958: motif T11.1 "love from mere description" (multiple references).

vara;[11] the revenge of the unsuccessful suitors, Kali and Dvāpara;[12] a wife's search for her vanished husband,[13] and the husband's for his wife;[14] aid from the snake Karkoṭaka whom Nala has rescued;[15] Nala recognised despite his disguise by his unique skill,[16] both at chariot driving and at cookery,[17] and eventual restoration of his handsome body when he puts on a magic garment.[18] We may also note the flight of the defeated Kali into the *vibhītaka* nuts (3.70.34–36), a classic example of an origin tale to account for the tree's evil reputation. A motif that has however not yet been recorded in the motif-indices is that of the talking geese who carry messages between the young lovers;[19] a similar but more devious role is played by a goose acting as matchmaker between Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna in a late part of the Harivaṃśa.[20]

11 A variant on motif H161 "recognition of transformed person among identical companions" (multiple references) combined with a form of the suitor- and bride-test motifs H310–388; it is not Nala who has been transformed on this occasion, but his companions, the four gods. There are obvious analogies too with H324, the reverse form of the suitor test, "Choosing princess from others identically clad," a motif which is used in a Panjabi traditional sequel to the Nala story collected by R. C. Temple; in the next generation, Princess Mārwan, promised bride of King Ḍhol, son of Nal and Damwantī, is picked out from amongst 360 identically-dressed maids by her beloved Ḍ hol's camel (TEMPLE 1884–1886 Vol II: 276–364, "The legend of Rājā Ḍhol," p. 337).

12 T75.2.1 "rejected suitors' revenge" (no Indic references noted).

13 H1385.4 "quest for vanished husband" (multiple references).

14 H1385.3 "quest for vanished wife" (multiple references).

15 B360 "animal grateful for rescue from peril of death" (multiple references).

16 H31 "recognition by unique ability" (various skills; multiple references).

17 H35.2 "recognition by unique cookery" (several references). In a traditional oral Panjabi dramatised version of the Nala tale this skill has been rationalised and transferred to Damwantī, whose cookery while in service at the court of Rājā Piṅgal leads to her being recognised by her employers. In this version, in Temple's time played annually at Jagādhrī village, Ambālā District, Nal has not deserted his wife, and is in unrecognised service at the same court, where their separation has been voluntary (TEMPLE 1884–1886 Vol. II: 204–275, "Rājā Nal," p. 267).

18 D537 "transformation by changing clothes" (no Indic references noted).

19 An example occurs in the next generation, when cranes carry a love-message from Mārwan to Ḍ hol (TEMPLE 1884–1886 Vol. II, pp. 276–364, "The legend of Rājā Ḍhol," pp. 280–283).

20 App.29F.71–190, 220–223. On the development of the Harivaṃśa to include this material see BRINKHAUS 2002.

If the influence of the *Märchen* genre in the composition of this Mahābhārata *exemplum* was strong, no less strong was the influence of the Rāmāyaṇa. In their different ways, the stories of Rāma and Nala are in origin both romances, not epics; they are personal tragedies involving only the heroes and their immediate families, not the fate of whole nations as in the Mahābhārata. The survival of Nala's heirs is not an issue, nor is the quality of Puṣkara's regime. Both explore conflicts between duty and personal feelings, where personal integrity can be maintained only at the expense of the heroes' own interest, but that very subordination leads to success. In the Mahābhārata, too, Yudhiṣṭhira struggles to maintain his integrity at the expense of asserting his rights and the Pāṇḍavas' thirst for vengeance, only to find that hard-won integrity compromised in the final battle. Rāma's insistence on submitting to Kaikeyī's sentence of exile to keep his father true to his rash promise costs him his position as *yuvarāja* as well as his comfortable lifestyle (e.g. Rm 2.16.28; 2.99.2–10);[21] Nala's similarly hasty promise that compels him to woo Damayantī on behalf of the four gods could have cost him his wife (3,51.29–52.8).

Rāma and Nala both express concern for their wives' welfare in the forest, both making half-hearted attempts to persuade them not to accompany them (3.58.19–28; Rm 2.25; 27.24–30). The heroes have always loved their wives, but it is their loss that brings out the full depths of their passion and drives the conclusion of each story. Too overcome with shame to take his wife to safety, comfort, and reunion with their children at Bhīma's court, Nala must undergo a severe struggle before reaching his compromise of deserting her in the hope that she will be better able to survive without him. But like Rāma he cannot bear the thought of her as the wife of another, and not until his passion for her overrides his determination and shame does the happy ending become possible. It is at this point, when he is on his way to the supposed *svayaṃvara* resolved to renounce his disguise and confront and reclaim Damayantī, that he is given the means to recover his kingdom and govern it. He now knows he can win. The hero of this *Erziehungsroman*

21 The rash oath, committing the swearer to carry out any request before knowing what will be required, is a staple of traditional and other early literature. Rāma makes a similarly impetuous promise to kill Vālin before enquiring into his crimes (Rm 4.8.20).

has at last grown up, freed from the power that was preventing him from achieving his true stature, status and happiness. Rāma's passion to recover Sītā from Rāvaṇa has dominated the second half of the Rāmāyaṇa, and only when it has been accomplished can he return to Ayodhyā at the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa to reclaim his kingdom and govern it in lasting peace and happiness. The fortuitous expiry of the term of Rāma's exile finds an analogue in Ṛtuparṇa's contrived knowledge of the secret of winning at dice (3.70.23–24; Rm 6.107.21).

Just how Bṛhadaśva's immediate audience, the Pāṇḍavas, may have reacted to Nala's decision to come out of hiding to reclaim his rights at the announcement of the second *svayaṃvara* can only be guessed. We can be sure, however, that the universal audience will have heaved a sentimental sigh of relief that faithful, loving, long-suffering Damayantī was at last to be reunited with her husband, and that Rāmāyaṇa audiences will have heaved a similar sigh at the death of Rāvaṇa, but the legitimate expectations of both these audiences are doomed to be temporarily dashed by that common ploy of storytellers, the postponement of the happy ending. Nala, smarting at the implications of the *svayaṃvara* announcement, accuses Damayantī of infidelity and, like Sītā in similar circumstances, she must be vindicated by divine proclamation (3.74.21–75.16; Rm 6.103.13–104.27 and 106.1–20).

That the broad lines of one story should be similar to the broad lines of another is not necessarily conclusive evidence for influence, or more particularly for the direction of that influence. Small, apparently inconsequential details can be more revealing, especially when they occur naturally in one text but are unnecessary or anomalous in the other. This is the case with Indrasena and Indrasenā, twin son and daughter of Nala and Damayantī. The children have a useful function in demonstrating their mother's responsible care for her family and their father's abdication of his responsibility (when Damayantī sees Nala gambling away his wealth and kingdom she covertly sends them to safety at her parents' court) and also play a part in the recognition of Nala when he comes out of hiding (3.73.23–25). But why has the poet made them twins? Several pairs of twins occur in the epics: there is one pair in Bṛhadaśva's immediate audience, but only Indrasena and Indrasenā, and Kuśa and Lava

the sons of Rāma, are conceived naturally;[22] likewise, both pairs are instrumental in an emotional reunion of their separated parents. Nakula and Sahadeva, Draupadī and Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, and Kuśa and Lava are all born as twins because there is only one opportunity for their conception and their creator (the narrator) has some strong reason for wanting two offspring to be produced. To the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa's Uttarakāṇḍa it is essential that Rāma should engender two sons, to fit in with his carefully constructed symmetrical pattern of succession in the next generation. He gives two sons to each of the four brothers, with a separate kingdom allotted to each, so that peace and harmony should be seen to continue to prevail after Rāma's death. But Rāma's sons were doomed to spend their childhood exiled with their mother. If born before Sītā's repudiation, they at least would have been acknowledged and kept behind in Ayodhyā; but it was obviously essential that Sītā be known to be pregnant before being given refuge in Vālmīki's hermitage. They had to be twins. Not so Nala's children. In utilising Kuśa and Lava's role and modifying it to suit his new tale, the poet has automatically retained their double birth.

A rather more obvious anomaly in the Nala narrative can also be traced to use of the Rāmāyaṇa as an exemplar. That is the period the narrator makes Damayantī spend in service at the Cedi court. He has brought her through several perilous adventures to this place of safety, but does not then have her identify herself and send a message to her father asking him to arrange transport to fetch her to his court. Such a prosaic procedure would of course be anathema to a storyteller, and he contrives this romantic delaying episode, satisfyingly parallel in structure to Nala's entirely plausible service at Ayodhyā. It is clear though that the episode the composer has at the forefront of his mind is Sītā's captivity. The plot he has chosen for the Nala story will not allow Damayantī to be abducted by a monster and rescued by her husband, but every other de-

22 Influenced no doubt by the popular belief that twins cannot have been conceived on the same occasion, or even be engendered by the same father (even Nakula and Sahādeva are fathered by two gods, the Aśvins), many retellers of the Rāmāyaṇa are reluctant to accept that Sītā has given birth to twins; in versions composed in Kashmir and Tibet, and in virtually all of the Southeast Asian adaptations, for example, she gives birth naturally only to one son, and a sage subsequently creates a magic duplicate in the mistaken belief that the first son has been lost (NAGAR 2001: 118–119; Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara IX.51; John BROCKINGTON 1985: 265, 298, 305).

tail recalls the Rāmāyaṇa story with its *vānara* search parties, and Hanumān's discovery of her, dirty and dishevelled, in Rāvaṇa's *aśoka*-grove. Damayantī's father, anxious about his daughter's disappearance, sends out brāhman search parties to enquire after her, and it is Sudeva's speech on identifying her that incorporates the verbal borrowings identified by Sukthankar already mentioned as taken *verbatim* from the Vālmīki text, emphasising the composer's great familiarity with its Northeastern recension.

Not that his reworking of his exemplar is always totally convincing; sometimes a certain carelessness is apparent, serving again to confirm the source of his inspiration. For Sītā to be "terribly dirty" (*adhikaṃ malināṃ*, Rm 5.13.25) is entirely consistent with her situation in the Rāmāyaṇa, ten months a captive in Rāvaṇa's *aśoka*-grove; for Damayantī, now a princess's personal attendant, similarly to be "terribly dirty" (3.65.8) is inconceivable. Romance overtakes realism even further when she appears before Nala in a similar state, presumably to demonstrate the hardship his actions have inflicted on her, but after she has for some time again been living happily and comfortably at her parents' court. In a further piece of romantic but negligent adaptation, Sudeva's thoughts are made to dwell on Nala, the grief he and Damayantī are both feeling at their separation and his rejoicing when he recovers wife and kingdom (3.65.17–24); yet Sudeva has not yet even spoken to Damayantī, and does not know that the couple are separated, or that either wishes to find the other, or will be in a position to return to Niṣadha. *Mutatis mutandis*, all these things are known to Hanumān about Rāma and Sītā.

Characterisation

These episodes are not the only innovative elements which may be traced to the Rāmāyaṇa; the Rāma story also helped to shape the characterisation. It is the purpose of the story that Yudhiṣṭhira should see himself in Nala, driven by forces beyond his control, his good deeds misinterpreted, but ultimately triumphant. Only Yudhiṣṭhira can see that his failure to come to the menstruating Draupadī's aid in the *sabhā* outrage, following his inability to refuse to stake her once he had himself

been enslaved, and his subsequent continued refusal to break the terms of the Pāṇḍavas' sentence of exile, are signs of strength of character and desire to protect his wife and brothers; only Nala knows that he deserted Damayantī in the forest out of love for her, convinced it was the only way of ensuring that she sought refuge with her father. But there is a good deal of Rāma too in Nala, accounting for some of the deviations from the Mahābhārata pattern. It is his passion for Damayantī that overmasters his gambling fever, brings him to his senses, and makes him leave voluntarily for the forest instead of staking her as Puṣkara has suggested, and that makes him abandon his resolve to hide his shame by remaining in disguise when he thinks she will marry again. Rāma and Sītā are wholly and exclusively devoted to each other, and loss of Sītā drives Rāma to the edge of insanity; Yudhiṣṭhira is dutiful to his part-time wife, and remorseful for his part in her sufferings, but he is not passionate.

Not only is it Nala's passion that recalls Rāma; his physical beauty and accomplishments are stressed in a way reminiscent more of Rāma than of Yudhiṣṭhira, who is praised more for his understanding of *dharma*. John Smith's characterisation of the description of Nala that opens the story as "unusually full and detailed for a pre-classical text" (3.50.1–4; SMITH 1992: 19) may well be valid for the Mahābhārata, but does not fit the Rāmāyaṇa, which provides a number of extended descriptions of its hero which could have acted as the model for the Nala poet: examples may be found at the opening of the core books, which have been dated to no later than the first century AD (Rm 2.1.15–28; 2.20–29; 3.11–12; John BROCKINGTON 1985: 329).[23]

Trusting, supportive Damayantī bears little resemblance to resentful, vengeful, Draupadī, who can never understand that her senior husband's passivity is adherence to *dharma*; she combines aspects of Sītā's character with the resourcefulness characteristic of a spirited *Märchen* heroine rather than replicating Draupadī. She plays an active role in determining the plot, saving, or trying to save him, from the consequences of his own folly: she rejects Nala's wooing on behalf of the gods and chooses him at her *svayaṃvara*, she makes efforts to curb his gambling and to mitigate its consequences for the kingdom, she safeguards the

23 Admittedly, the *encomium* in the Bālakāṇḍa frame-story (Rm 1.1.1–19) can scarcely be considered to represent a 'pre-classical text.'

children, she searches for Nala, and she organises the trick that brings about the *dénouement*, even offering to defy her father in the process. Like Sītā, she demonstrates unfailing concern for her husband's welfare and utter fidelity to him, insisting on accompanying him to the forest and sharing all his hardships. Her grief and ravings on being deserted are modelled on those of Rāma himself after the abduction of Sītā, for at this point in the Nala plot hero's and heroine's roles are reversed. Damayantī adamantly refuses to criticise the absent Nala and insists that he is still faithful to her alone, going so far as to declare that he is behaving as a eunuch for her sake (3.71.14); such unquestioning belief in her husband stands in stark contrast to Draupadī's incessant and uncomprehending complaints, and Damayantī's unqualified welcome of the errant Nala on his return is very different from Draupadī's contemptuous attitude when she frees Yudhiṣṭhira from slavery, publicly shaming him by asking first for his younger brothers to be freed; she asks for him to be freed only so that their son shall not be humiliated by his father's status, not for his own sake. If Bṛhadaśva intends his tale to be an example to Draupadī as well as to Yudhiṣṭhira, he is singularly unsuccessful; the complaints continue. Of course, Draupadī has no opportunity to demonstrate fidelity to an absent husband, since she is virtually never separated from the Pāṇḍavas; her capture by Jayadratha lasts nowhere near as long as Sītā's captivity or Damayantī's desertion.

Puṣkara, the villain, is no Duryodhana; but neither is he a Rāvaṇa. He is the unwitting agent of Kali's malicious envy, not its instigator; this, and his position as Nala's brother (not his cousin), brings his role closer to that of Bharata, who, though unwilling to profit from his mother's scheming, rules the kingdom in Rāma's absence. Unlike Duryodhana's agent Śakuni, Puṣkara does not cheat, for it is Dvāpara who controls the dice. Nor is he portrayed as actively coveting the kingdom; he is as much a pawn of Kali's malice as Bharata is of Kaikeyī. Unlike Śakuni, he does not suggest that Nala stake himself, and although he does suggest Damayantī be pledged, his behaviour lacks the loutish vulgarity of Duryodhana, Karṇa and Duḥśāsana.[24] Nor is he responsible for

24 The 12th-century author of the Jain reworking (GRANOFF 2006: 177–223), no longer committed to a Rāmāyaṇa exemplar, turns Damayantī into a pious and proactive Jain heroine but reverts to the Sabhāparvan example in his account of the dicing and its consequences. The character of Nala's brother, here called Kūvara, is

Nala's voluntary decision to leave for the forest, but the plot will not allow him to refuse the kingship, like Bharata, or return it when Nala comes back, and he must remain the villain. Nala stages a return match, this time confidently staking Damayantī and the lives of himself and Puṣkara, offering single combat as an alternative. There is no bloodshed: Puṣkara's life is forfeit, but Nala magnanimously spares and pardons him, allowing him to rule a city of his own in comfort and prosperity. The generally less negative view of Puṣkara and softening of his character, bringing him closer to the Rāmāyaṇa's Bharata than to the Mahābhārata's Dhārtarāṣṭras, has enabled the poet to contrive the Rāmāyaṇa-like eventual reconciliation.

Lyrical Elements

Between these thematic correspondences on the one hand and the outright verbal borrowings on the other come imitations of poetic expression. Several extended lyrical passages are more characteristic of the *ādikāvya* than of the Mahābhārata's *itihāsa*. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, cheerfully accepting their semi-voluntary exile, are far more appreciative of the beauty of their forest environment than are the brooding, resentful Pāṇḍavas, and the Rāmāyaṇa is studded with jewel-like descriptions of nature: the poverty of the unenthusiastic description of the area around Lake Dvaitavana, for instance, selected by the Pāṇḍavas for their home because of its beauty and convenience (3.25.10–19) contrasts starkly

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closer to Draupadī's tormentors than is Puṣkara: Damayantī is staked and lost, and Nala is banished by Kūvara, who demands Damayantī for his harem, though without molesting her; he then releases her at the urging of his ministers lest the power of her chastity destroy him. Some of the divergences of this version from its source are facilitated by its changed purpose: it is told, not to cheer up its hearers, but to warn them of the consequences of uncontrolled gambling. In the Panjabi drama published by Temple (see above, n. 17), Nala's impotent rage at Puṣkara's suggestion that he stake Damayantī is turned to actual violence, and Damayantī intervenes to stop her husband murdering his brother; Puṣkara then, not surprisingly, banishes Nala, whereas in the original Nala storms out of his own volition (TEMPLE 1884–1886 Vol. II: 247; MBh 3.58.2–6).

with Rāma's rhapsody on the beauty of Mount Citrakūṭa and of Pañcavaṭī (Rm 2.88 and 3.14.10–19 respectively). Even linguistically early Rāmāyaṇa passages (e.g. Rm 2.42; 2.53; 4.1) are used by their poets to reflect the feelings of characters. The Nala poet uses a similar technique to evoke a sense of the perils menacing the stalwart Damayantī at 3.61.1–8, a bare naming of sinister trees and dangerous animals. This passage is one of three occurring in the Āraṇyakaparvan by which, according to Cinzia Pieruccini, "we are strongly reminded of the descriptions of nature of *kāvya* poetry" (PIERUCCINI 2002: 101). It is worth noting that the other two passages she discusses are 3.150.18–28 and 3.155.34–87, both in a clearly late section of the Āraṇyakaparvan. The first is closely associated with the Rāma story, occurring in the concluding *adhyāya* of Bhīma's encounter with Hanumān (with its rare mention of the Rāmāyaṇa as a text at 3.147.11), while Bhīma is still "reflecting on the other's body and incomparable luster on earth, and dwelling on the greatness and majesty of Rāma Dāśarathi" (3.150.17, transl. VAN BUITENEN 1975). The second occurs shortly afterwards to describe Mount Gandhamādana, as a prelude to Bhīma's battle with the *yakṣas*; Pieruccini notes "the long compounds, the repeated assonance, the disposition of words: the image, actually, appears to be developed with full *kāvya* stylistic means" (PIERUCCINI 2002: 101).[25] The Nalopākhyāna passage follows and leads in to striking and more easily identifiable examples of convergence and imitation, together forming the extensive passage where Damayantī searches frantically for the absent Nala (3.60.1–61.108), apostrophising the forces of nature (a tiger, a mountain, and an *aśoka* tree) in a desperate but vain attempt to learn news of her husband. This passage gives every appearance of having been modelled on several passages in the Rāmāyaṇa: Sītā too apostrophises the forces of nature (trees, mountain, river, forest spirits and all wildlife), begging them in vain to inform Rāma of her capture by Rāvaṇa (Rm 3.47.29–34); trees, lotus ponds, wildlife, mountains, sun and forest spirits are all impotent to help, but all seem to be grieving (Rm 3.50.32–40). A few *sargas* later Rāma is driven to the verge of insanity when he discovers her

25 On lists of trees and wildlife appearing in expanded passages of the Mahābhārata see John BROCKINGTON 1998: 192–193.

absence and launches a frantic search, asking trees and animals, river and mountain, for news of his wife (Rm 3.58; 60.7–10 and 19–21).[26]

Viewed in isolation, there are no direct verbal clues to prove conclusively that the Nala poet drew on the abduction of Sītā for his inspiration rather than that he was conforming to a common literary trope, but taken together with the similarities of narrative motif and the undoubted borrowing of Sudeva's soliloquy, it is a fair assumption to make. More cogent evidence is the idea at which Damayantī and Rāma both grasp, that the absent beloved is playing a trick – a cruel game of hide-and-seek that has gone too far – and can be spied hiding behind a tree or bush (3.60.7–8; Rm 3.58.8 and 23–25; 3.59.4). Apart from the trivial and no doubt coincidental identity of 3.60.8d with Rm 3.58.23d there is no verbal correspondence here; it is the underlying idea that has been copied and reused. Evidently assuming a relatively early date for the Nalopākhyāna, Cinzia Pieruccini traces a progression from the Nala story *via* the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa towards Kālidāsa's classical *kāvya* style (PIERUCCINI 2004: 127). The Rāmāyaṇa passages have been dated to the fifth to fourth centuries BC (3.47) and third century BC to first AD (3.50, 58, 60; John BROCKINGTON 1985: 329); these are impossibly early dates for the Nalopākhyāna, in my view, and for this reason and the reasons adduced in the rest of this article I regard the Rāmāyaṇa passages as the Nala poet's source, not *vice versa*.

Implications

The implications of the Nala story's composition are far-reaching, but complex and often unclear, affecting its relationship with the core plot of

26 Sheldon Pollock considers Rāma's threats to destroy the universe to constitute actual madness, referring to "the apocalyptic destruction *of which he is capable* [my emphasis]" (POLLOCK 1991: 55–67, quotation on p. 58). I see his threats as hyperbolic, expressive of the depth of his distress as he approaches breaking point before his innate self-control reveals the full extent of its power and re-asserts itself; the ravings and swift recovery are not a contradiction, but the ultimate expression of the strength of his character. True madness, even in fiction, is not a state that can be switched on and off so abruptly.

the Mahābhārata, with the Virāṭaparvan, with the Rāmopākhyāna and with the Harivaṃśa as well as with the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa; few are susceptible of definite proof, and we must judge them on the balance of probabilities.

The most straightforward matter to resolve gives us a small hint towards fuller understanding of the Mahābhārata core story; it reinforces the idea that at least to the Nala-composer, Yudhiṣṭhira was, like Nala, not an entirely free agent in the Sabhāparvan dicing: that his actions were not simply irresponsible or obsessive, but dictated by forces beyond his control. He was caught rather than culpable.

Narrative, verbal and lyrical components of the Nalopākhyāna all indicate that its poet had a detailed, intimate knowledge of the text of the present Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, and that it was a form of that text composed late enough to contain the story of Rāma's twin sons and their recognition by their father. The use of this text raises the question of why the poet did not use the Rāmāyaṇa *epitome* now included in the Āraṇyakaparvan, the Rāmopākhyāna (3.257–276), which was itself adapted from the Northeastern recension of the Vālmīki text, perhaps about the first century BC. (John BROCKINGTON 1978 and the references cited there). Sudeva's soliloquy, the extended lyrical passages, and the reference to the twins and their recognition cannot have been based on the Rāmopākhyāna, which does not contain these episodes or passages. There is a tendency throughout the Mahābhārata tradition to ignore the Rāmopākhyāna as a source of allusions to the Rāma story (Mary BROCKINGTON 2005: 309 and 323–24; 2006: 219), but it is impossible to claim that the Nala poet either did not know it or chose to ignore it. The form and wording of Damayantī's vindication is almost identical to Sītā's in the Rāmopākhyāna, but markedly different from the Valmīki account (NU 3.75.7–11 : RU 3.275.23–24, cf. Rm 6.104.17–24; NU 3.75.7cd, 8cd and 9cd and RU 3.275.23cd and 24cd contain an identical refrain). But which poet (if either?) was the innovator, and which the copier? And why should either poet choose to follow a different source from his usual one? Is it possible that the two Mahābhārata accounts (in which the heroine's chastity is vindicated by the Elements, particularly the Wind, when she calls upon them) in fact represent the earlier version of Sītā's vindication, and that the present Yuddhakāṇḍa text (in which she is vindicated and purified by Fire) has replaced it, and that both the MBh passages were independently drawing on the older Rāmāyaṇa text?

The Nalopākhyāna was not only a recipient text; it also functioned as a hypertext, being drawn on by the Harivaṃśa. An allusion to the Nala story appears in the Ikṣvāku genealogy at HV 10.69, with Ṛtuparṇa[27] said to be a descendant of Sagara and an ancestor of Rāma. No such name appears in the Ikṣvāku genealogies recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa (Rm 1.69.17–30 and 2.102.2–29). It seems that the Nala poet has founded the tradition.

The composer of the Virāṭaparvan also drew on the Nalopākhyāna in composing his account of the Pāṇḍavas' period in disguise as servants at the Matsya court. Damayantī and Draupadī profess the same trade when entering service as chambermaids, and three of Nala's skills are claimed by the three eldest Pāṇḍavas: Yudhiṣṭhira becomes a dicing master, Bhīma offers his services as cook, and Arjuna performs a spectacular exploit as a chariot driver. Arjuna is himself made to compare his stay at the Matsya court to Nala's period of disguised servitude (4.2.27), despite having been absent from Bṛhadaśva's original recitation. If it is accepted that (as I argue) Damayantī's servitude can be satisfactorily derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, it cannot be derived from the Virāṭaparvan, and we can therefore view the Nalopākhyana as the likely source of inspiration for the detailed development of the Matsya episode in the Virāṭaparvan rather than as its derivative. The details of the stay at the Matsya court are not alluded to elsewhere in the Mahābhārata, and what references there are appear to suggest that all thirteen years of the exile were spent in the forest. The Sabhāparvan wager had simply stipulated spending the thirteenth year of exile "unrecognised among people," with no location or conditions specified, and servitude not mentioned (2.66. 19, repeated *verbatim* at 2.67.10). Even the preparatory remarks that conclude the Āraṇyakaparvan speak only of living "hidden and unrecognised in the city of Virāṭa," "unrecognised," and "living concealed" (3.298.18; 299.1 and 28 respectively), and after the completion of the test Kṛṣṇa refers simply to their having lived "unrecognised near Virāṭa" (5.1.12); at one point in the Droṇaparvan the exile is merely stated to be for thirteen years, with mention neither of the year spent in disguise nor of servitude (7.168.10; the similar reference at 15.17.21 is too brief to be conclusive). The naming of an unidentified Virāṭa as a sympathiser of the Pāṇḍavas in their forest exile at 3.48.13 may possibly have given rise

27 The CE text has *ṛtaparṇa*.

to the whole episode as we have it now, or to an earlier, much simpler version lacking the servitude element. In view of the obvious late, burlesque features displayed by the present Virāṭaparvan,[28] I would argue that the whole idea of servitude and the details of the disguises adopted have been inspired by the Nalopākhyāna.

There is a curious *coda* to the Nala tale at 3.78.14–17: Bṛhadaśva the sage passes on to Yudhiṣṭhira the secret of success at dicing. A number of reasons lead me to view these verses as having been added later, as a result of the composition of the Virāṭaparvan, but by a different author, not late enough however to be excluded from the Critical Edition text, since they are well attested in the manuscripts used. The first is their placing: they occur after the Nala *phalaśruti*. Bṛhadaśva refers to Yudhiṣṭhira's fear of a second challenge by a skilful gambler, hinting at a return match with Śakuni, yet not naming him: neither the match nor the fear of one are voiced in the main Mahābhārata text. And the idea that the seer Bṛhadaśva should possess such an incongruous skill taxes credibility. It can only be assumed that these verses were inserted by someone who knew that Yudhiṣṭhira was to become a professional gambler in the Virāṭaparvan, but who did not understand the technique of burlesque inversion used to such good effect by its poet: courting disaster, the virile Arjuna declares himself a eunuch, Draupadī – sworn to remain dishevelled until achieving her revenge – becomes a hairdresser, and Yudhiṣṭhira, whose inept gambling has proved catastrophic, becomes a teacher of dicing.

The relationship with other texts, external and internal, has implications for dating, but in few cases can we do more than establish a probable order of composition and likely direction of influence. That such a non-archaic feature as the personification of *yuga*s as the demons Kali and Dvāpara is basic to the narrative is enough to suggest a not very early date for the Nala tale. This vagueness can be refined a little by comparison with the Rāmāyaṇa borrowings, which could have been made as late as the third century AD (John BROCKINGTON 1985: 329), but are more likely to reflect a text of the first to second centuries AD. The Nala story, without its *coda*, must have been known to the composer of the Virāṭaparvan, but not necessarily to his audience, so his use need

28 For a summary of scholarly opinion on the relative date of the Virāṭaparvan see John BROCKINGTON 1998: 142–143.

not indicate a long interval, but his burlesque handling of the text suggests that a fourth century date is more likely. The allusion in the Harivaṃśa genealogical passage is of a different nature: it relies on the audience being familiar with the story, and requires a more extended time span for it to have been circulating. The genealogies are considered by Horst Brinkhaus to form the core of the Harivaṃśa, which means that the Nalopākhyāna was a well-known text by a relatively early stage in development of the Mahābhārata *khila*; the probability that there is a greater overlap than has commonly been assumed between the Mahābhārata text and the earlier parts of the Harivaṃśa suggests a date of before or possibly during the fourth century (BRINKHAUS 2002; John BROCKINGTON 1998: 327, 332). I therefore propose a brief, tentative pattern of development that places the Nala story's composition during the first to second centuries AD, before Harivaṃśa 10.69, and before the composition of the Virāṭaparvan, with the incongruous *coda* at MBh 3.78.14–17 being added at a subsequent date, but probably by the end of the fourth century, before the division into separate recensions was under way.

Techniques for dating early texts, especially those of oral origin, are still woefully imprecise; much more work needs to be done in this field before proponents and sceptics alike can be satisfied. In the meantime, much can be fruitfully learned and deduced from a close study of the narratives themselves and the methods used to compose them. Our understanding of ancient orally-transmitted motifs is not yet sufficiently advanced for us to determine how much of his 'traditional' material the Nala-composer actually inherited and how much he originated, but we can admire the creativity with which he wove it all together to suit the very different requirements of the epic framework into which he chose to slot it.

The Nala composer was again acting under constraints when he adapted material from the Rāmāyaṇa: it was not the story of Rāma that he was telling, any more than it was the story of Yudhiṣṭhira, a consideration that prevented him from producing something too close to either exemplar. Perhaps this explains why, despite all the analogies and the direct quotation, he did not make any overt references to the Rāma

story,[29] although there are frequent allusions to the text or its characters elsewhere in the Mahābhārata (Mary BROCKINGTON 2006). How far the Mahābharata's universal audience would recognise these Rāmāyaṇa resonances in the absence of these markers is difficult to determine. The situation is different with the immediate, fictional, audience. By telling the Nalopākhyāna, Bṛhadaśva is overtly advising Yudhiṣṭhira and Draupadī to accept Nala and Damayantī as role models, but his subliminal message is that they should behave like Rāma and Sītā; Mārkaṇḍeya repeats this moral in plain terms when he recounts the Rāmopākhyāna. Both sages are doomed to disappointment if they expect their tales to play any part in the education of the Dharma King – or Queen. What the tales demonstrate to compilers is the danger of encapsulating an *exemplum* into a narrative if the main lines of its plot and characterisation have already been fixed.[30] Yudhiṣṭhira cannot be made to stop feeling miserable, and Draupadī cannot be made to stop complaining, whatever Bṛhadaśva or Mārkaṇḍeya may say.

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29 Similarly, there are no overt references to the Rāmāyaṇa in the Draupadīharaṇa (3.248–256), yet the whole *raison d'être* of that narrative and the Rāmopākhyāna linked to it is to mirror the abduction of Sītā.

30 Somaprabhasūri does not have the same problem with his Jain reworking (GRANOFF 2006: 177–223): it is not an *exemplum* aimed at his hearers' personality, but a cautionary tale aimed at their actions.

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DANIELLE FELLER

Two Tales of Vanishing Wives
Sītā's Trials Reconsidered in the Light of the Story of Saraṇyū

Some episodes in the story of Sītā as it is told in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (hence Rm) have been puzzling its audience – eastern and western alike – problably ever since its conception: how could Rāma treat his faithful wife so cruelly, and submit her to a fire ordeal, after making such a tremendous effort to gain her back? How could he subsequently again doubt her purity after hearing his people's slander, and send her off into the forest, pregnant with his own twin-sons? How could Sītā herself put up with this situation ?[1] Of course, the text itself offers a rational explanation for all this: Rāma could not possibly accept a 'blemished' wife, who had spent a long time in the captivity of another man. He had to prove her purity to the world, even though he himself had never doubted it (Rm 6.106.11–18),[2] and ultimately, he had to make his people's wishes pass before his own. But this excuse sounds paltry and unconvincing, and something of a stain remains attached to this figure of the most virtuous of all kings. On the other hand, what clearly emerges out of these episodes is that Sītā is cast in the role of the innocent victim of fate, the ideal *pativratā* who submits to her husband's wishes and commands, however unfair.[3]

1 The psychology of Sītā was analysed in a masterful way in SUTHERLAND 1989. Here I do not propose to study her character and deeds from a psychological perspective, but rather from a mythical-sacrificial one.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the references to the Rāmāyaṇa will be to the Critical Edition, and the translations of Book 6 will be by GOLDMAN *et al.* 2009.

3 For instance, KINSLEY (1986: 76) remarks that Rāma is not a very good husband to Sītā, and lists all his faults. See also KISHWAR 2001, whose survey shows that – irrespective of gender, class and even religion – Sītā is most often quoted as the ideal woman by modern-day Indians, who on the other hand universally blame Rāma for his behaviour towards his wife.

But what if, originally, the situation had been quite different, even the reverse? What if Sītā had been, not in the role of the jilted but of the jilter? This may seem improbable, but the point I wish to make here is that the prototype, or model, of the narratives around Sītā may have been the story of the Vedic goddess Saraṇyū.[4] Wendy DONIGER O'FLAHERTY made an exhaustive study of the myth of Saraṇyū in her book entitled *Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in Indian Mythology* (1981). In her study, Doniger O'Flaherty analyses the myth from its earliest R̥g-vedic version onwards, showing the changes it underwent over time in Indian mythology. She shows that the figure of the mare – whose exterior appearance Saraṇyū assumes – impersonates in Indo-European mythology the wild, lecherous, erotic female, prone to abandoning her children, and is opposed, in India at least, to the figure of the cow who represents pure maternal love.

I propose to first examine briefly the different versions of Saraṇyū's story and then compare and contrast it with that of Sītā, while attempting to explain the radical change that Sītā's story has undergone as compared to that of her Vedic predecessor.

Saraṇyū is first mentioned in R̥gveda 10.17.1–2:

> "Tvaṣṭar is holding his daughter's wedding," hearing the news, the entire world comes together. Yama's mother, while being married, the wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared.
> They hid the immortal woman from the mortals, they made one similar in appearance, and gave her to Vivasvat. And she bore the two Aśvins when this happened, and she abandoned the two who were twins [= Yama & Yamī], Saraṇyū.[5] (Transl. following GELDNER 1951 Vol. 3: 149–150)

4 I do not mean, of course, that there is an etymological link between the names Saraṇyū ("the fleet, nimble one") and Sītā ("the furrow"). But there is one between Saraṇyū and Sarayū, the river which flows through Ayodhyā, and in which Rāma ends his life. Both terms derive from root SAR-, see MAYRHOFER 1992–1996: 705, 707–708. This connection would deserve to be further investigated.

5 R̥V 10.17.1–2 *tváṣṭā duhitré vahatúṃ kr̥ṇotī́tīdáṃ víśvaṃ bhúvanaṃ sám eti, yamásya mātā́ paryuhyámānā mahó jāyā́ vívasvato nanā́śa.* |1| *ápāgūhann amŕ̥tāṃ mártyebhyaḥ kr̥tvī́ sávarṇām adadur vívasvate, utā́śvínāv abharad yát tád ā́sīd ájahād u dvā́ mithunā́ saraṇyū́ḥ* |2|.

As is frequently the case, the story is told somewhat elliptically in the Ṛgveda,[6] but is further elaborated in subsequent texts. Thus Śaunaka's Bṛhaddevatā contains the 'classical' tale, which also purports to explain the names of the Aśvins: they are called Aśvins because their mother had taken on the form of a mare (*aśvā*: a trait which is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda[7]) and one of them is called Nāsatya, here probably because their mother smelt Vivasvat's sperm that had fallen on the ground:[8]

> Tvaṣṭṛ had twin children, Saraṇyū as well as Triśiras. He himself gave Saraṇyū in marriage to Vivasvat. Then Yama and Yamī were begotten on Saraṇyū by Vivasvat. And these two were also twins, but the elder of the two was Yama. Now Saraṇyū having created, in the absence of her husband, a female similar (to herself) and having entrusted to her the pair (of children), turned herself into a mare and departed. But Vivasvat, in ignorance (of this), begot Manu on that (substitute). He (Manu) became a royal seer, like Vivasvat in brilliance. When, however, he (Vivasvat) had become aware that Saraṇyū had departed in the shape of a mare, he quickly went after the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, having turned himself into a horse with similar characteristics (to hers). And Saraṇyū, recognizing Vivasvat in the form of a steed, approached him for sexual intercourse, and he covered her there. Then, in their agitation the semen fell on the ground. And the mare, through desire of offspring, smelt the semen. Now from the semen which had just been smelt there came into

6 Also in Atharvaveda (ed. VISHVA BANDHU 1960) 3.31.5, 18.1.53, 18.2.33, which quote the Ṛgveda. Since the two Ṛgvedic verses mention different stages of Saraṇyū's life (wedding, motherhood, disappearance) *pêle-mêle* and without respecting their chronological sequence, BLOOMFIELD (1893: 173) supposes that it is a typical riddle hymn (*brahmodya*).

7 However, Yāska also mentions her mare-form in Nirukta 12.10, while commenting on Ṛgveda 10.17.2: *tatrehitāsam ācakṣate*, *tvāṣṭṛī saraṇyūr vivasvata ādityā d yamau mithunau janayāṃcakāra*, *sā savarṇām anyāṃ pratinidhāyāśvaṃ rūpaṃ kṛtvā pradudrāva*, *sa vivasvān āditya āśvam eva rūpaṃ kṛtvā tām anusṛtya sambabhūva*, *tato 'śvinau jajñāte, savarṇāyāṃ manuḥ* "With reference to this, they relate a legend. Saraṇyū daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ bore twins, Yama and Yamī, to Vivasvat the sun. She having substituted another lady of similar appearance, and having assumed the shape of a mare, ran away. He, Vivasvat the sun, having also assumed the shape of a horse, pursued her and joined her. Thence the Aśvins were born – Manu was born of the lady of similar appearance." (Transl. SARUP 1967: 187–188).

8 In subsequent Purāṇic retellings, the name Nāsatya is said to derive from the fact that their mother gives birth to them through the nose.

being two youths, Nāsatya and Dasra, who are praised as 'Aśvins.'[9] (Transl. MACDONELL 1904: 251–253)

The narrative undergoes further developments in the Purāṇic literature, where Saraṇyū's name is changed to *saṃjñā*, "sign" or "image" or "name" (DONIGER 1996: 158).[10] Sometimes, the story is merely alluded to in the context of genealogies, but the passages which develop it more fully roughly tell the same story, which can be summarised as follows:

Saṃjñā is married to the sun (Vivasvat Mārtāṇḍa), to whom she gives three children: Manu and the twins Yama and Yamī. Soon, she gets tired of her husband whose exterior appearance she dislikes (he is sometimes too ugly, deformed and black, sometimes too shiny and blinding to look at, and sometimes – strangely – both at the same time). She therefore makes a double, a *chāyā savarṇā,* of herself, to continue to function in her stead, and goes back to her father Tvaṣṭṛ. But her father tells her to return to her husband, for a wife's place is with her husband. Instead, she goes off to the northern region, to the land of the Uttarakurus, and, changing into a mare, she lives on grass and practises penance. Meanwhile, Vivasvat, unaware of the substitution, begets more children on the *chāyā*. But after a while he realises the deception due to the *chāyā*'s unjust behaviour towards Saṃjñā's children, and goes to Tvaṣṭṛ to get his wife back. Tvaṣṭṛ makes him more beautiful and/or less shiny (putting him on his turner's wheel, and cutting off some of his *tejas*), and tells him where his wife is. Seeing her in the form of a mare, Vivasvat turns into a horse himself. Wishing to avoid intercourse with a

9 Bṛhaddevatā 6.162–163–7.1–6 *abhavad mithunaṃ tvaṣṭuḥ saraṇyūs triśirāḥ saha, sa vai saraṇyūṃ prāyacchat svayam eva vivasvate, tataḥ saraṇyvāṃ jajñāte yamayamyau vivasvataḥ, tau cāpy ubhau yamāv eva jyāyāṃs tābhyāṃ tu vai yamaḥ, sṛṣṭvā bhartuḥ parokṣaṃ tu saraṇyūḥ sadṛśīṃ striyam, nikṣipya mithunaṃ tasyām aśvā bhūtvāpacakrame, avijñānād vivasvāṃs tu tasyām ajanayan manum, rājarṣir abhavat so 'pi vivasvān iva tejasā, sa vijñāya tv apakrāntāṃ saraṇyūm aśvarūpinīm, tvāṣṭrīṃ prati jagāmāśu vājī bhūtvā salakṣaṇaḥ, saraṇyūś ca vivasvantaṃ viditvā hayarūpiṇam, maithunāyopacakrāma tāṃ ca tatrāruroha saḥ, tatas tayos tu vegena śukraṃ tad apatad bhuvi, upājighrac ca sā tv aśvā tac chukraṃ garbhakāmyayā, āghrātamātrāc chukrāt tu kumārau sambabhūvatuḥ, nāsatyaś caiva dasraś ca yau stutāv aśvināv iti.*

10 See Harivaṃśa 1.8 (cf. DONIGER 1996: 158–160); Viṣṇupurāṇa 3.2; Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 77.1 ff.; 106–108 (cf. DONIGER 1996: 163–165); Matsyapurāṇa 11; Bhāgavatapurāṇa 6.6.38 ff.; 8.13.8; 9.1.11; Nārada's Pañcarātra 1.4.85.

stranger, she turns to face him, but he penetrates her through the mouth. She expels his sperm through her nose, and thus the Nāsatyas, or Aśvins, are born. Then Vivasvat shows her his new, agreeable form, and Saṃjñā is pleased and returns to him. The story ends with a description of their children's fate.

Between the Vedic and the Purāṇic versions of Saraṇyū's story, there are some significant changes that point to a different attitude towards women.[11] The Vedic Saraṇyū is her husband's superior: she is an immortal, he is a mortal (moreover named *mārtāṇḍa*, "born of a dead egg"), who, as the text seems to indicate, is not able to satisfy her, sexually and otherwise.[12] But when he assumes the shape of a horse, she becomes eager to have sexual intercourse, as for instance in the Bṛhaddevatā. On the other hand, the Purāṇic Saṃjñā, at least in some versions of the story, finds her husband 'excessive.' She cannot stand his *tejas* (which must be trimmed down) and runs away. When he assumes the form of a horse to correspond to her mare-shape, she tries to avoid sexual intercourse. This points to a clear change in the representation of the ideal female: she must be her husband's inferior, and must be sexually shy and reluctant. The lustful, enterprising, and ultimately dangerous mare has been supressed.

Now, what are the similarities between the two stories, that of Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā and that of Sītā? In my opinion, the following are the most salient points:

• *Both Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā and Sītā are women of divine, or at least supernatural, origin*

As the Ṛgveda already emphasises, Saraṇyū is an immortal, Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter; her mother is never named. Sītā, the "furrow," whom king Janaka found in the Earth while ploughing, is said to be the Earth's daughter.[13] Sītā seems to have no 'natural' father, but King Janaka, who adopted her, is considered to be her father. However, in the later stages of Sītā's life which concern us here, king Janaka is completely out of the picture. Instead, the sage Vālmīki fits the role to perfection: he looks

11 See DONIGER O'FLAHERTY (1981: 176–177).

12 See BLOOMFIELD (1893: 178), DONIGER O'FLAHERTY (1981: 182–183).

13 See Rm 1.65.14–15, 2.110.27 and 5.14.16. On this point, see however BROCKINGTON 2007. Later in the story, Sītā is furthermore revealed to be the incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's spouse (Rm 6.105.25).

after Sītā when Rāma sends her away pregnant to the forest. She gives birth to her sons there, and he helps raise her children and teaches them his own composition, the Rāmāyaṇa. As BIARDEAU & PORCHER (1999: 1692) already noted, the sage from the ant- or termit-hill (*valmīka*) communicating with the depths of the earth, who lives near the Tamasā (the obscure, perhaps subterranean) river, seems a perfect match for the Earth, Sītā's mother herself. Furthermore, Vālmīki, as the author of the epic, would naturally be the father of his "character" Sītā.

• *The power-relations between husband and wife tend to fluctuate*

This is the case for Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā, as we noted above, who is sometimes her husband's superior, sometimes his inferior. We notice the same in the case of Sītā and Rāma. This is nicely expressed by DONIGER O'FLAHERTY in the chapter entitled "The Shifting Balance of Power in Indian Hierogamies" (1981: 79–80), where she shows that sometimes Sītā is shown as a goddess and Rāma as a mere mortal, and sometimes the other way round. He first rejects her,[14] but then she rejects him and "returns to the earth when he mistreats her […] At this moment, Sītā is clearly a goddess who will survive in her essential form in the earth, leaving behind a helpless mortal to mourn for her." (DONIGER O'FLAHERTY 1981: 80).

• *These women leave the "world", including their husband and children*

This happens once in the case of Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā and twice in the case of Sītā. The Vedic Saraṇyū disappeared, the gods hid her away. While hiding, she gave birth to a pair of twins, the Aśvins, whom she abandoned also, after first abandoning a previous pair of twins. The Purāṇic Saṃjñā went away of her own free will to do *tapas* in the mountains, but then came back to her husband after giving birth to the Aśvins. It would appear that the Vedic Saraṇyū is not (at least not entirely) a free agent (the gods hide her away), whereas the Purāṇic Saṃjñā takes the decision to leave (despite opposition) and later to return. As for Sītā, she was repudiated by Rāma, obviously against her will, and sent to the forest. There, in Vālmīki's hermitage, she gave birth to a pair of twins, Kuśa

14 However, we may note that even at the fire-ordeal, when Rāma disowns Sītā after speaking very cruel words to her, being clearly in a superior position to hers, she points out that he is speaking to her like a vulgar (*prākṛta*) or lesser (*laghu*) man (Rm 6.104. 5 & 14), failing to take into account that she was born of the Earth (Rm 6.104.15). She thus prevails herself of a higher birth, while implying that he is but an ordinary man.

and Lava. Subsequently again sent for by Rāma and asked to submit once more to an ordeal, she invoked the Earth and disappeared into it, abandoning definitely her husband and her two sons (Rm 7.88). Thus Sītā condenses in herself, and in two different modes (once forced, once voluntary), Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā's unique move away from the world.

• *This "leaving the world" happens sometimes unexpectedly, during a grand-scale event, with the whole world watching, sometimes in a highly secret fashion*

In Saraṇyū's case, especially the R̥gvedic account mentions the first way of disappearing, for she vanishes during her wedding (*paryuhyámānā*), where the entire universe is assembled: *idáṃ víśvaṃ bhúvanaṃ sám eti* (R̥gveda 10.17.1). Sītā's final disappearance takes place in the middle of the assembly (*pariṣanmadhye*) (Rm 7.86.6), during Rāma's *aśvamedha*, with all the creatures (humans, sages, *rākṣasa*s, monkeys, etc.) watching (Rm 7.87.5–7). We must note that on these two occasions, (re)unions were supposed to take place, but quite the opposite happened: the wife vanished! On the other hand, the Purāṇic Saṃjñā leaves her husband secretly, not wishing her disappearance to be observed, even fashioning for that purpose a *chāyā* of herself. Likewise, when Rāma sends Sītā into exile, he does so in a secret fashion: apart from his three brothers, to whom he declares his intentions (Rm 7.43–44), no one is aware of what is happening. Sītā herself is kept in the dark until the last moment.

• *The women are replaced by a "double"*

Either the gods, or Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā herself, make a *chāyā*, a shadow of herself, and Sītā is replaced by a golden statue during Rāma's sacrifices. Note that Saṃjñā, "bright image"[15] leaves a dark shadow behind, whereas the dark Sītā (the furrow) is replaced by a golden replica of herself (Rm 7.89.4). Obviously, the *chāyā*-Saṃjñā plays a greater role in the story than Sītā's golden statue, whose use is restricted to the performance of sacrifices. But we must note that the tradition of a *chāyā*- or *māyā*-Sītā also exists. During the war, Indrajit kills an imaginary Sītā, to demoralise Rāma and his troops (Rm 6.68). And in some other Rāmā-yaṇas (especially in Tulsī Dās' Rāmcaritmānas), a *chāyā*- or *māyā*-Sītā is made to undergo all the hardships, the kidnapping by Rāvaṇa and the fire-ordeal, for it was inimaginable to have Sītā herself undergo them,

15 So DONIGER O'FLAHERTY (1981: 175), who suggests that "Saṃjñā is a riddle term for Sandhyā, dawn" (1981: 177).

and/or to have Rāma inflict them upon her. This trait however is not seen in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (see GOLDMAN *et al.* 2009: 104, 1443).[16]

• *The narratives stage a tension between moments of 'pravṛtti' (being married, living in the world) and 'nivṛtti' (living in the wilderness, doing penance)*

If we consider the changes that the myth has undergone over time, we can observe the following: first the goddess escapes from her mortal husband who does not give satisfaction. Then, in the – erotic – shape of a mare, she gives birth to children, whom she abandons in turn. In the earliest Vedic versions, penance, or *tapas*, plays no role at all: the divine consort is justified in what she undertakes and needs no excuses. Then, the motif of penance is introduced in the myth: in the Purāṇic versions, Saṃjñā marries, has children, then escapes because she does not like her husband. She practises penance in the – ascetic ? – form of a mare, but her husband finds her and forces her (rapes her). She conceives two more children, but only by force, not by choice, which is obviously the only way to combine *tapas* with conception. In Sītā's story, the theme of penance intervenes even much more prominently. Indeed, we might say that Sītā spends more time in hermitages than in the palace. Her brief spells of palace-life – during one of which she conceives her twin sons – are followed by long years of penance in the wilderness, where she gives birth to her sons. Thus it appears that in epico-purāṇic times, the only acceptable alternative to married life for women was a life of penance.

• *The horse plays an important role in these narratives*

Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā turns into a mare; when he finds her, her husband also turns into a horse, and they have "horse-children", the Aśvins.[17]

Sītā's final disappearance into the Earth takes place during Rāma's horse-sacrifice.[18] Previous to Sītā's arrival on the scene, the text men-

16 It is interesting to note that the hardship Saṃjñā wishes to avoid, and for which purpose she makes an image of herself, is life with her husband, whereas for Sītā it is life without her husband, especially in Rāvaṇa's captivity (of course, the Rām-caritmānas does not mention the events of the Uttarakāṇḍa).

17 BLOOMFIELD (1893: 181) draws a parallel between this trait and the creation myth in which Tvaṣṭṛ has incestuous relations with his own daughter, assuming various animal shapes in order to create the different inhabitants of the universe.

18 We are left to wonder how Rāma was proposing to perform an *aśvamedha* without a wife, whereas this rite requires not only one, but four wives, who have to participate actively!

tions some of the preliminary rites of the sacrifice, like the preparation of the sacrificial ground, then the release of the horse, which Lakṣmaṇa accompanies on its travel, and of course the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa by the twins, Kuśa and Lava. But Sītā's disappearance, which takes place, like the rest of her appearance here, on the sacrificial ground itself (*yajñavāṭa*, Rm 7.87.1, 7.88.19) marks the end of the festivities, and the putting to death of the sacrificial victim is not described. Indeed, the horse is never mentioned after that. Thus it looks as if Sītā's ordeal takes place *instead of* the culminating point of the horse-sacrifice, and it may not be too far-fetched to suppose that at one point Sītā is substituted for the horse. In other words, she becomes the – intended – sacrificial victim, on whom all the attention is focused.[19] I say "intended," because obviously she refuses to "sacrifice" to convention and resume her marital role, according to her husband's wishes, but she chooses to vanish into the ground. This, then, may be one of the numerous instances of a sacrifice gone wrong, at which the sacrificial victim is whisked away.[20]

19 The horse-sacrificial symbolism may not be very apparent in Sītā's first ordeal, right after the war. Madeleine BIARDEAU, however, has developed in the notes to her translation of the Rāmāyaṇa (1999: 1637–1638) the horse-sacrificial metaphor that, in her opinion, underlies the war and its dénouement. She claims that Rāvaṇa, as "the one who makes (the mares) neigh," stands for the horse and is sacrificed during the war. Sītā, according to her, would be the mare who is denied to the horse during the one year that precedes the sacrifice. When Sītā throws herself onto the pyre, the sacrificial symbolism is however obvious, and she appears as a sacrificial victim offered to the blazing fire, which is repeatedly called "eater of oblations" (*hutāśana*) in this passage (Rm 6.104.22, 25, 26). Two passages kept in the notes of the critical edition and inserted after Rm 6.104.26 emphasise the similarity between Sītā and a sacrificial oblation even more clearly. Thus 3243* compares Sītā to "a pure oblation of clarified butter": *puṇyām ājyāhutim iva*, and 3244* likens her to "an oblation accompanied by mantras": *mantrayuktām ivāhutim*. Rather more curious in this context, and probably motivated by the resemblance in shape, is the simile found in 3243* which compares Sītā to "an excellent golden altar": *rukmavedīm ivottamām*.

20 Most strikingly, it reminds us of Sagara's horse sacrifice, at which the horse is stolen away by the gods and hid underground, thus disrupting the sacrifice. See Mahābhārata 3.104–106; Rm 1.37–40.

• *After the heroines' disappearance, the kingdom/earth/world is distributed among their children (among whom, sets of twin)*
The presence of twins is especially striking in both stories.[21] Saraṇyū/ Saṃjñā first has the pair Yama and Yamī, and subsequently the Aśvins. In the Bṛhaddevatā, she is even said to be a twin herself. Sīta gives birth to the twins (*yamau*) Kuśa and Lava, who are sometimes explicitly compared to the Aśvins (e.g. Rm 7.84.16). Saṃjñā's children seem to distribute themselves along the scale of the three 'Dumézilian functions,' pertaining respectively to the domain of the juridico-religious, the domain of statecraft and warfare, and the domain of production and fertility. Yama becomes the *dharmarāja*, the first function impersonated; Manu assumes the role of the first king, thus second-functional; and the handsome Aśvins are the divine physicians, taking care of the body, and thus by nature third-functional. In this case an extra, female, element is added in the person of Yamī (the only girl) who becomes the river Yamunā.

Sītā of course has only two sons, the twins Kuśa and Lava. But her sister Ūrmilā, and her two cousins, who are thus in a sense extensions of Sītā herself, are the wives of Rāma's three brothers (see Rm 1.71–72), and each also has two sons. Thus, the kingdom is shared among the descendants of the four brothers: Rāma himself crowns Bharata's two sons, Takṣa and Puṣkala, kings of two cities on the banks of the Sindhu, named thereafter Takṣaśīlā and Puṣkalavatī (Rm 7.90–91). Lakṣmaṇa's two sons, Aṅgada and Candraketu, are crowned kings of the Kārāpatha country, and reign respectively over the towns of Aṅgadīya and Candrakāntā (Rm 7.92). Kuśa and Lava, Rama's own sons, get respectively South and North Kosala, with their capitals Kuśāvatī and Śrāvatī (Rm 7.97–98). Finally, Śatrughna's sons, Subāhu and Śatrughātī enjoy, after their father's departure, the cities of Madhurā and Vaidiśa (Rm 7.98). Thus Rāma's kingdom is divided, and his and his brothers' descendance is distributed geographically over northern India.[22]

21 According to DONIGER O'FLAHERTY (1981: 80), "twin sons [are] the usual offering of the Indo-European goddess."

22 On this point we can quote BIARDEAU (1999: 1706): "La royauté, universelle en théorie, se trouve scindée entre quatre paires de frères dont au moins deux jumeaux. Ce sont en fait huit frères que les nécessités de l'histoire présente – celle du temps de la composition du poème – distribuent autrement que selon les points cardinaux, mais il est évident que c'est bien cette notion de 'protecteurs des points cardinaux'

These are the most significant resemblances between the two stories. On the other hand, one striking difference is that Saṃjñā's husband never forces her to leave, whereas Sītā is twice rejected by Rāma – once at the fire-ordeal, once when he exiles her to the forest – and twice he decides to take her back. She leaves him only when he wants to make her undergo a second ordeal. The question which arises is the following: why does Sītā accept to be restored to Rāma at the first ordeal, in spite of the abuse he heaps on her? Why does she wait till the second ordeal? While, on a human level, we may well sympathise with her feeling that "*une fois c'est assez, deux c'est trop !*", there may be other motives at stake too. To answer this question, it may be of interest to compare the two oaths or ordeals that Sītā undergoes to prove her purity to Rāma. The common point between the two is that both take place before a huge crowd, comprising all sorts of beings, animals, human, semi-divine and divine. Otherwise, the differences, even oppositions, between the two are very striking.

The first ordeal (Rm 6.102–106)

• Sītā comes bathed, dressed in her finery and adorned with jewels, at Rāma's express command: "Have Sītā Vaidehī come here anointed with celestial unguents, adorned with celestial ornaments, her hair freshly washed. Make haste !"[23] (Rm 6.102.7). Initially, Sītā wanted to see her husband as she was, dirty and unbathed: *asnātvā draṣṭum icchāmi bhartāram* (Rm 6.102.10). The implication was that she did not need purification, since she had not sinned,[24] and also, as I surmise, to show her

qui est dissimulée ici." Furthermore, it is interesting here to make a comparison with the story of king Yayāti, narrated in the Mahābhārata (1.71–88; 5.104–121). Yayāti's direct *male* descendance (his own sons) is distributed *geographically*, and his descendance through his *daughter* Mādhavī (his daughter's sons) is distributed *functionally*. See DUMÉZIL (1971, Part III).

23 *divyāṅgarāgāṃ vaidehīṃ divyābharaṇabhūṣitām, iha sītāṃ śiraḥsnātām upasthāpaya māciram*. See also Rm 6.102.9 & 13.

24 So SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN (2009: 164): "Morever, Rāma's demand that Sītā bathe before coming into his presence conveys a specific meaning. For without a bath, Rāma considers Sītā impure, dirty. Sītā insists that she be allowed to come into his presence *asnātā*, unbathed, indicating her lack of need to be cleansed or purified. This mediated dialogue is the first indication that the reunion between the two will be less than ideal."

husband very explicitly that she had not partaken of any pleasures with Rāvaṇa, since she was in a very neglected state. At this stage, her husband's demand that she be clean and adorned is rather ambiguous and may have two radically different meanings: on the one hand, her state of heavy ornamentation makes her look like a bride, and hence hints at a possible happy reunion with Rāma; on the other hand, it can also be read with a sacrificial meaning: the victim of the sacrifice must always be bathed and adorned in order to be a fit offering to the gods, which hints at her tragic destiny as a potential sacrificial oblation to Agni.[25] On this point, a comparison with the Rāmopākhyāna, the Mahābhārata's version of Rāma's story, is illuminating. There, Sītā is restored to Rāma unbathed and dirty, with matted hair and wearing a black dress (Mahābhārata 3.175.9).[26] He rejects her as cruelly as in the Rāmāyaṇa, saying that he could not possibly take her back, because, having been touched by an other, she has become "like an oblation licked by a dog": *śvālīḍhaṃ havir yath ā* (Mahābhārata 3.175.13). Sītā is not subsequently submitted to the fire ordeal, but all the gods come together and solemnly swear to Rāma that she is pure. All this would seem to point to the fact that in her state of neglect, she was not an acceptable oblation.

• She is first conveyed in a chariot or palanquin: *yāna* (Rm 6.102.9); *śibikā* (Rm 6.102.14); then Rāma orders that she be seen in public (Rm 6.102.28). Thus she is first hidden then disclosed.[27] To justify this, which obviously causes Sītā great shame (Rm 6.102.33–34) and causes some onlookers like Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and Hanumat great concern (Rm 6.102.31), Rāma quotes a proverb:

> It is not houses, garments, high walls, curtains, or such royal treatment as this that shields a woman; it is her virtuous conduct alone.

Then he goes on to add:

> Moreover, there is nothing wrong with a woman being seen in public during emergencies, periods of hardship, in time of war, at a ceremony of choosing her

25 The sacrificial horse, in particular, has its mane and tail tied by means of golden pearls, to prevent any deperdition of the sacrificial substance before the offering (see Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 13.2.6.8). I thank François Voegeli for this reference.

26 *tāṃ dṛṣṭvā cārusarvāṅgīṃ yānasthāṃ śokakarśitām*, *malopacitasarvāṅgīṃ jaṭilāṃ kṛṣṇavāsasam*.

27 Non-critical editions are even more explicit in this respect. See verse 3213* inserted after Rm 6.102.29 and kept in the notes of the critical edition: *visṛjya śibikāṃ tasmāt padbhyām evāpasarpatu*, *samīpe mama vaidehīṃ paśyantv ete vanaukasaḥ*.

> husband, during a sacrifice, or at a wedding ceremony. She has been through a war and has been placed in tremendous hardship. Therefore, there would be nothing wrong in her being seen publicly, especially in my company. (Rm 6.102.26–28)[28]

As we see from the last quoted verse, Rāma straightforwardly identifies the present situation as a situation of hardhip and war. But we feel dimly that the other above-listed situations might apply just as well: it could be a sacrifice of sorts, since Sītā will throw herself on the pyre. It might be a wedding, since she is reunited with her husband after a long time, and the Fire is her witness. And there is even an allusion to a *svayaṃvara*, since, as Rāma cruelly tells her at the end of their short interview, adding insult to injury: she is free to go wherever she wants and can choose a new husband, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, or even Sugrīva or Vibhīṣaṇa (Rm 6.103.22–23).

• Sītā first looks at Rāma, beams at him (Rm 6.102.35–36), then, when wrongly accused, talks to Rāma, tries to justify herself (Rm 6.104.5–16).
• Driven to extremities, she enters the Fire (Rm 6.104.18–27).
• First Brahmā the grandfather (Rm 6.105.5) and then the Fire (Rm 6. 106.4–9) testify to her purity *after* the ordeal.
• Sītā is restored to Rāma in person by the Fire god (Rm 6.106.2–3).
• The ordeal is followed by Rāma's epiphany: the assembled gods reveal to him his true identity as the Supreme Lord (Rm 6.105), which, up to then, he was ignorant of.
• Sītā does not have children yet.

The Second ordeal (Rm 7.86–89)

• Sītā comes dressed as an ascetic, in reddish-brown garb: *kāṣāyavāsinī* (Rm 7.88.9), implying her retreat from the world. In a way, this signals that Sītā has gone beyond her husband – who still functions as a householder – in the stages of her life, and prevents her from going back to married life.[29]

28 *na gr̥hāṇi na vastrāṇi na prākārās tiraskriyāḥ, nedr̥śā rājasatkārā vr̥ttam āvaraṇaṃ striyaḥ. vyasaneṣu na kr̥cchreṣu na yuddhe na svayaṃvare, na kratau no vivāhe ca darśanaṃ duṣyate striyaḥ. saiṣā yuddhagatā caiva kr̥cchre mahati ca sthitā, darśane 'syā na doṣaḥ syān matsamīpe viśeṣataḥ.*

29 The Rāmāyaṇa remains silent as to whether Sītā had formally pronounced ascetic vows or not, and this seems unlikely since she was still officially married and had young children. But in deed, she was living as an ascetic in Vālmīki's forest her-

• She comes first on foot, visible to all, and without displaying any signs of shame, then climbs onto the earth's seat or throne: *siṃhāsana*, *āsana* (Rm 7.88, *passim*) and is hidden by the earth into which she disappears.
• Sītā does not say a word to Rāma, does not argue, or try to justify herself, but merely looks down: *avāṅmukhī* (Rm 7.87.9); she has kept Rāma in her heart: *kr̥tvā rāmaṃ manogatam* (Rm 7.87.9). To her, it seems that he is already a mere memory, a thing of the past, that she has no intention of returning to.
• She resorts to the Earth (Mādhavī[30]) for her oath: *śapatha* (Rm 7. 88.10).
• Vālmīki testifies to her purity *before* the ordeal (Rm 7.87.14–20), staking all the merit gained by his *tapas*.
• Sītā disappears for good. She is not restored to Rāma.
• Sītā's epiphany takes place: by responding to her oath, the Earth not only testifies to her purity, but also publicly acknowledges her as her daughter.
• Sītā has two sons.

As we see, there is a series of interesting inversions between the two ordeals: Sītā is adorned, or unadorned; she walks in the open, or is carried hidden from view; she shows attachment to Rāma and the world, or detachment therefrom; she is articulate or inarticulate in her desires and motivations; she is emotionally involved or uninvolved; she resorts to the Fire or to the Earth, etc. Clearly, at the time of the first oath, Sītā is still of this world, whereas at the time of the second oath, she has already moved beyond it, and her behaviour is that of an ascetic. But over and above all this, the clenching element, which is certainly most determining in Sītā's decision to leave the world, is the fact that at the time of the first ordeal Sītā does not have sons yet, whereas she does at the time of the second. She is thus free to leave the world, having fulfilled her pro-

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mitage. Now, reverting to lay life, in other words coming back to the world after renouncing it, is generally prohibited by the law books and liable to certain punishment (especially, to become the king's slave). See Viṣṇu 5.152; Yajñavalkya 2.183; Nārada 5.33; Kātyāyana 731. See also Brahmasūtra 3.4.40. My sincerest thanks to Patrick Olivelle who provided me with all these references on instant notice.

30 Sītā's story also bears similarities with that of princess Mādhavī (see Mahābhārata 5.104–121). For this topic, see FELLER forthc.

creative duties. In this we can compare her to Saraṇyū, who always has sons previous to leaving her husband, even when this happens, as in the Ṛgveda, at the time of her wedding.

If my contention that Sītā's model is Saraṇyū, is true – and I think the many similarities and shared motifs between the two stories makes this at least to some extent likely – then we can fathom what a long way Sītā has come: from the erotic, wild, female, who abandons husband and children, to the figure of the ideal – though long-suffering – wife and mother. We also realise what a white-washing was required to make her fit the new wifely ideal of the *pativratā*: where Saraṇyū abandons her husband and children without compunction, Sītā is cruelly rejected by her husband, not only once (at the fire-ordeal), but twice (when she is sent into the forest). Only the third time, being probably too much tried, does she leave him for good of her own accord, but not without having first witnessed the reunion between father and sons. She gracefully leaves when the time is right. Furthermore, there is none of the element of deceit in Sītā that we can see in Saraṇyū/Saṃjñā: Saṃjñā fashions a *chāyā* to deceive her husband and even her children, whereas Sītā's golden statue is not meant to cheat anyone, except perhaps Rāma himself in his longing for her.

If Sītā is morally 'upgraded' to fit the new conventions of wifely and womanly perfection, Rāma himself, on the other hand, is singularly more blameworthy than his alter ego in the Saraṇyū myth, the sun Vivasvat.[31] It is true that both share a longing for their absent wife. But Vivasvat, in the myth, appears rather victimised: he is deceived by his wife, but still wishes to – and does indeed – get her back. To do so, he goes to considerable lengths, at least in the Purāṇic versions, even as far as putting himself on his father-in-law's turner's wheel, to cut off some of his extra-*tejas*.

Thus, if we compare the relations among the two couples, Saraṇyū/Vivasvat, and Sītā/Rāma, we see that a radical shift has taken place: in the first couple Saraṇyū is the victimiser and Vivasvat the victim, whereas in the second couple Sītā is the victim and Rāma clearly the victimiser, to the extent that he twice tries to immolate his own wife as a sacrificial offering! Evidently, what the Sun-God himself could bear had

31 Who may, by the way, be considered as Rāma's own ancestor, since Rāma belongs to the solar dynasty.

become unsufferable for a king of the epic age. If he was to keep his honour, and maintain the appearance of respectability, it was better to cast him in the role of the wife-abandoning cad than in the role of the jilted husband. Yet despite this attempt at 'devictimising' Rāma, which reveals how the balance of gender relationships changed over time, the similarities between the two stories still shine through clearly enough[32] to make us suspect that Sītā was once the independent goddess, whose nature she retains sufficiently to leave her husband in the last earthly move she makes.

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32 Especially, obviously, in the events of the Uttarakāṇḍa, where she leaves Rāma. This may be the reason why some Rāmāyaṇas leave out the events of the Uttarakāṇḍa: not so much to achieve a happy end (except in some dramatic versions of the story, where this is explicitly required by the genre), but in order to prevent Rāma's losing face.

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JAMES L. FITZGERALD

Philosophy's 'Wheel of Fire' (*alātacakra*) and Its Epic Background*

In the Mahābhārata dexterous and skillful warriors sometimes move so quickly as they turn and shoot their bows that they appear to be facing several directions at once and shooting arrows in visibly continuous streams. Or they move so rapidly they appear to be many heroes fighting simultaneously. So Bhīṣma, on the third day of the war,

> showed how quick his hands were as he whirled upon the platform of his chariot, appearing there, and there! and there and there! as with the wheel of fire (*alāta-cakravat*)! Because he was so quick, the Pāṇḍavas and the Sr̥ñjayas saw in that single mighty hero many hundreds and thousands of warriors fighting in the battle. People there thought Bhīṣma's body was something made by magic – they saw him east, west, north, and south![1]

And his bow

> formed a full-circle the whole time […] and he shot fire-tipped arrows that […] made continuous lines of arrows in every direction […].[2]

* I would like to express my thanks to Professor Ashok Aklujkar who made a number of helpful comments on an early draft of this paper at the time of its original presentation at the 2008 annual meeting of the American Oriental Society. The paper has changed substantially since then and he bears no responsibility for any errors there may be here.

1 All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. MBh 6.55.21–24: *sa nr̥tyan vai rathopasthe darśayan pāṇilāghavam*, *alātacakravad rājaṃs tatra tatra sma dr̥śyate* |21| *tam ekaṃ samare śūraṃ pāṇḍavāḥ sr̥ñjayās tathā*, *anekaśatasāhasraṃ samapaśyanta lāghavāt* |22| *māyākr̥tātmānam iva bhīṣmaṃ tatra sma menire*, *pūrvasyāṃ diśi taṃ dr̥ṣṭvā pratīcyāṃ dadr̥śur janāḥ* |23| *udīcyāṃ cainam ālokya dakṣiṇasyāṃ punaḥ prabho*, *evaṃ sa samare vīro gāṅgeyaḥ pratyadr̥śyata* |24|.

2 MBh 6.55.19–20 *tatra bhīṣmaḥ śāṃtanavo nityaṃ maṇḍalakārmukaḥ*, *mumoca bāṇān dīptāgrān ahīn āśīviṣān iva* |19| *śarair ekāyanīkurvan diśaḥ sarvā yatavrata*, *jaghāna pāṇḍavarathān ādiśyādiśya bhārata* |20|.

Though he is a scholar rather than a warrior, the one and only Johannes Bronkhorst also whirls before the academic world as if he were many – thinking and writing with continuous streams of books and articles on numerous profound questions of philosophy and cultural history. And he too seems to be in many places at once: now he's in Japan, now he's in England, and in America, Korea, Spain, Germany, and India and, of course, Lausanne! And like Bhīṣma, as that one lay on his bed of arrows after the war, instructing Yudhiṣṭhira in the most important forms of knowledge, Johannes Bronkhorst too is one of the most learned, insightful, and piquant Indological scholars of our era. Like Yudhiṣṭhira from Bhīṣma, we have all learned more from Johannes Bronkhorst than we can take in at once. As this small essay on the dazzling wheel of fire will show, the heat and brilliance of the fire that is its source is ultimately more salient than the apparent simultaneity of the wheel – and that is something that holds true with Johannes as well.

I. Introduction – Describing Errors of Conceptualization

At Mahābhārata 12.195.23, in the Manubr̥haspatisaṃvāda – a text that seems to represent a set of formulations headed more toward the classical Vedānta than toward the classical Sāṃkhya – there occurs a difficult and interesting stanza on the erroneous identification of one's embodied being as one's absolute being. The stanza occurs in the context of a description of how the soul comes into a new embodiment after an earlier body has been discharged into the five universal elements. The soul, which is an extension of Consciousness (*jñāna*) emanating from the absolute reality – an extension taking the form of mind (*manas*) and intellect (*buddhi*) and sense-faculties (*indriya*s) – re-enters the five physical elements, carrying with it, in some unspecified way,[3] the power of previ-

3 Unspecified here, that is. At various places in this text, but most explicitly at 199.5, the Intellect (*buddhi*) is identified as the part of the mental apparatus that is characterized by past *karman* and "conforming to past deeds, it displays itself throughout the whole of one's inner self" (*yathā hy ekarasā bhūmir oṣadhyātmānusāriṇī, tathā karmānugā buddhir antarātmānudarśinī*).

ous actions, *karman*. This passage – part of a long run of nearly perfect *upajāti triṣṭubh*s – reads:

> *yathā manuṣyaḥ parimucya kāyam adṛśyam anyad viśate śarīram*, *visṛjya bhūteṣu mahatsu dehaṃ tadāśrayaṃ caiva bibharti rūpam* |195.18| *khaṃ vāyum agniṃ salilaṃ tathorvīṃ samantato 'bhyāviśate śarīrī*, *nānāśrayāḥ karmasu vartamānāḥ śrotrādayaḥ pañca guṇāñ śrayante* |195.19| […] *mahatsu bhūteṣu vasanti pañca pañcendriyārthāś ca tathendriyeṣu*, *sarvāṇi caitāni manonugāni buddhiṃ mano 'nveti manaḥ svabhāvam* |195.21| *śubhāśubhaṃ karma kṛtaṃ yad asya tad eva pratyādadate svadehe*, *mano 'nuvartanti parāvarāṇi jalaukasaḥ srota ivānukūlam* |195.22|
> When a man releases one body he enters another body without being seen. Having dissolved his body in the elements, he comes to bear a new visible form based upon them. |18| The embodied soul takes direct, unmediated, possession of Ether, Wind, Fire, Water, and Earth. But each of (the extensions of the soul that are the sensory powers,) hearing and so on, rest upon a distinctive foundation: they resort to the five different attributes of the five elements as they carry out their operations. |19| […] These objects of the five senses (that is, the attributes of the five elements) dwell in the five elements, and they dwell in the senses too. All these take after the Lower Mind, the Lower Mind takes after the Higher Mind. Mind takes after Essential Nature.[4] |21| In that body of his he takes upon himself again what good or bad deeds he did previously; the high and the low of them conform to his Mind,[5] like fish swimming within the banks of a stream. |22|

And then comes the interesting explanation for why people mistake this empirical embodiment for their true being – an explanation that indirectly launched this inquiry and led to unexpected, if not surprising, results.

4 Consciousness (*jñāna*), the first derivative to emerge from the highest reality in the ontology of this text (see 197.10 and then 11; also 197.19; 198.18 juxtaposes *prakṛti* and *jñāna* in a passage [198.14–18] that, inconsistently with the majority of the arguments of the text, makes pronounced dualistic points). The point of this sentence is to assert that conscious energy moves all the way down the chain of faculties to the senses at the bottom. MBh 12.195.21cd, with *indriyāṇi* understood at the outset and English sentence-forms superimposed for clarity: s*arvāṇi caitāni manonugāni. buddhiṃ mano 'nveti. manaḥ svabhāvam* [*anveti*] |21cd|. I believe that the latter instance of *manas* in this *pāda* refers not to the 'Lower-Mind' faculty, but is, rather, the older general, undifferentiated word for a person's mind, or for Mind, a sometime alternate phrasing for (*antar*)*ātman*.

5 MBh 12.195.22cd *mano 'nuvartanti parāvarāṇi* [*karmāṇi*] *jalaukasaḥ srota ivānukūlam* |22cd|. Past deeds "fit within" "are channeled within" his Mind. Again Mind here seems to be the broader use of the term.

calaṃ yathā dṛṣṭipathaṃ paraiti sūkṣmaṃ mahad rūpam ivābhipāti, svarūpam ālocayate ca rūpaṃ paraṃ tathā buddhipathaṃ paraiti |195.23|
As when a moving object is passing out of the range of vision and yet one perceives that now tiny object as if it were still large,[6] so too does the highest reality (*param*) go beyond the purview of intellection (*buddhipatham*) and (yet, likewise,) one intuits his (large) embodied form (*rūpa*) to be his (small, subtle) essential form (*svarūpa*).

The overall best commentator on the Mahābhārata, Arjunamiśra, a Bhāratavid, the son of a Bhāratavid,[7] invokes the theme of the *alātacakra* to explain the erroneous understanding described here – he glosses the word *calam* in *pāda* a as *alātacakram iva*. What does he mean? He does not elaborate any further.[8] Does he mean simply that there is an illusion? The theme of the *alātacakra* is familiar primarily as a Madhyamaka argument made to undermine *naïve* confidence in the accuracy of sensory experience and essentialistic conceptualization, and as such it is invoked by Nāgarjuna and his intellectual progeny alongside other things that may appear to the human senses but are not real: foam, bubbles, magic tricks, and Gandharva cities floating in the air. For example:

māyāmarīcigandharvapurabudbudaphenavat, saṃskārāḥ svapnasaṃkāśā vidyante ***'lātacakravat***[9]
*saṃskāra*s occur like dreams: they are like magical illusions, mirages, Gandharva Cities, bubbles, or foam, or *the wheel of fire*.

Does Arjunamiśra mention the *alātacakra* simply because it is synonymous with illusion? Or does the *alātacakra* fit here better than appears at first glance?

6 As becomes fully clear in light of 23cd and the immediately following two stanzas, 12.196.1–2, this distortion of visual perception occurs as part of the (normal) operation of the faculty of post-sensory intellection, the office of the *buddhi*.

7 GHOSH 1934–1935: 706–710.

8 I have access to Arjunamiśra here, however, only through the quotations of him provided by the editor of the Śāntiparvan, S. K. Belvalkar. Belvalkar provides a liberal sprinkling of quotations from commentators in the *apparatus* to the Śāntiparvan. I think it is unlikely that Belvalkar omitted any further elaboration of Arjunamiśra's here.

9 NĀGĀRJUNA [1985] *Śūnyatāsaptati* 66.

The alātacakra in general

What exactly is the *alātacakra* trope? It is a commonplace that relies upon the known experience of seeing a single, rapidly twirled torch create the illusion of an apparently real, continuous circle. An *alāta* is basically a burning piece of wood, a firebrand, a torch,[10] or, as Dasgupta suggests,[11] a piece of charcoal which may be held with some device. The *alāta-cakra*, the torch-circle or "wheel of fire," is created by the torch's (or the piece of charcoal's) being swung or whirled rapidly (*āviddha*) in a circle, causing our perceptual apparatus to perceive the persisting figure of a circle.[12] This phenomenon is explicitly described at MBh 9.3.20 in praise of Arjuna's deft handling of his bow Gāṇḍīva, an example we will turn to later. In that passage, Arjuna's gold-adorned bow Gāṇḍīva's being pulled back so often and so rapidly for shooting arrows that it forms a constant circle (he is *maṇḍalakārmuka*[13]*)* is what allows it to be compared to the circle of fire.

10 See MBh 3.12.44cd–5 *cikṣepa colmukaṃ dīptam aśaniṃ jvalitām iva* |44| *tad udastam* alātaṃ *tu bhīmaḥ praharatāṃ varaḥ, padā savyena cikṣepa tad rakṣaḥ punar āvrajat* |45| "(The Rākṣasa Kirmīra) hurled at Bhīma his lighted firebrand like flaming lightning, but that greatest of fighters kicked the cast-up *torch* back to the Rakṣasa with his left foot" (transl. VAN BUITENEN 1973–1978). And also 12.166.3ab: *tato* 'lātena *dīptena viśvastaṃ nijaghāna tam* |3ab| "(The ingrate) then killed that trusting (bird) with a blazing *firebrand*." And see too the example at Rām. 3.17.17, which is presented below. There are in the epics a couple of references (5.131.13 and 12.138.19) to *tindukālāta*s, that is pieces of burning ebony used as torches; the resins in the ebony create a lot of smoke in addition to a bright flame. The fires of *tindukālāta*s are contrasted to *tuṣāgni*s, straw or grass fires, which are *anarcis*, flameless: sometimes they lack a flame because they burn so intensely hot, sometimes because the grass or straw is wet and there is a lot of smoke but no flame.

11 DASGUPTA 1922 Vol. 1: 428.

12 Its being moved back and forth in a straight line has the similar effect of tracing the persisting figure of a line. A person can move a light-source back and forth in various combinations of lines and arcs and these will all appear as enduring figures to the human eye, especially at night, from some distance, because of the physical characteristics of our retinas, our optic nerve, and the visual processing areas of our brains. This fact is the basis of the comparisons of firebrands streaking through the sky to lightning. And this effect obviously can be used to make the same logical arguments as may be made with the figure of the circle.

13 This term is not actually used here for Arjuna; it occurs only twice in the epic, both times in connection with Bhīṣma. See MBh 6.45.69, 55.19 (quoted in the *prastāva*

The firebrand swung in a circle creating a visually persisting wheel of fire is an emblem of illusion for philosophers, one particularly well suited to Buddhist arguments that all elements of our experience – most fundamentally our own selves – are transitory congeries without essences. A *locus classicus* explaining the epistemological *nyāya* based on this visual effect occurs in the Brahminic Nyāyasūtra at 3.2.57–59 as explained by Vātsyāyana in the tradition's fundamental exposition of the *sūtra*s.[14]

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at the outset), and note 36. The phenomenon, however, is represented in other words a number of times and forms part of the broader theme of the epic use of the *alātacakra* trope.

14 RUBEN 1928. The *sūtras* read: *jñānāyaugapadyād ekaṃ manaḥ* |57| *na yugapad anekakriyopalabdheḥ* |58| *alātacakradarśanavat tadupalabdhir āśusaṃcārāt* |59| "There is (only) one mind, because (instances of) knowledge do not occur at the same time. |57| 'Not so, (there must be several different minds) because we perceive several different activities simultaneously.' |58| (Wrong,) the perception of that is from their rapid occurrence, as with seeing a torch-circle-of-fire. |59|" Vātsyāyana's explanation of 3.2.59 reads: *āśusaṃcārād*: alātasya bhramato *vidyamānaḥ kramo na gr̥hyate*, *kramasyāgrahaṇād avicchedabuddhyā cakrabuddhir bhavati*. *tathā buddhīnāṃ kriyāṇāṃ cāśuvr̥ttitvād vidyamānaḥ kramo na gr̥hyate*, *kramasyāgrahaṇād yugapat kriyā bhavanti*: *ity abhimāno bhavati*. "'Because of their rapid occurrence:' The 'stepping' that occurs *when a torch is moving in a circle* is not cognized; the idea of a circle comes to be by way of the concept of a *continuum* (*avicchedabuddhi*) that comes from not cognizing the stepping. Similarly, the 'stepping' that occurs with thoughts and actions is not cognized, because it [the 'stepping'] occurs so rapidly; the (erroneous) sense, 'Actions exist simultaneously,' comes to be from not cognizing the stepping." The point of this *adhikaraṇa*, as said in *sūtra* 57, is to argue that a person's mind is single, not multiple. The *sūtra's* rationale is that instances of knowledge occur in succession, not simultaneously (*jñānāyaugapadyāt*). An opponent objects in 58 that we do in fact observe people doing several things simultaneously, so a person must have multiple minds. (As many will know, these topics are very much alive in contemporary brain research and philosophy of mind. E.g., Galen STRAWSON, *Selves. An Essay in Revisionary Metaphysics*, Oxford, 2009). Gautama rejects that objection in 59: "That perception of simultaneity occurs because of the rapid occurrence (in succession) of non-simultaneous events." And here he invokes the *alātacakra* trope as a logical *nyāya*: *alātacakravat*. Vātsyāyana's explanation of the *alātacakra* theme is clear and helpful and it stands in full harmony with the use of the trope as a *nyāya* for illusory perception.

The application of the alātacakra to MBh 12.195.23

As the two stanzas immediately following 195.23 make clear, the cognitions described in 195.23 are based upon an understanding of the *buddhi* as an organ of the embodied soul that works on the basis of sensory knowledge, but the input of the senses need not be ongoing in the present for the *buddhi* to operate. There is an interesting general overlap of topic between these stanzas and the just quoted *adhikaraṇa* of the Nyāyasūtra here.[15]

> *yad indriyais tūpakr̥tān purastāt prāptān guṇān saṃsmarate cirāya, teṣv indriyeṣūpahateṣu paścāt sa buddhirūpaḥ paramaḥ svabhāvaḥ* |12.196.1| *yathendriyārthān yugapat samastān nāvekṣate kr̥tsnam atulyakālam, yathābalaṃ saṃcarate sa vidvāṃs tasmāt sa ekaḥ paramaḥ śarīrī* |12.196.2|
>
> When, after a long while, one recalls sensory features that he has perceived – that were furnished to him at some earlier time by the sense faculties – and this even when the sense faculties may have subsequently suffered some injury, then that is his supreme true being (*paramaḥ svabhāvaḥ)* in the form of Intellect (*buddhi*). |1| Since one does not attend to the objects of the sense faculties in their combined form and simultaneously, but rather goes through them all with differing amounts of time, according to their varying intensity, the one who knows, therefore, must be the single supreme soul. |2|

The *buddhi* stores, and alters, and acts upon prior sensory knowledge.[16] And though the *buddhi*, like the *manas* and the senses too, derives its power of consciousness directly or indirectly from a principle of consciousness, *jñāna* (which is the first emanation from the absolute reality)[17] this faculty, like all the others, cannot perceive that which is at its center, that from which it derives, its own essence. The absolute reality "goes beyond the purview of the *buddhi*'s intellection," (*paraṃ tathā buddhipathaṃ paraiti*, 195.23d). Because it is unable to perceive the ab-

15 And, incidentally, the fact that this continuation of the pericope from 12.195 cuts across an *adhyāya* boundary suggests that that boundary had nothing to do with the intellectual content being redacted. The long passage (196 *pāda*s in 48 stanzas) of nearly classical *triṣṭubh*s with which the Manubr̥haspatisaṃvāda begins ends just two stanzas further on, with 196.4. After that passage there is a passage of 82 *śloka*s. The whole then ends with 5 pre-classical *triṣṭubh* stanzas and 2 classical *rucirā*s.

16 12.196.1–2.

17 12.197.11–12, 19.

solute that is beyond its range, it substitutes the empirical self for the essential self, just as, when processing visual sensations, it substitutes, in its intellectual operations, a relatively large mental image of an object that grew tiny as it passed beyond the range of the eyes. Though the *buddhi* is the critical faculty for these two 'errors,' the two substitutions are quite different. The one is an amplification of a previously cognized image 'in memory,' while the other is an unexplained seizing upon the intense and proximate sense of empirical and psychological selfhood present in subjective consciousness in the putative place of the postulated imperceptible transcendent self. The reason persons are compelled to make this latter error is not stated by Manu.[18]

Arjunamiśra seems to apply the *alātacakra nyāya* here because it too is a 'mistake' in which a large mental image replaces the correct perception of something that is small: "As when a moving object is passing out of the range of vision and [as, nonetheless,] one perceives that now tiny object as if it were still large […]" (or, more literally, "[yet it] seems to come to have a large form"; *calaṃ yathā dṛṣṭipathaṃ paraiti sūkṣmaṃ mahad rūpam ivābhipāti*). With an *alātacakra* the motion of the small object is essential to the 'illusion,' and as the motion of the small object in 195.23 was stated as a premise at the very outset of the *śloka* (with the word *calam*); so Arjunamiśra says *calam alātacakravat*. But is Arjunamiśra ignoring the main body of 195ab – the assertion that the small object coming to have a large form occurs "as it passes beyond the range of vision"? It is not necessary to see him as ignoring this condition: The words *dṛṣṭipathaṃ paraiti* could be fairly understood to be a description of the limited abilities of our visual *apparatus*; in modern terms, the response-time of the human retina that makes it impossible to perceive all the discrete instants of the torch as it is whirled in the circle. And *sūkṣmaṃ mahad rūpam ivābhipāti* certainly could be understood to refer to the small flame of a torch being seen as a much larger circle of fire. And a final consideration in favor of Arjunamiśra's possible understanding:

18 This "error" seems to presume a prior doctrine postulating such an error. The text has given no reason motivating a person's making this mistake. On the other hand, we could see this statement in 195.23 to be a registration of the psychological fact that people are often observed investing their individual being with some form of ultimate seriousness. The words here could be seen as one way of saying such a thing, though in fact the text as a whole is making a much larger argument than that.

The way of understanding the metaphor of 23ab just sketched does not interfere at all with the main point of 23cd, that the *buddhi* substitutes *rūpa* for *svarūpa* because the *param* exceeds the range of the *buddhi*'s powers, is beyond the *buddhi*'s inherent limitations as an organ of knowledge.

But even if Manu's text allows Arjunamiśra to read it in terms of the *alātacakra* in this way, it does not seem likely this is what Manu had in mind. The stanzas immediately following 195.23 regarding the nature and functioning of the *buddhi* (i.e., 196.1–2, quoted and translated above) favor a more specific psychological explanation of the text. Moreover, it seems likely that if the author of Manu-Bṛhaspati thought the error involved here was best described in terms of the 'wheel of fire,' he would have invoked that by name, were he aware of such a motif. Did the author of our *saṃvāda* here know of an *alātacakranyāya*? Had it been developed as a philosophical commonplace at the time this text was composed? These questions bring us to the theme of the second part of this paper: What is the sense and use of the *alātacakra* in the Mahābhārata, and, or the Rāmāyaṇa? As already mentioned, the MBh knows a 'wheel of fire,' but is either epic aware of it as a philosophical commonplace? And, if so, is the meaning and use of the trope limited to that famous epistemological application? With these questions in mind, I undertook a tour of the *alātacakra* in the epics to see what the epic background of this epistemological *nyāya* might be.

II. A Survey of the *alātacakra* and the *gandharvanagara* in the Sanskrit Epics

The word *alāta* is unknown in pre-epic Sanskrit literature, but both *alāta* and *alātacakra* are known to both epics.[19] The word *alāta* by itself occurs 11 times in the MBh and once in the Rām.; the compound *alātaca-*

19 The word *alāta* is known in early Buddhist Pāli literature, but *alātacakra* is not – the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (<http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/>, accessed January 2012) records only one instance of the term from the Visuddhimagga. Edgerton (EDGERTON 1953, *s.v.*), points to several uses in early Mahāyāna literature.

kra occurs 8 times in the MBh and 3 times in the Rām. As we delve into the *alātacakra* in the epics it will be of some interest at the outset to look at an another illusion-*nyāya* that occurs in these texts, the trope of the "Gandharva-city," the *gandharvanagara*, that was mentioned by Nāgārjuna in the quotation given above. Gandharvas were musicians and singers in the celestial realms presided over by the major Gods, a conception slightly resembling the choirs of 'angels' of the Judaeo-Christian scriptural *milieux*. The expression "city (*nagara*, or *pura*), of the Gandharvas," a "fortified castle of the Gandharvas," is an ancient Indian conceit for the natural atmospheric phenomenon of a mirage on the horizon,[20] what came to be known relatively recently in the West as a *Fata Morgana*. By calling mirages *gandharvanagara*s, Indians were representing the notion that some of the lower reaches of the heavens, the settlements of these lowest heaven-dwellers, those most proximate to the earthly plains, could occasionally be seen down here.[21] The idea of the *gandharvanagara* described the mirage as a marvelous, shimmering castle that appeared floating in the sky off in the distance for an interval of time and then vanished. There is never any mention of seeing actual Gandharvas in them or any other signs of Gandharva activity in or around them. There are eighteen occurrences of the compound *gandharvanagara* in the Mahābhārata and three in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; once in the Rāṃ. and twice in the MBh instances of the compound *gandharvanagara* refer not to marvelous hovering castles, but invoke, rather, its literal sense, referring to an actual Gandharva citadel that is visited.[22] I begin with a short detour into the epics' deployment of this mirage-trope, as a point of comparison for the *alātacakra*.

20 A mirage – also known as a looming – is caused by layers of air of differing density in the atmosphere which act then as lenses and, among other effects, cause light originating beyond a viewer's horizon to refract and reach that viewer's eyes along with the unrefracted light in the viewer's direct line of sight. They were called "Fata Morgana" in the Mediterranean after the legendary "Morgan the Fata (Fairy-magician)" (Morgan le Fay), the enchantress of the Arthurian cycle.

21 As with all metaphoric applications of language, some take the words at face value while others see always the metaphor.

22 See MBh 2.25.6 and 13.26.28 and Rām. 7.91.3.

The marvelous mirage of the gandharvanagara

A *gandharvanagara* is a commonplace for a marvelous apparition – a dazzling apparition that is notable for vertical elevation and evanescence. The apparition occurs in the sky – on the horizon, but elevated above it – and the entities compared to it are typically relatively tall, or the poet wishes to make them seem so. And the marvel is especially amazing because it may vanish before one's eyes. The epic poets are generally interested only in the marvelous qualities of those things they compare to *gandharvanagara*s; they are not normally criticizing them as unreal or illusory.

A frequent use of the *gandharvanagara* trope in the MBh occurs in the form of statements that chariots look like *gandharvanagara*s, or were constructed to look like *gandharvanagara*s, a *simile* that must be based on their actually superior relative height and exaggerations of that.[23] For example, on the eleventh day of the battle:

> Arjuna deprived many of the enemy of various limbs and body-parts: he cut some through the back, cut off the feet and hands and heads of others, and shot out others' eyes; dismantling with his arrows those chariots constructed by design as *apparitions of Gandharva cities*, he deprived (his enemies) of horses, chariots, and elephants.[24]

The phrase "chariots constructed by design as apparitions of Gandharva cities" (*gandharvanagarākārān vidhivat kalpitān rathān*) occurs three other times in the seventh and eighth books and similar points are made in slightly different words at three other places in the sixth and eighth books.[25] A striking example associated with chariots involves Arjuna's chariot, and the pennants on its standard, as Arjuna headed toward the battlefield at sunrise of the second day of the war. The pennants flying

23 This comparison makes a great deal of sense if one imagines a line of chariots in the distance, behind rows of foot soldiers. It is also aligned with the urge to make chariots taller and taller that we see in medieval and modern depictions of Indian chariots.

24 MBh 7.18.27–28 *pr̥ṣṭhacchinnān vicaraṇān vimastiṣkekṣaṇāṅgulīn*, *nānāṅgāvayavair hīnāṃś cakārārīn dhanaṃjayaḥ* |27| gandharvanagarākārān *vidhivat kalpitān rathān*, *śarair viśakalīkurvaṃś cakre vyaśvarathadvipān* |28|.

25 The three identical phrasings are at MBh 7.35.31, 7.42.3 and 8.12.41, and the others are at 6.99.20, 8.26.7 and 8.59.17.

from its tall standard moved across the orb of the rising sun and looked like a Gandharva citadel moving across the sky.[26] In a comparison based on height in a different way, it came to pass that the surface of the earth on the Kurukṣetra battlefield could not be traversed as the eighteen-day battle neared its end (toward the end of day sixteen) – littered as it was with the large bodies of horses, elephants, and heroes, it was as if mountains had collapsed upon it in avalanches, the horrific battlefield thus looked like a *gandharvanagara*.[27]

A fight between Karṇa and the flying Rākṣasa Ghaṭotkaca furnishes an instance presenting celestial elevation and vanishing both. Ghaṭotkaca kept getting hit by Karṇa's big, iron, *nārāca* arrows, he was "like a mountain with showers of rain (pouring down upon it); he then disappeared again in the fashion of a *gandharvanagara*."[28] We shall return to the element of vanishing in a moment. But first we turn to another kind of visual marvel, at 13.54.2: a palace fashioned through Cyavana's *yoga*-power has a thousand glittering pillars – the skyward element – made of jewels and gold, and that palace is said to resemble a *gandharvanagara*. Similarly, at Rām. 5.2.48, Laṅkā looked like a *gandharvanagara* to Hanumān because it was arrayed with a series of palaces constructed with pillars of gold and silver, and it was illumined by these and light re-

26 MBh 6.46.42–43abcd *ādityapathagaḥ ketus tasyādbhutamanoramaḥ, śāsanāt puruhūtasya nirmito viśvakarmaṇā* |42| *indrāyudhasavarṇābhiḥ patākābhir alaṃkṛtaḥ, ākāśaga ivākāśe* gandharvanagaropamaḥ |43abcd| "His (Arjuna's) standard is a delightful marvel as it crosses the way of the sun. Constructed by Viśvakarman at Indra's command, it is decorated with pennants displaying all the colors of the rainbow. Moving through the sky it is like *a city of the Gandharvas* in the sky." It seems the original idea here involves the pennants being silhouetted against the orb of the rising sun, though the description of them as multi-colored suggests the opposite, that they are illuminated directly by the rays of the rising sun. The word *ādityapathaga* here is not unambiguous. It is conceivable that 42cd–43ab was a later embellishment to the original conception, which would have resembled the idea of shadow-puppets.

27 MBh 8.19.29–30 *susragvīṇi suvāsāṃsi candanenokṣitāni ca, śarīrāṇi vyadṛśyanta hatānāṃ ca mahītale, gandharvanagarākāraṃ ghoram āyodhanaṃ tadā* |29| *nihatai rājaputraiś ca kṣatriyaiś ca mahābalaiḥ, hastibhiḥ patitaiś caiva turagaiś cābhavan mahī, agamyamārgā samare viśīrṇair iva parvataiḥ* |30|. Even taking account of the intrinsic hyperbole, it would seem again that the author has in mind a distant, panoramic view.

28 MBh 7.150.96 *sa hanyamāno nārācair dhārābhir iva parvataḥ, gandharvanagarākāraḥ punar antaradhīyata* |96|.

flected and refracted by gems. But at 5.141.21 the *gandharvanagara*, brilliant and looming in the sky, is but one of many marvels of ill omen presaging Duryodhana's defeat: "A brilliant *Gandharva city* hovers nearby with walls, moats, ramparts, and handsome gate towers."[29]

Frequently those who see something resembling a *gandharvanagara* are amazed (they experience *vismaya*) at the sight. At Droṇa's presentation of his pupils' mastery of weapons, the spectators "watching that army of princes […] were astounded, as though they were watching *a castle in the air.*"[30] The various seers, Siddhas, and *cāraṇa*s who had escorted the Pāṇḍava boys down from the Himālayas to Hāstinapura disappeared after announcing the paternity of the boys – "And upon seeing (them) vanish *like a castle in the sky*, (the members of the Bhārata court) were greatly amazed."[31] Other instances based on the evanescence element occur at MBh 3.170.59, which describes Arjuna's attack upon the flying "Golden City" (*hiraṇyapura*) of the "demons," which ultimately disappeared,[32] and at 7.150.96, the instance that "saw" Ghaṭotkaca disappear mentioned above (see note 28 above).

All of the instances above exploited the amazement-inspiring features of the mirage; none express interest in any issues of ontology or epistemology. Even the vanishing element, the basis of the mirage's being classed as 'illusion' by philosophers, is merely an element for admiration. There are, however, two other uses of the trope, one in each epic, that do move beyond the sensory marvels of the fabulous "Gandharva cities" and make earnest points about the shared life-world. When trying to dispel Sītā's anxiety at the Rākṣasa Mārīca's illusions, Lakṣmaṇa tells her: "It was only that monster's magic (*māyā*), like a *gandharvanagara*."[33] So here the irreality behind sensory impressions – the labeling

29 MBh 5.141.21cdef, transl. of VAN BUITENEN (1973–1978): *tathā* gandharvanagaraṃ *bhānumantam upasthitam, saprākāraṃ saparikhaṃ savapraṃ cārutoraṇam* |21cdef|.

30 MBh 1.124.25, transl. of VAN BUITENEN (1973–1978): *tat kumārabalaṃ tatra gṛhītaśarakārmukam*, gandharvanagarākāraṃ *prekṣya te vismitābhavan* |1.124.25|.

31 MBh 1.117.33, transl. of VAN BUITENEN (1973–1978): gandharvanagarākāraṃ *tatraivāntarhitaṃ punaḥ, ṛṣisiddhagaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā vismayaṃ te paraṃ yayuḥ* |1.117.33|.

32 MBh 3.170.58–59 *tac chokayuktam aśrīkaṃ duḥkhadainyasamāhatam, na babhau dānavapuraṃ hatatviṭkaṃ hateśvaram* |58| *gandharvanagarākāraṃ hatanāgam iva hradam, śuṣkavṛkṣam ivāraṇyam adṛśyam abhavat puram* |59|.

33 Rām. 3.43.15cd *gandharvanagaraprakhyā māyā sā tasya rakṣasaḥ* |15|.

of someone's experience as an unreal mirage – is indeed the point. In the philosophical anthology of the Mokṣadharma that forms part of the MBh, in Yudhiṣṭhira's initial speech about *dharma* that occasions Bhīṣma's recital of "The Dialogue of Tulādhāra and Jājali," at 12.252.12–13, the evanescence of *gandharvanagara* mirages is called upon to emphasize how elusive are determinations of what has the status of *dharma*. This passage virtually glosses the import of the trope with: "Now you see it, now you don't."

> [Summing up the whole preceding discussion of the contradictions in our sources of the knowledge of *dharma*, Yudhiṣṭhira says:] So we know it (*dharma*), or we don't; it can be known, or it can't. It is finer than the edge of a razor and weightier than a mountain. At first it seems *like an apparition of a Gandharva city*, but when sages scrutinize it with care, it disappears again.[34]

Yudhiṣṭhira's point in his diatribe here is more a criticism of the standard teachings on the sources of *dharma* than it is an argument bearing upon fundamental epistemology. So in both of these latter two instances, someone's current knowledge is criticized by being compared to the *gandharvanagara* mirage. The evanescence of the mirage is the basis of two practical – not theoretical – judgments.

What we have found in this brief survey is that the sensory elements of mirages have been richly exploited, at times quite deftly with intricate care. Such a pattern of use is hardly surprising, given the graphic nature of the epics' main narrative matter. Will we find the same predilection for the sensible over the abstract in the case of the *alātacakra*, a product of human activity rather than a natural phenomenon?

The alātacakra's marvelous simultaneity of one and many and one

As a deliberate construction of human activity, the *alātacakra* is a quite different phenomenon from the mirage. The relationship between the illusion and its cause – and the knowledge and understanding of that relationship – is intrinsic to the activity that generates the wheel of fire.

34 MBh 12.252.12–13 *vidma caivaṃ na vā vidma śakyaṃ vā vedituṃ na vā, aṇīyān kṣuradhārāyā garīyān parvatād api* |12| gandharvanagarākāraḥ *prathamaṃ saṃpradṛśyate, anvīkṣyamāṇaḥ kavibhiḥ punar gacchaty adarśanam* |13|.

Salient aspects of the activity and the phenomenon are the fire and its intrinsic qualities, the rotation of the fire at speed, the consequent visual phenomenon of a persisting figure, and the knowledge that the one fire spun rapidly gives rise to the figure of many fires in a succession forming one continuous circle, and of course the knowledge that the wheel of fire is an artificial creation, an illusion, that lasts only as long as the *alāta* is spun. Comparisons of aspects of human action, or of processes or phenomena in the world, to the *alātacakra* may be based on one or more of these salient features. Apart from the instance at 9.3.20 mentioned above and two others that will be presented below (7.91.40–1 and 8.59.30–1), the actual process of the twirling of the firebrand or rotation of the wheel is not mentioned – and in those three instances it is only mentioned incidentally. There are no direct descriptions of the activity or discussions of the actual *alātacakra* artifice in either epic, though the epic poets are as well aware of the phenomenon as they are of mirages.

The principal use of the *alātacakra* relies upon the abstract but delightful tension among the one fire and the many fires and the one circle that are embedded in the very action of spinning the torch and viewing it spun. This tension formed the basis of two recurring applications of the trope in both epics and one singular application in the Rāmāyaṇa. It is used when various human activities are said to occur so rapidly that, though composed of many instances of a repeated action, or of slightly varying actions, they blur together to create the illusion of one person, or one thing, like a bow, doing many things simultaneously, or facing several directions at once. The trope describes the dazzling simultaneity of the warrior's being one and many. And connected with this simultaneity, the warrior's one bow (typically golden, that is glowing brightly like fire,) is drawn and released so many times (and is directed so many different ways in such rapid succession) that, like the spun torch, it appears a static circle of fire. It is as if the poets were arresting the whirring of the brightly golden bow with a verbal strobe-light. At the outset of this paper I presented both these common applications as present in a description of Bhīṣma fighting early in the war (in MBh 6.55). There is an extended description of Rāma fighting with a similar amazing simultaneity of many apparent forms at Rām. 6.81.15ff., and this passage, like MBh 6.55, also describes the arrested fire-circle of the war-

rior's bow.[35] Similar descriptions of the simultaneously multiple and singular Droṇa and then Abhimanyu occur at 7.6.41–42[36] and 7.44.23[37] respectively. As with Bhīṣma's keeping his bow in a constant circle at

35 In this elaborate passage (6.81.15–30), which employs several different tropes heightening the sense of Rāma's overwhelming speed and power, there is a regular alternation between seeing Rāma as one – or as many – or not seeing him at all (merely seeing the devastating effects of his weapons). As with Bhīṣma in MBh 6.55 (see above), the enemy Rākṣasas in this battle see many (here, thousands) of likenesses of him (*rāmasya sadr̥śān* 22c, an interesting representation) ravaging the Rākṣasa army here and there – because he is only the blur of many instances of himself. Mainly they see only the golden ends of his bow whipping round (*bhramantīm* […] *koṭīm*) like a circle of fire (*alātacakrapratimām*): Rām. 6.81.24–25 *te tu rāmasahasrāṇi raṇe paśyanti rākṣasāḥ, punaḥ paśyanti kākutstham ekam eva mahāhave* |24| *bhramantīṃ kāñcanīṃ koṭiṃ kārmukasya mahātmanaḥ, alātacakrapratimāṃ dadr̥śus te na rāghavam* |25| "24. Sometimes the *rākṣasa*s saw a thousand Rāmas in battle, while at other times they saw but a single Kākutstha in that great conflict. 25. Sometimes they would see only the golden tip of the great warrior's bow, whirling about like a circle of blazing fire, but not Rāghava himself" (GOLDMAN translation: VĀLMĪKI [1984–2009] Vol. 6: 392–393). The entire passage culminates in an extended metaphor depicting Rāma at the center of a *rāmacakra* ("a wheel that is Rāma"), which his enemies look upon the way living beings do the (death-dealing) wheel of time (*kālacakra*). I mention this metaphor, because it seems to me to be inspired by the actuality of the "torch-fire-wheel," the *alātacakra*, and is an even more telling suggestion of a poet's arresting the action with a strobe light. Quite interestingly, while some of the Rāmāyaṇa commentators presented by the Goldmans in their annotations to this passage are well aware of the central notions encoded in the *alātacakra* trope, none sees it as the basic key to this and similar passages, as I do.

36 MBh 7.6.41–42. In the first battle after Droṇa's *abhiṣeka* as *senāpati* he breaks Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna's initiative: *te kampyamānā droṇena bāṇaiḥ pāṇḍavasr̥ñjayāḥ, punaḥ punar abhajyanta siṃhenevetare mr̥gāḥ* |41| *atha paryapatad droṇaḥ pāṇḍavānāṃ balaṃ balī*, alātacakravad *rājaṃs tad adbhutam ivābhavat* |42| "The Pāṇḍavas and Sr̥ñjayas withered under Droṇa's arrows and broke repeatedly, like small game before a lion. The mighty Droṇa flew all around the army of the Pāṇḍavas, *as if he was a wheel of fire*. It was something of a marvel."

37 MBh 7.44.23 describes Abhimanyu fighting and makes the idea of the trope explicit: *ekaḥ sa śatadhā rājan dr̥śyate sma sahasradhā*, alātacakravat *saṃkhye kṣipram astrāṇi darśayan* |23| (Describing Abhimanyu's desperate fight against the Kauravas) "Rapidly presenting them with his missiles, that boy by himself seemed to be a hundred in battle, king, a thousand even, *as if he were a circle of fire*."

6.55.19,[38] we see Sātyaki explicitly likening his bow to a circle of fire as he boasts to his *sūta* at 7.95.25.

> [Sātyaki, predicting Duryodhana's grief when he witnesses Sātyaki's prowess and skill:] "Now as I shoot the very best arrows with my hand so quick, the Kauravas will see my bow *as a circle of fire*."[39]

And shortly after he had killed Karṇa, Arjuna's bow Gāṇḍīva is similarly described by Saṃjaya at 9.3.19–21 – this example moves from the bow's terrifying buzz or hum to its dazzling, lightning-like apparition, reminding us of Arjuna's father among the clouds with his lightning bolts:

> Our hearts froze at Bhīma's lion-roar and at the trumpeting of Pāñcajanya, Kr̥ṣṇa's conch, and at the steady buzzing of Gāṇḍīva. Like coursing lightning that robs our eyes of sight, Gāṇḍīva looked *like a torch whirled (in a circle)*. The great bow with so much lovely gold on it appeared [aimed] in every direction, like lightning in masses of clouds.[40]

Back at 6.45.16, in the distinctive segment of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* noted above in note 36, we see the word *alāta* used metonymically for the entire circle of fire – at least that is how Nīlakaṇṭha interprets the word *alāta* there, and I think he is right. Saṃjaya reports of the first day of the war that Abhimanyu's bow "whirled in every direction and seemed like an *alāta* (*alātasadr̥śaprabham*)," which Nīlakaṇṭha glosses *ad loc*. as being the equivalent of the *alātacakra*: "(The word) *alātasadr̥śaprabham* is the same as the firebrand rotating; it means it has the appearance of a circle" (*alātasadr̥śaprabhaṃ bhrāmyamāṇolmukasamaṃ, maṇḍalāk ā ram ity arthaḥ).*

38 A descriptive compound that occurs one other time in the MBh and in the same general vicinity of the text, at 6.45.60. Interestingly, *lāghavamārga* and *lakṣyatā* are two other uncommon phrasings that each occur twice in this segment of the text (6.45–61).

39 MBh 7.96.25 *adya me kṣiprahastasya kṣipataḥ sāyakottamān*, alātacakrapratimaṃ *dhanur drakṣyanti kauravāḥ* |25|.

40 MBh 9.3.19–21 *siṃhanādena bhīmasya pāñcajanyasvanena ca*, *gāṇḍīvasya ca nirghoṣāt saṃhr̥ṣyanti manāṃsi naḥ* |19| *carantīva mahāvidyun muṣṇantī nayanaprabhām*, *alātam iva cāviddhaṃ gāṇḍīvaṃ samadr̥śyata* |20| *jāmbūnadavicitraṃ ca dhūyamānaṃ mahad dhanuḥ*, *dr̥śyate dikṣu sarvāsu vidyud abhraghaneṣv iva* |21| In this example the *alātacakra* relates to the bow both in terms of the illusion of simultaneity that the rapidly flexing bow forms a single simultaneous circle and the dazzling golden color of the bow that makes it resemble a circle of fire visually.

> Even the Gods were pleased to see his [Abhimanyu's] dexterity. By virtue of Kārṣṇi's accuracy (with the bow), all the warriors led by Bhīṣma thought the intrepid boy was Arjuna in person. The bow he used with such ease whirled in every direction and seemed *like a torch (whirling as a circle of fire)* and it hummed as if it were Gāṇḍīva.[41]

There is one further instance of this 'one-many-one-simultaneity' use of the *alātacakra*, one that is a bit less clear at first glance than the previous examples. In the Rāmāyaṇa, after Sugrīva had dispatched bands of his monkeys to the four quarters in search of Sītā (having given each of them detailed geographic intelligence of a particular quarter, Rām. 4.39–44), Rāma asked Sugrīva how he knows so well "the whole compass of the earth" (Rāṃ. 4.45.1d *sarvam vai maṇḍalaṃ bhuvaḥ,* translation of Lefeber[42]). In response, Sugrīva described, in Rām. 4.45, how his aggrieved brother Vālin had chased him all over the earth, trying to kill him. Sugrīva had raced everywhere – east, south, and west – until he took refuge in the *āśrama* of Mataṅga in the north. He concluded:

> So I saw the (whole) earth as if it were present in the face of a mirror – an equivalent of the (one-in-many-in-one of the) 'wheel-of-fire' – as if it were all in one hoof-print of a cow.[43]

41 MBh 6.45.14cd–16 *tasya lāghavam udvīkṣya tutuṣur devatā api* |14| *labdhalakṣyatayā kārṣṇeḥ sarve bhīṣmamukhā rathāḥ, sattvavantam amanyanta sākṣād iva dhanaṃjayam* |15| *tasya lāghavamārgastham* alātasadṛśaprabham, *diśaḥ paryapatac cāpaṃ gāṇḍīvam iva ghoṣavat* |16|.

42 Vālmīki [1984–2009] Vol. 4: 157.

43 Rāṃ. 4.45.12 *ādarśatalasaṃkāśā tato vai pṛthivī mayā, alātacakrapratimā dṛṣṭā goṣpadavat tadā* |12| (The word *saṃkāśa* operates here in a complex way. Signifying fundamentally "appear with, or together" or "appear completely or fully," it could well mean "reflection" here. At the same time, the word *saṃkāśa* is often confused with *sakāśa* which means "vicinity, neighborhood, proximity," and, thus, "presence." Sugrīva here says he saw the one entire earth as an appearance, a presence, on the face of a mirror.) The translation of this *śloka* by Rosalind Lefeber seems tentative: "Thus it was that I saw the earth – like the surface of a mirror or like the circling of a torch – as if it were merely a cow's hoofprint." (Vālmīki [1984–2009] Vol. 4: 158.) To say the earth was "like the surface of a mirror," or that the earth was like "the circling of a torch" does not make full and clear sense to me, in spite of Lefeber's initial observation in her note: "The images depend on the earth's being viewed as a flat disc." Lefeber's final comment in her annotations to this stack of tropes, however, shows the way to grasping its point and seeing clearly

The mirror-trope here provides a valuable parallel that helps us confirm the exact bearing of the *alātacakra* here, and this unusual application of the *alātacakra* trope is extremely valuable for making fully clear its general use by epic poets to express marvelous simultaneity. Mirrors are striking instruments, in that they make readily apparent the fact that they gather light from a wide ambit and reduce it in size at the same time as they bring many different objects into view in a small compass. Thus the mirror makes fully apparent the same abstract tension between oneness and plurality that we have seen operating with the use of the *alātacakra* to describe the action of heroes on the battlefield.

Several of the examples cited here are so highly developed, and they articulate so explicitly the abstract tension between a single entity and a multiplicity of his, or its, instances that blur into a new and dazzling unity that it seems we do not have here, fundamentally, the application of a literary trope, a commonplace brought in to enhance a narrative. It seems, rather, that the wheel of fire artifice and the understanding of it, are themselves the inspiration behind these highly wrought examples of Bhīṣma's and Rāma's fighting (and the appearance of their bows) and Sugrīva's knowledge of the world from his terrified flight across it. These examples would seem to suggest that the understanding of this

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how the *alātacakra* figure fits with the other two. Writing of the hoof-print, *goṣpada*, she observes "[…] the usual implication of the expression, […] reduces something very large or impressive to the trivial size or significance of a small puddle or hole." This point fits nicely with the observations she reports of the commentators Kataka Mādhav Yogīndra and Nageśa Bhaṭṭa on the mirror trope: "the earth is like a mirror because Sugrīva can directly perceive all the objects situated within the earth's circle." The *alātacakra* fits here by way of its being a commonplace for saying that in some circumstances a single entity can, through movement, appear to be many, and that plurality of appearances can, in turn, fuse again into a single appearance. Sugrīva ran all over the one earth and saw many different sights which now are present in the single map in his mind. Lefeber reports that the commentator Maheśvaratīrtha explains the *alātacakra* trope here as due to the earth's being "encircled by a mountain range that is brightly colored with such minerals as red chalk." This explanation seems forced and tangential. Kataka Mādhav Yogīndra and Nageśa Bhaṭṭa, on the other hand, are more apt in saying that the *alātacakra* trope "shows how swiftly Sugrīva is moving about." Besides contributing the nice logical tension already noted, the *alātacakra* trope here contributes further the image of a bounded circle – as do the other two tropes – and a sense of the quick, whirling motion that would have belonged to Sugrīva as he ran for his life.

complex phenomenon was highly developed by the time these passages were composed. And further, it would seem that this artifice, the understanding of it, and its regular deployment in poetry are the basis of the philosophical uses of it by Buddhists and Brahmins alike.

The Alātacakra's Dazzling Circle of Fire

Describing a warrior's rapid movements, especially in handling his bow, as creating a unified visual image similar to that of an *alātacakra* wheel of fire obviously glorifies a warrior in a striking way; and his image as a fighter is enhanced additionally by the imputation to him and his bow of the heat and brilliance of the whirled torch he and it are said to resemble.[44] Though the relationship between the *alāta* and the *cakra* may be illusory, the fire of the *alāta* is real. As we saw with the description of Arjuna's Gāṇḍīva above, the components of the compound *alāta-cakra* never give up their ability to point to the material things the individual words signify, in spite of the abstract relationship between the single torch and the illusory circle that the compound often describes. Frequently enough it is simply the 'real' circle or wheel of fire that is the point of an epic description, rather than the tension and simultaneity of one and many. And in one instance the *alāta* is simply a glowing coal, or two, to be exact: when the enraged monster Sūrpaṇakhā charged toward the "fawn-eyed" Sītā (*mr̥gaśāvākṣīm*) – like a shooting-star rushing toward (the constellation) Rohiṇī[45] – she is said to have "(glowing) coals for eyes," to be *alātasadr̥śekṣaṇā*.[46] There are three examples of actual circles or wheels of fire (or light), or in one case, of (fire-resembling) bloody people. At 7.91.40–41 the Magadhan king's Jalasaṃdha's hurled short-sword, *khaḍga*, spinning end over end, takes the place of the fire-

44 During the battle Bhīṣma was frequently described in terms of the fire and heat he radiated. See FITZGERALD 2004: 98.

45 The constellation Rohiṇī is the ninth lunar 'mansion' and is frequently named as a wife of the moon (*candra*). See Rām. 3.106.6 (with Pollock's brief note *ad loc.*). Sītā is compared to Rohiṇī a number of times in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, as here, as Rāma, later known by the name Rāmacandra, is often associated with the moon.

46 Rām. 3.17.17 *ity uktvā mr̥gaśāvākṣīm alātasadr̥śekṣaṇā*, *abhyadhāvat susaṃkruddhā maholkā rohiṇīm iva* |17|.

brand; and here the fiery *cakra* acts like an actual wheel as it rolls along the ground after doing its damage to Sātyaki's bow.

> (While fighting with Sātyaki, the king of Magadha) the mighty Jalasaṃdha took up his sword and a large leather shield decorated with a hundred shiny bosses, and he twirled that sword and let it go at the Sātvata. That sword cut through the bow of Śini's son and landed on the ground, where it shone brilliantly on the ground, *like a wheel of fire*. (That is, still rolling end over end along the ground.)[47]

The *śloka*s at 8.59.30–31 offer a rather gruesome example that stays with the graphic visual features and makes no point of illusion. It likens the frenzied milling of the heavily wounded Kaurava army to an *alātacakra*.

> [Bhīma had just come to Arjuna's aid and brutally slaughtered many men and animals with his club. Arjuna then continued the slaughter with many showers of arrows:] Then there came cries of torment from the Kurus as they were being slaughtered in the great battle by Arjuna's arrows that snatched life from warriors, horses, and elephants alike. Your [Dhr̥tarāṣṭra's] army stood collapsing in upon itself, groaning and screaming loudly; but then it moved in a circle and *looked like a wheel of fire*: soaked in its own blood – its armor chopped to pieces by arrows – it blazed like a grove of Aśoka trees in full bloom. When the Kurus saw that army assaulted there by the left-handed archer, they completely despaired of Karṇa's life.[48]

Finally, Rāmāyaṇa 3.22.3 describes the solar ring surrounding the sun-eclipsing moon during an annular solar eclipse.[49]

47 MBh 7.91.40–41 *pragr̥hya tu tataḥ khaḍgaṃ jalasaṃdho mahābalaḥ, ārṣabhaṃ carma ca mahac chatacandram alaṃkr̥tam, tata ā vidhya taṃ khaḍgaṃ sātvatāyotsasarja ha* |40| *śaineyasya dhanuś chittvā sa khaḍgo nyapatan mahīm*, alātacakravac *caiva vyarocata mahīṃ gataḥ* |41|.

48 MBh 8.59.30–31 *tataḥ kurūṇām abhavad ārtanā do mahāmr̥dhe, rathāśvanāgāsuharair vadhyatām arjuneṣubhiḥ* |30| *hāhākr̥taṃ bhr̥śaṃ tasthau līyamānaṃ parasparam*, alātacakravat *sainyaṃ tadābhramata tāvakam* |31|. *ādīptaṃ tava tat sainyaṃ śaraiś chinnatanucchadam, āsīt svaśoṇitaklinnaṃ phullāśokavanaṃ yathā* |32| *tad dr̥ṣṭvā kuravas tatra vikrāntaṃ savyasācinaḥ, nirāśāḥ samapadyanta sarve karṇasya jīvite* |33|.

49 That is, an eclipse of the sun in which the moon's apparent size is slightly smaller than the sun's apparent size, leaving a reddish ring of the sun still visible around the dark disc of the moon. The word annular may sound as if it is related to 'annual,' but derives in fact from Latin *anulus*, "ring," and not Latin *annus*, "year."

> [As the Rākṣasa Khara led his army out to attack Rāma there were various evil omens:] A dark disc with a blood-red rim *that looked like a circle of fire* came over the sun.[50]

I might add that this verse cannot describe merely the beginning of a solar eclipse, as Sheldon Pollock has read it here,[51] for then there would be no circle of fire, merely the section of a circular shadow across part of the orb of the sun.[52] A bit later on, this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa additionally describes a completely anomalous subsequent total eclipse of the sun – a phenomenon quite different from an annular eclipse,[53] brought about by Svarbhānu. Here are small pictures of both kinds of solar eclipse, clearly showing the difference. The photograph of the annular eclipse on the left gives us a clear image of an actual circle of fire.[54] The photograph of the total eclipse on the right could also be seen as a 'wheel of fire,' but not the sort of circular figure that is described by a rapidly twirled torch or piece of burning charcoal.

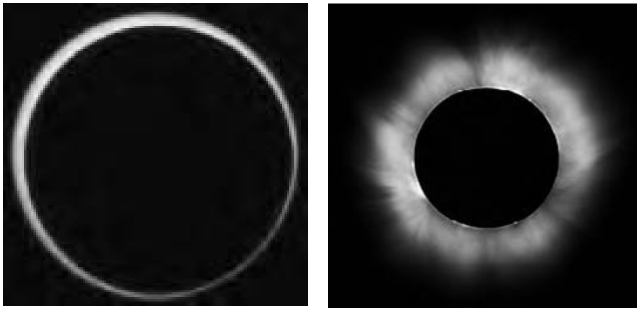


Figure 1: annular and total eclipses

50 Rām. 3.22.3 *śyāmaṃ rudhiraparyantaṃ babhūva pariveṣaṇam*, alātacakrapratimaṃ *pratigṛhya divākaram* |3|.

51 VĀLMĪKI [1984–2009] Vol. 3: 134 and notes *ad loc*. on pages 280–281.

52 The fact that *śloka* 3.22.11 shortly below our text describes the demon Svarbhānu seizing the sun in an untimely total solar eclipse is a distinct event inauspiciously going beyond the eclipse of the sun described earlier in *śloka* 3; *śloka* 11 does not describe the completion of the annular eclipse of 3, as Pollock took it.

53 In a total solar eclipse, unlike the annular eclipse, the apparent size of the moon is larger than the apparent size of the sun and the entire orb of the sun is eclipsed, leaving only the corona of the sun to be seen.

54 These are public domain photographs taken from the English language Wikipedia sv. "Solar eclipse."

If we compare the way the *alātacakra* artifice is used by the epic poets to their use of the *gandharvanagara*, we find that both commonplaces are used for their potential to suggest marvels to the poets' audiences. In the case of the *alātacakra*, however, this direct, sensory use of it was less than, or subordinate to, the poets' exploitation of the more abstract delight inherent in its complex basic reality. But it was still narrative delight that the poets created with it, though as we shall see shortly with Gauḍapāda, the dynamic generation of marvels from the single moving firebrand provides a powerful image with which to think about fundamental issues of the one and the many. Though it may seem that the *alātacakra* actually has more potential than the *gandharvanagara* to be of use in abstract arguments of one sort or another, it is not used to support any argument whatsoever in the epics, as the *gandharvanagara* is twice. And particularly – in light of the later (?) Buddhist use of the *alātacakra* as a by-word for illusion – though both the tropes reviewed here are capable of emphasizing the erroneous, illusory elements of thought and experience,[55] the *alātacakra* is never used to make such a criticism of knowledge or experience in either epic, while there is one, or one and one-half,[56] uses of the *gandharvanagara* as a commonplace for erroneous illusion. All in all, though there is not even one directly 'philosophical' application of the *alātacakra* in either epic, the epic poets' exploitation of the *alātacakra* seems much more sophisticated than is their use of the shimmering evanescence of the *gandharvanagara* – but that appearance is basically an artifact of the inherent complexity of the *alātacakra* itself.

55 As readers may recall, each phenomenon is associated with the idea of magical illusion in both epics. It was said those observing Bhīṣma fighting *alātacakravat* at MBh 6.55.23 thought he had a body made through illusory magic (*māyākṛtātman*). And Lakṣmaṇa labels Mārīca's illusion as "*māyā*, like a Gandharva city" (*gandharvanagaraprakhyā māyā*) at Rām. 3.43.15.

56 I say "one and one-half" with regard to the argument regarding the knowledge of *dharma* at 12.252.12–13 mentioned above because that is not an outright argument that the knowledge of *dharma* is illusory, but it borders on being that.

III. Two Later Brahminic Philosophical Applications of the *alātacakra*

As mentioned, the Buddhists developed the use of the *alātacakra* as an epistemological *nyāya* emphasizing that various phenomena and metaphysical constructs erected by other philosophers are *nothing but illusions*.[57] In addition to this recurrent Buddhist use of the theme, there are two important post-epic texts of Brahminic philosophy that make use of it – passages of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad[58] and Gauḍapāda's (later ?) Māṇḍūkyakārikās[59] (also known as the Āgamaśāstra and as the Gauḍapādakārikās). Gauḍapāda uses the *alātacakra* analogically to make an argument regarding the nature of absolute reality. He does this in six *ślokas* of the final chapter of his composition. And also relevant is the fact that the final chapter of the Āgamaśāstra bears the title *alātaśānti*, "The Firebrand Stands Still," or "The Quiet, or Stillness, of the Firebrand."

The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad

First, Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 6.24 straightforwardly uses the brilliance of the actual *alātacakra* as a representation of *brahman*:

> *dhanuḥ śarīram, om ity etac charaḥ, śikhāsya manas. tamolakṣaṇaṃ bhittvā tamo 'tamāviṣṭam āgacchati, athāviṣṭaṃ bhittvālātacakram iva sphurantam ādityavarṇam ūrjasvantaṃ brahma tamasaḥ param apaśyat, yad amuṣminn āditye 'tha some 'gnau vidyuti vibhāti* |6.24|

57 Edgerton's summation: "a symbol of something transitory and illusory" (EDGERTON 1953 *sv. alātacakra*). Edgerton also records there, for the Mādhyamika Kārikās (173.3 of the edition of La Vallée Poussin, which is not available to me) that the *alātacakra* is used "as a symbol of restless, unceasing motion," which is highly consistent with the epic depictions of simultaneity. And finally, Edgerton records for the Lalitavistara (205.13 of the edition of Lefmann, which edition is not available to me) that it is used there to describe "persons living in the *saṃsāra*," in the phrase "*lokasya* [...] *alātacakrasamārūḍhasya*."

58 VAN BUITENEN 1962.

59 BOUY 2000. After a review of the evidence and previous scholarly interpretations of it, Bouy concludes that the Āgamaśāstra "a eté composé entre 550 et 700 environ" (BOUY 2000: 21).

> The bow is the body, the arrow is this [imperishable syllable] "Om," the tip of it (the syllable-arrow) is one's Mind. Having pierced what is labeled 'darkness' / the target of darkness[60] it comes to a darkness that is infused with (*āviṣṭam*) non-darkness (light). And having pierced through that which is thus infused, he saw beyond that darkness the mighty *brahman*, colored like the sun, flashing like a circle of fire – that *brahman* that shines over there in the sun, and in the moon, and in fire and lightning.

The Upaniṣad here does not employ the motif of the *alātacakra* to advance a doctrine of illusion.[61] Rather, it utilizes the positive image of the ring of fire in a striking way that seems to grow directly from the typical themes of the developed brahminic tradition of *adhyātmika* reflection: A vertical series of ontological levels, a series which here plays upon the opposition of light and darkness – which is often represented in this literature in terms of the movement from the hidden (*avyakta*, which, though dark, is the true light) to the manifest (*vyakta*, which though perceptible, is, in truth, a darkness in relation to its source, the absolute), which manifested reality is originally contained within the hidden.[62]

As we read this metaphoric account of a person's movement upward on the tip of the arrow of the *praṇava* to the highest *brahman*, we should keep one eye on the image of the annular solar eclipse shown just above in connection with Rāmāyaṇa 3.22.3. As the Upaniṣad describes the mind-tipped arrow penetrating darkness and then going on to a higher darkness possessed by, or pervaded by, non-darkness, which of course can be understood as *jyotiḥ,* light, we might ask if recollections of solar eclipses might have played a role in the construction of this paragraph. That question is particularly relevant if we bear in mind how commonly *sūrya*, the sun, is held to be the *dvāra*, the door, to immortality and *brahman*.[63]

60 We have a *śleṣa* here – the mind tipped arrow of the *praṇava* pierces its target (*lakṣaṇa*), which is labeled (*lakṣaṇa* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound) 'darkness,' that is *ajñāna*, unawareness.

61 On the other hand, a doctrine of illusion is not at all excluded by the text.

62 The contingent, manifested world so brightly apparent to human senses is full of darkness when compared to the highest being; the hidden, unmanifested world is, to human senses, a darkness, but one infused by non-darkness, *atamāviṣṭam*, that is light – filled, permeated, shot-through with non-darkness, overflowing with non-darkness.

63 See WHITE 2003.

The alātaśānti of Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkyakārikās

Let us turn now to the text of Gauḍapāda at 4.47–52, the relevant passage in the fourth and final Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa of his Kārikās. In it, Gauḍapāda makes use of the, now very old, artifice and its inherent tension between unity and multiplicity to describe the relationship between the Absolute One – which is termed Consciousness (*vijñāna*) in this passage – and the spectacular multiplicity that appears in the form of a world of objects with subjectivity viewing it. He uses the *alātacakra* as a philosophical analogy for fundamental metaphysics and he intends a meaning that partially overlaps with the Buddhist use of this commonplace – the circle of fire[64] has no reality of its own – but goes on to make a characteristically Brahminic argument – the *alāta*, the firebrand that describes the figure of the circle when moving, is real, and is a symbol of the Real Absolute One. As the *alāta* may be moved and as in connection with its movements are seen various rectilinear and curvilinear figures (*ābhāsa*s), so too Consciousness may pulsate or quiver (Gauḍapāda specifies no cause or reason, for there is none, see 4.52; his doctrine is a *māyāvāda*), and its pulsations have the appearances in the forms of apprehending subject and apprehended objects (the experienced tension that constitutes the center of my awareness and my conviction of my being). Consciousness remains when there is no pulsation and no such appearances, just as the *alāta* remains when it is no longer being spun, no longer moving, no longer describing persisting lines and curves.

I present the text and my translation in adjacent columns to make it easy to follow my interpretation.

64 And of course the figures that appear when a firebrand is moved may be any combination of line segments or curves, depending upon how regularly the *alāta* is moved. One may think of the figures traced by children's 'sparklers' at celebrations involving fireworks. See note 12 above. It is worth noting that Gauḍapāda does not refer to a rotating nor an oscillating *alāta*, an *alātaṃ bhramat*; simply to an *alāta* that is moving, *spandamāna*. And by not limiting his *alātaspandana* to the *alātacakra*, Gauḍapāda implicitly makes a point regarding the *māyā* of the *brahman*: It is manifold and unpredictable, not monothematic or one-dimensional.

4.47	*ṛjuvakrādikābhāsam alātaspanditaṃ yathā, grahaṇagrāhakābhāsaṃ vijñānaspanditaṃ tathā*	As when a firebrand moves[65] it appears as a figure that is straight or curved and so forth, just so when Consciousness[66] quivers[67] it appears as perceived object or perceiving subject.
4.48	*aspandamānam alātam anābhāsam ajaṃ yathā, aspandamānaṃ vijñānam anābhāsam ajaṃ tathā*	As the firebrand that is not moving describes no figures, generates nothing, just so Consciousness that is not quivering has no forms, generates nothing.

65 When the *alāta* is its subject I render √*spand*, "throb, quiver, vibrate, pulsate," with the bland and neutral "move" in order to capture the full range of movement Gauḍapāda seems to intend with *ṛjuvakrādika-*, "straight, curved, and so forth" (appearances, "figures"). As I pointed out in the note just above, similar visual effects are created whether the torch be twirled in a circle or move in a straight line, and it may further be said that similar, if less dramatic, visual effects are created even by irregular motions producing irregular portions of both lines and curves. In the simplest form of the *alātacakra* – the *alāta* being spun repeatedly in a circle, or moved repeatedly back and forth in a straight line – the *spandana* of the *alāta* would best be described as "oscillation." "Oscillate" describes a recurrent, back-and-forth alternation between two states or poles. It descends from Latin words (*oscillum* n. "swing," and *oscillare* "to ride in a swing") that describe exactly the motion used to create the *alātacakra* illusion. But by characterizing the *alāta*-movement as *ṛjuvakrādikābhāsam*, Gauḍapāda is clearly referring simply to the *alāta* being swung, being moved rapidly through space, without regard to any recurrent pattern. As long as the *alāta* is moved sufficiently rapidly, it will trace enduring figures for the human eye.

66 *vijñāna*, "Consciousness," is the term Gauḍapāda typically uses for the Absolute in this passage. It is a term with a rich and complex history that I cannot even begin to enter into here.

67 Whereas we understand the motion of the *alāta* to be the result of a person swinging it, the 'movement' of the One Absolute Reality is inexplicable (see 4.52 below). Its motion originates within itself, is not to be attributed to anything other than it. In order to suggest the self-contained quality of this motion as directly as possible, I render √*spand* here with "quiver" when its subject is *vijñāna*. "Pulsate" is good as well, but "pulsate" implies a regular recurring motion and that imputes more to the *vijñānaspandana* than Gauḍapāda's text warrants.

4.49	*alāte spandamāne vai nābhāsā anyatobhuvaḥ, na tato 'nyatra nispandān nālātaṃ praviśanti te*	The figures traced by a moving firebrand do not arise from some other thing; nor do they later depart from it into something else, when it is no longer moving. They do not enter into the firebrand,
4.50	*na nirgatā alātāt te dravyatvābhāvayogataḥ, vijñāne 'pi tathaiva syur ābhāsasyāviśeṣataḥ*	nor do they leave the firebrand, as a consequence of the fact that they are not substances. And it is just so with Consciousness, since its forms are no different:
4.51	*vijñāne spandamāne vai nābhāsā anyatobhuvaḥ, na tato 'nyatra nispandān na vijñānaṃ viśanti te*	the forms of quivering Consciousness do not arise from some other thing; nor do they later depart from it into something else, when it no longer quivers. They do not enter into Consciousness,
4.52	*na nirgatās te vijñānād dravyatvābhāvayogataḥ, kāryakāraṇatābhāvād yato 'cintyāḥ sadaiva te*	nor do they leave Consciousness, as a consequence of the fact that they are not substances. They are ever incomprehensible, since there is no cause nor any effect.

Upon the movement of the *alāta* an observer sees various traces of fire or light and these disappear when the *alāta* ceases to move. These figures are not "things," "substances," *dravya*s, that come into being from something other than the *alāta* (e.g., the atmosphere, the stars, etc.) and enter into it, so they are not "things" that depart from it when it is no longer moved. There is no cause and effect relationship between the firebrand and the traces of fire, so these figures can never be understood with the mind. It is simply a matter of observed correlation: when A, then B; when no A, then no B. And so too the relation between the Absolute One and our subject-object experience of the world. In using the *alātacakra* Gauḍapāda has chosen an apt analogy to represent the opposition between the richly spectacular and fully convincing experience persons have and the single thing that alone truly exists. But Gauḍapāda has removed the intermediate multiplicity we observed in the epic examples based on the *alātacakra* – the hundreds of instances of Bhīṣma

fighting, the thousands of instances of Rāma fighting that correspond to the multiplicity of the particular positions of the firebrand as it moves in time over the course of its travel. Gauḍapāda is interested only in the juxtaposition of the *alāta* at rest and the apparent traces of light its motion occasions, not in the many points of light that compose those traces. Where the epic poets luxuriated in exploiting all three phases of the *alātacakra* phenomenon, Gauḍapāda uses it to illustrate his notion of the discontinuity between reality and experience. The single shining fire or glowing coal of the *alāta* is merely a metaphor for the single Consciousness; but what the metaphor does seriously impute to its subject is a) the singularity of that which occasioned the multiplicity of illusory appearances, and b) the continued existence of that singularity when the movement is stilled (*śānta*).

And when there are no figures being described by the still *alāta*, the *alāta* remains, burning, shining, glowing in its singularity as an emblem of the Absolute One, Consciousness. Gauḍapāda does not describe the still *alāta*, but the image of the now motionless torch stands very close to an old, established image of fire used to represent the apprehension of the Absolute One through meditation by a human being. I refer to the motionless flame which twice (actually one verse appearing in two versions of an old passage[68]) in the Mahābhārata describes the meditator's vision of his Self, *ātman*, within himself:

> *teṣāṃ tu manasā raśmīn yadā samyaṅ niyacchati, tadā prakāśate hy ātmā ghaṭe dīpa iva jvalan* |12.240.15|[69]
>
> When one takes firm control of their reins[70] with his Mind, then the Self shines radiantly, like a lamp burning inside a pot.

The pot here defines a place in which the flame is protected from ambient breezes, allowing the lamp to burn motionlessly, as will be said explicitly in the examples cited next. The pot also suggests an imagery of 'looking within' which is fundamental to the process of meditation and

68 See FRAUWALLNER 1953 Vol. 1: 288ff., VAN BUITENEN 1956: 153–157, BAKKER 1982: 117–148, and, as well, BAKKER & BISSCHOP 1999: 459–472.

69 A variant of this *śloka* occurs in a slightly more problematic immediate context at 12.187.44.

70 Though not completely clear, the context here (unlike that of the murkier 12.187.44) suggests that *teṣām* refers to the senses and the "reins" are simply the assumed lines of connection between the *manas* and the senses.

to the notion of the *ātman*'s being hidden at the center of an enclosing entity – both common themes in this discourse.[71] Half a dozen other times in the MBh the same image of a motionless flame is used to describe the person in this state. See for example, 3.203.36–37, 6.28.19 (Gītā 6.19), and, of Kṛṣṇa in meditation, as described by Yudhiṣṭhira, at 12.46.6[72] and similarly at 12.238.11–12, 294.18, and 304.19.[73]

As most are aware, Gauḍapāda's text and this passage connect to numerous issues and controversies regarding the development of Indian philosophical thought.[74] They are too multifarious and complex for me to

71 E.g., Kaṭha Upaniṣad 4.1 *parāñci khāni vyatṛṇat svayaṃbhūs tasmāt parāṅ paśyati nāntarātman, kaś cid dhīraḥ pratyagātmānam aikṣad āvṛttacakṣur amṛtatvam icchan*. And too Kaṭha Upaniṣad 2.12 *taṃ durdarśaṃ gūḍham anupraviṣṭaṃ guhāhitaṃ gahvareṣṭhaṃ purāṇam, adhyātmayogādhigamena devaṃ matvā dhīro harṣaśokau jahāti*. And in addition various descriptions of the *ātman* as present in the heart, e.g., *hṛdy ākāśas tejomayo 'mṛtamayaḥ puruṣaḥ* at Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 2.5.10.

72 MBh 3.203.36–37 *lakṣaṇaṃ tu prasādasya yathā tṛptaḥ sukhaṃ svapet, nivāte vā yathā dīpo dīpyet kuśaladīpitaḥ* |36| *pūrvarātre pare caiva yuñjānaḥ satataṃ manaḥ, laghvāhāro viśuddhātmā paśyann ātmānam ātmani* |37| "The indication of this serenity is that he is contented and sleeps well, or that he is like a well-trimmed lamp shining in a windless place, as he yokes his Mind continuously in the early and late watches of the night, eats lightly, keeps himself simple and clean, and sees the Self within himself." MBh 6.28.19 (Gītā 6.19) *yathā dīpo nivātastho neṅgate sopamā smṛtā, yogino yatacittasya yuñjato yogam ātmanaḥ* "The simile that is taught regarding the *yogin* whose Mind is restrained, who engages in the yoking of himself, is that he is like a lamp in a windless place that never quivers." MBh 12.46.6 *yathā dīpo nivātastho niriṅgo jvalate 'cyuta, tathāsi bhagavan deva niścalo dṛḍhaniścayaḥ* "As the flame of a lamp that is out of the wind burns without wavering, Unfallen One, so you, blessed one, God, your resolve rigidly fixed, do not stir."

73 This image is quite different from the more ancient notion of leaving this world for absolute beatitude by way of the *sūryadvāra*, the "door of the sun," which was suggested by Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 6.24 and occurs in other Upaniṣads and the Mahābhārata. See, for example, the critical event of the *uñchavṛttyupākhyāna* in 12.350. And it is quite different from those images of yogic culmination described in the MBh by which the *yukta* person's soul shoots up through the cranium to exit this limited world by way, again, of the *sūryadvāra*. See SCHREINER 1988: 12–18 and FITZGERALD 2010.

74 In this connection, in addition to the older work of DASGUPTA in the *History of Indian Philosophy* and BOUY's recent and thorough presentation of Gauḍapāda, mention should be made of the study *Early Advaita Vedānta and Buddhism*: *The Mahāyāna Context of the Gauḍapādīya-Kārikā* by Richard King (KING 1995). In

enter into most of them at this time, nor are they directly pertinent to the subject of this inquiry, which is the nature and structure and use of the *alātacakra* motif. There is, however, one such issue that cannot be avoided and which is pertinent to our subject – the Buddhist overtones in the title given to the fourth *prakaraṇa* of the Āgamaśāstra. As noted above, this final chapter of the whole of the work attributed to Gauḍapāda has the name *alātaśānti*, "The Quiet, or Stillness, of the Firebrand." Whether this label originated with Gauḍapāda or was assigned to the chapter in the course of the text's transmission and study across time is not knowable, but it has, along with some other indications, prompted some to wonder whether Gauḍapāda was actually himself a Buddhist or not.

The title points to the *alāta* that has been stilled (*śānta*), is not moving, does not appear in any *ābhāsa*s – no rectilinear or curvilinear figures of any kind or duration. If we take the *alāta* in Gauḍapāda's title to refer, by synecdoche, simply to the fire of the torch, we could then read Gauḍapāda's title as a synonym for the Buddhist notion of *nirvāṇa*, the dying out of a fire. If Gauḍapāda intended that reading, it would imply he was in fact some kind of Buddhist. But there is no reason to read the title as saying anything other than that the stillness of the *alāta* is the cessation of the motion that saw the fiery *ābhāsa*s. If he meant to suggest that the fire of the *alāta* was extinguished altogether, then there should have been an analogical reference to the extinction of Consciousness, and there is none.

Though Gauḍapāda does not go so far as to dwell upon the stilled *alāta* as an emblem of Consciousness, the One, the title of the fourth *prakaraṇa* does call attention to it and does suggest that we should see in the stilled *alāta* an analogue of the *nivātastha*[75] ("in a windless place") *dīpa* (lamp) *jvalan* (burning) *niriṅga* ("without quivering, wavering, or flickering"). In light of these and other considerations, I find myself disposed to agree with the tenor of the most recent scholarly argument

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spite of the great erudition and insight all these and other works on these matters provide, one cannot help but feel that certain fundamental issues remain murky. As a principal example I will simply mention the very unsatisfying ways that the root √*jan* and its derivatives are translated, or sometimes mistranslated, in all these works.

75 A word that itself suggests the Buddhist term *nirvāṇa*, by way of its proximity to *nirvāta*.

on this matter, that of Christian Bouy in his annotated edition and translation of the *kārikā*s.[76] Bouy argues that far from being a Buddhist, Gauḍapāda has gone out of his way in the fourth *prakaraṇa* to refute the opponents of the *advaita* doctrines with their own ideas and arguments.[77] "Doing that," writes Bouy, "Gauḍapāda establishes the truth of non-dualism upon incontestable bases."[78] Bouy acknowledges that he is paraphrasing the commentary Āgamaśāstravivaraṇa attributed to Śaṅkara.[79] In following this provocative dialectical procedure, Gauḍapāda is in fact deliberately imitating, of all people, Nāgārjuna in his Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikās, a point correctly made by Dasgupta.[80]

In utilizing the *alātacakra* artifice that was so productive in epic literature and Buddhist polemics, Gauḍapāda not only hit upon a thoroughly apt representation of the tension between the convincing unity of human experience (the viewing of the apparently real and unitary circle described by a moving firebrand) and the realization that that experience is fundamentally erroneous, he also tapped into the evocative power of the reality that was the single most productive symbol in the ancient Brahminic civilization of India, namely fire. The *alāta* artifice afforded Gauḍapāda the dazzling prolixity and wonder of the simple fire's be-

76 Bouy 2000.

77 Bouy 2000: 40, 43.

78 Bouy 2000: 43.

79 *advaitasya tathātvapratipattipratipakṣabhūtāni yāni vādāntarāṇy avaidikāni santi, teṣām anyonyavirodhitvād atathārthatvena tadupapattibhir eva nirākaraṇāya caturthaṃ prakaraṇam*, Śaṅkara [1964] Vol. 1: 425 (last sentence of preliminary remarks).

80 "Gauḍapāda (in the fourth chapter) then follows a dialectical form of argument which reminds us of Nāgārjuna." Dasgupta 1922 Vol. 1: 427. While Dasgupta may have imparted a sense of enthusiasm to the Buddhistic aspects of Gauḍapāda's teachings ("The very name Alātaśānti is absolutely Buddhistic," p. 427, n. 1), he was not so injudicious as to claim that Gauḍapāda was in fact a Buddhist. Dasgupta's generalization of Gauḍapāda's teaching seems almost to be that of Bouy put in a positive manner: "Gauḍapāda assimilated all the Buddhist Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda teachings, and thought that these held good of the ultimate truth preached by the Upaniṣads" (429). On the other hand, Richard King describes the fourth *prakaraṇa* of Gauḍapāda's *kārikā*s in this way in his *Early Advaita Vedānta and Buddhism*: "[…] it attempts to facilitate a *rapprochement* between the Vedāntic and Mahāyāna traditions. The author of [*prakaraṇa* 4] shows a keen awareness of internal Mahāyāna controversies but misinterprets the mainstream Mahāyāna doctrine of the non-origination of *dharmas* as a form of absolutism akin to his own" (13).

coming a persisting, extended streak of fire that we observed the epic poets deploy a number of times and, as well, it afforded him the quiet (*śānta*) fire, the *nivāta niriṅga jvalan dīpaḥ* – a transformation of the ancient fire of the cosmos and of sacrificial worship of the Gods (the *yajña*) with which the tradition of Brahminic *yoga* answered the Buddhist *nirvāṇa*.

Coda

Our survey of epic and philosophical use of the *alātacakra* motif has shown that Buddhist use of it as a skeptical trope for illusions derives from a much wider range of applications, of which, Edgerton showed, Buddhists were also aware (see note 55 above). This wider range of applications delights in the sensual marvel of the visible circle of fire, but is even more intrigued with the pleasing flow between the generating fire, the many fires in different places at different times, and the fused image of those many fires in one persisting image. We have seen the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad use the sensual circle of fire to represent the final stage of the disciplined practitioner's 'ascent' to the the ultimate 'target,' the highest mystery which is infused with light. And, finally, we marveled at Gauḍapāda's reduction of the one-many-one continuum to a juxtaposition of the discontinuous fire and the dazzling traces seen when it moves. If we look back through all these uses of the *alātacakra* to our point of departure, Arjunamiśra's comment to Manu's description of what he regards to be the fundamental human error – substituting one's empirical *rūpa* for one's *svabhāva* – at MBh 12.195.23, do we see Manu using or anticipating the epic or philosophical *alātacakra*? I think not. As I said earlier, we can see a tension between an actual small object and an illusion of its being a large object in the *alātacakra*, but one does not get the sense from 12.195.23 that Manu sees the error he is concerned to account for by way of the *alātacakra* artifice. The real issue for the interpretation of 12.195.23 is whether the words *calam* […] *dr̥ṣṭipathaṃ paraiti* should be understood in terms of the physical range of vision and the role of memory in the perception of objects moving farther away or closer to us, or, whether they signify the more complicated kind of

'error' of the *alātacakra*. As I said earlier, the immediate sequel to 195.23, that is, 196.1–2, seems clearly to indicate the former. On the other hand, if Arjunamiśra were familiar with Gauḍapāda's text, he very well might have taken the principal error Manu describes here to be the same error with which Gauḍapāda is concerned – mistaking the contingent for the absolute – and so Manu's simile to be Gauḍapāda's *alātacakra* motif.

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Other Topics

IRAWATI KULKARNI & MALHAR KULKARNI

A Note on Manuscripts in the S. P. Pandit Collection*

This paper aims to report to the world of Indologists, for the first time ever, perhaps, information related to a very small yet important and hitherto unattended manuscript collection. This collection is the S. P. Pandit collection of manuscripts preserved at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, Mumbai. This collection assumes significance in the light of the fact that S. P. Pandit, himself was a great scholar of Sanskrit and in fact he was the editor of the first ever Indian edition of the Atharvaveda and also of other important works like Vikramorvaśīyam etc.

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai[1] has a collection of roughly about 3'000 manuscripts at present. A Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts was prepared and published by H. D. Velankar in 1926–1930 which recorded information about 2'073 manuscripts. A reprint of this catalogue was brought out in 1988 under the editorship of V. M. Kulkarni and Devangana Desai. However, in this reprinted edition as well this collection was not recorded. This particular manuscript collection was studied by us in a project undertaken at the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, Mumbai to prepare a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in this collection, during the entire 2007. In fact, a descriptive catalogue of this manuscript collection is ready and awaits publication. In this paper, we record the

* We both feel very happy to contribute this article to this Felicitation volume, as a token of our gratitude to Prof. Johannes Bronkhorst, the 'Pandit of Lausanne' whose encouragement proved extremely useful in our academic life. He invited us twice to Lausanne in 1995–1996 (MK) and 1997 (IK) and 1999–2000 (both MK and IK) during which we could work on our Ph.D. dissertations, eventually submitted to the University of Pune in 2000 and 2001 respectively. Indeed, we are very grateful to him and wish him a fruitful post-retirement life.
We are also grateful to Dr. V. M. Kulkarni and Dr. N. B. Patil whose constant support prompted us to write this article and whose critical comments were very useful in developing this paper.

1 Contact address: Town Hall, Shahid Bhagatsingh Road, Mumbai – 400023, e-mail: asml@mtnl.net.in, asiatic.townhall@gmail.com.

primary list of manuscripts along with the numbers of the microfilms of the respective manuscript.

Life of Dr. S.P.Pandit

Dr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit was born in 1840 in Bambuli, a village in Sawantawadi district in the then Bombay State. He decided to devote his life to the study of Sanskrit very early in his life. He was appointed as Professor of Sanskrit at Deccan College, Pune. He served the Government in the capacities of District Deputy Collector and most importantly, Oriental Translator. Later on he was appointed as Administrator of Porbandar state. He served that post until his death in 1894.[2]

Works of Dr. S.P.Pandit

Following is a list of works (in Sanskrit and Prakrit) of Dr. S. P. Pandit (arranged chronologically according to the year of publication):

1) Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa with notes.
2) Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa with the commentary of Mallinātha and Notes: Part I 1869, Part II 1872, Part III 1874.
3) Gauḍavaho of Vākpati, with Sanskrit Commentary of Haripāla, Introduction, 1887.
4) Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa, with English notes, 1889.
5) Atharvaveda Saṃhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācarya, Vol. I and II, 1895.
6) Atharvaveda Saṃhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācarya, Vol. III, Vol. IV, 1898.
7) Kumārapālacarita of Hemachandra with a commentary by Pūrṇa-kalaśagaṇi, 1900.

2 For details, please refer V. M. Kulkarni (1996).

The above-mentioned 5, 6 and 7 were published posthumously after the death of Dr. Pandit in 1895. All his editions were based on quite a number of available manuscripts and indeed were critical editions during his times marked with critical philological scholarship which was a feature of the 19th century great Indologists. The above-mentioned 5 and 6 are considered to be the most important contribution of Dr. Pandit to the world of Indology which was used by later scholars as a base for their studies. Dr. Pandit, while preparing this critical edition used quite an extensive material both written as well as oral. He used more than 10 manuscripts available to him in India (mostly from Gujarat). He also collated each and every element of the published material with the available oral tradition. His edition was quoted as authoritative on many occasions. Before his edition, the text of Atharvaveda was published in Germany by Roth and Whitney. Griffith published the translation of the Atharvaveda. Scholars have evaluated all these publications and the edition of Dr. Pandit and appreciably concluded that Pandit's edition was more faithful and should be considered as authority. In his preface to the edition of the text of the Atharvaveda, Pt. Satavalekar quoted Dr. Pandit saying that:

> स्वर्गीयैः शङ्करपाण्डुरङ्गपण्डितैः संशोधिते मुम्बय्यां मुद्रिते सायणभाष्यसहितेऽथर्ववेदे देवृकामा इत्येक एव पाठो दृश्यते। नैतैः कोऽप्यन्यः पाठभेदः प्रदर्शितोऽत्र। अतोऽनुमीयते यदेतेषां निकटे येऽथर्ववेदग्रन्थाः संगृहीतास्तेषु देवृकामा इत्येव पाठ आसीदिति
>
> In the edition of the Atharvaveda along with the Sāyaṇabhashya published in Mumbai and edited critically by late S. P. Pandit, there is only one reading namely देवृकामा. They have not shown any variant reading in this case. Therefore we infer that the manuscripts of Atharvaveda in possession of S. P. Pandit had only one reading namely देवृकामा (SATAVALEKAR 1943: 11)

Further, we note that, Satavalekar in his edition of Atharvaveda has retained the reading mentioned by S. P. Pandit setting aside the readings adopted in editions of Roth, Whitney and Griffith. It is noteworthy that he has discussed at length how incorrect the reading देवृकामा is and how the other reading, namely देवकामा, is correct from the point of view of the meaning and of the ritualistic application of the verse. We come to the conclusion that Satavalekar despite not agreeing with the reading hermeneutically retained the reading philologically and in doing this he did accept S. P. Pandit as an authority.

Date of Deposit of the Material

There has been no record found, in terms of the minutes of the Managing Committee or the Annual Reports of the ASM, as such, which can be considered as an evidence to show the precise period in which this collection of manuscripts was handed over to the ASM. Only one reference related to this collection was found in the minutes of the Managing Committee held on 9th March 1971 where a resolution was passed entrusting the job of preparing a catalogue of the manuscript material in this collection to Ms. Durga Bhagwat. We quote the resolution: "4(ii) Resolved that Miss Durga N. Bhagvat be entrusted with the work of cataloguing manuscripts of Pandit Collection." (Ledger 6, Managing Committee Meetings: 1st July 1964–1975, pp. 217)

Based on this evidence we can say that the collection must not have entered the ASM after 9th March 1971. We however, do not find any further reference in terms of any report related to the action taken on this resolution. It can then be inferred safely that the material in S. P. Pandit collection remain uncatalogued in the ASM for at least more than 35 years.

Some senior scholars as well as Office bearers who have served the ASM for more than 30 years, in private discussions admit that the collection must have entered the ASM not before 1950–1960 period.

Total Number of Manuscripts

The primary list prepared by us and presented here in this article shows 228 items in this collection. This primary list also corresponds to the number of the microfilms of these items. However, actually, there are 8 manuscripts missing. Hence we mention this fact in the front space of that respective number. Thus the total number of available items in this collection is 220.

Division of Manuscripts According to Language, Topic etc.

There are three languages in which these manuscripts are found written, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarathi. There is only one item written in Gujarathi. There are 173 manuscripts written in Sanskrit and 42 in Prakrit. Apart from these there are 4 manuscripts which are found in damaged condition. They are not microfilmed either.

The total number of manuscripts are classified according to the topic in the following manner[3]:

A. Sanskrit Manuscripts – 173

1) Veda – 33 (Saṃhitā 11, Brāhmaṇa 5, Āraṇyaka 1, Upaniṣad 2, Vedic 2, Śrautasūtra 2, Vedic Ritual 9, Gṛhyasūtra 1)
2) Smṛti – 3
3) Dharmaśāstra – 2
4) Tantra – 1
5) Purāṇa – 3
6) Philosophy – 18
7) Miscellaneous – 3
8) Linguistic Science – 30 (Phonetics 4, Grammar 17, Lexicography 8)
9) Prosody – 2
10) Rhetoric – 2
11) Medicine – 1
12) Astrology – 5
13) Architecture – 4
14) Kāvya – 53
15) Stotra – 20

B. Prakrit Manuscripts – 42

1) Āgama – 11

3 The classfication of VELANKAR is adopted in this catalogue as well for the sake of uniformity and consistency.

2) Philosophy – 15
3) Legends & Poems – 12
4) Stotra – 3
5) Ritual – 1

Now we present below the primary list of manuscripts in this collection alongwith the information about the microfilm number, hoping that this information will prove useful to scholars in the field of Indology.

Primary List of Manuscripts in this Collection with the Microfilm Number

Primary list No.	Name of the manuscript	Microfilm Roll No.
001	Uttarādhyayanasūtra	242
002	Upadeśamālā	242
003	Pārśvanāthacaritra	242
004	Kalpasūtra	243
005	Vijayacandracarita	243
006	Gāthāsaptaśati	243
007	Pārśvanāthastotrapañjikā	243
008	Vardhamānadeśanā	243
009	Prajñāpanāsūtra	243
010	Kuśalānubandhi-adhyayana-ārādhanā	243
011	Samayasāraprakaraṇa	243
012	Uttarādhyayanasūtra	243
013	Padmāvativaritra	243
014	Uttarādhyayanakathāsaṅkṣepa	243
015	Caityavandanasūtravṛtti	243
016	Pratyākhyānaniryukti	244
017	Daṇḍakavicāra	244
018	Antagaḍadaśāṅgasūtra	244
019	Upadeśamālā	244

020	Kummāputrakathānaka	244
021	Upāsakadaśāsūtra	244
022	Anuyogadvārasūtra	244
023	Pratyākhyānabhāṣya	244
024	Kalpasūtra	244
025	Saṅgrahaṇīratna	244
026	Gauḍavaho	244
027	Dānaśīlapatobhāvakulaka	244
028	Nāmamālābījaka	244
029	Bhagavadgītā	244
030	Ṛgvedasaṃhitā	245
031	Ṛgvedapadapāṭha	246
032	Śuklayajurvedakāṇvasaṃhitā bhāṣyasaṃgraha	247
033	Ṛgvedasaṃhitā	247
034	Ṛgvedasaṃhitā	247
035	Ṛgvedasaṃhitā	247
036	Aitareyabrāhmaṇa	247
037	Aitareyāraṇyaka	248
038	Kumārasambhava	248
039	Raghuvaṃśa	248
040	Śrāddhavidhi	248
041	Vikramorvaśīya	248
042	Vṛttaratnākara	248
043	Vikramorvaśīya	248
044	Vedāṅgajyotiṣa	248
045	Kātantra-vyākaraṇa	248
046	Viṣṇuviśveśalaharī	249
047	Kātantra-dvyāśraya	249
048	Abhidhānacintāmaṇī	249
049	Vākyaprakāśasūtra	249
050	Liṅgānuśāsana saṭīka	249
051	Kṣīrārṇava	249
052	Vāstuśāstraprāsādamaṇḍana	249
053	Kriyākalāpa	249
054	Vasupālaprabandha	249
055	Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana	249

056	Atharvaveda	249
057	Bṛhaddevatā	250
058	Citrasenapadmāvaticaritra	250
059	Vastupālacaritra	250
060	Harivikramacarita	250
061	Śālibhadracarita	250
062	Kalyāṇamandirastava	250
063	Viṣṇupurāṇa	250
064	Vikramorvaśīya	250
065	Ādhāna-udgātṛtvaprayoga	250
066	Bṛhaddevatā	250
067	Sindūraprakaraṇakāvya	250
068	Malayasundarīcarita	250
069	Bilhaṇapañcāśikā	250
070	Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā	250
071	Anuyogadvārasūtravṛtti	250
072	Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā	250
073	Akṣatṛtīyā	250
074	Nāracandrajyotiṣasāra	251
075	Damayantīvivaraṇa	250
076	Anargharāghava	250
077	Vikramorvaśīya	251
078	Pārśvanāthacarita	251
079	Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā	251
080	Saṃvartasmṛti	251
081	Gītagovinda-aṣṭapadī	251
082	Rudrabhāṣya-camakabhāṣya	251
083	Mallārimāhātmya	251
084	Mantrapraśna	
085	Mālatīmādhava	251
086	Gītagovinda	251
087	Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī	262
088	Pavanavijaya	262
089	Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra	262
090	Uttarādhyayanadīpikā	262
091	Aṣṭādhyayī	262

092	Vikramorvaśīya	252
093	Tarkasaṅgrama	252
094	Chandaḥsūtra	252
095	Nyāyasiddhantamuktāvali	252
096	Kalpadrumakalpatarukośa	252
097	Ākhyasudhāprakaraṇa	252
098	Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha	252
099	Bhāgavatasubodhinī	252
100	Naiṣadhīyacarita	252
101	Meghadūta	252
102	Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya	252
103	Sārasvatīprakriyā	253
104	Karuṇāvajrayudha	253
105	Kāvyakumudacandrikā	253
106	Atharvavedasaṃhitā	253
107	Saṅgītarāja	253
108	Jyotiṣaratnamālā	253
109	Sūktasāra	253
110	Dvāsaptatipariṣiṣṭānāṃ paryāyāḥ	253
111	Brahmavidāśīrvādapaddhati	253
112	Naiṣadhīyacarita	253
113	Śatapathabrāhmaṇa	253
114	Yājñavalkyasmṛti	253
115	Dānakalpadruma	253
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